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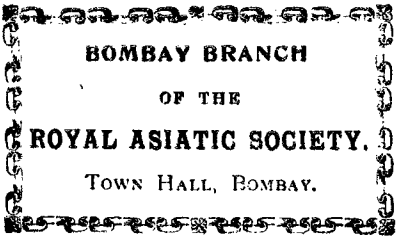

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Indian Franchise Committee

Volume II

MEMORANDA

submitted by the

Local Governments

and the

Provincial Franchise Committees

in reply to the

Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires

(Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces)

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CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
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E R R A T A.

(VOLUME II.)

Page 33, paragraph 3, line 1.—Omit the dash before the last three words.

Page 34, line 2.—Omit the word " in " after the first three words.

Page 35, paragraph 7.—For sub-paragraph " (*c*) " *read* " (*b*) ".

Page 36, paragraph 11, line 1.—For " (*b*), (*i*) " *read* " (*b*) (*i*) ".

Page 64, Table of Contents, line 1.—For " (See IV on page 87) " *read* " (See IV on page 116) ".

Page 148, foot-note no. 3.—For " *vide* page 3 of the Report " *read* " *vide* page 171 ".

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Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province ;

And also the replies of the Chief Commissioner, Coorg, the Coorg Provincial Franchise Committee, and the Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana (Ajmer Merwara).

INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

(11TH FEBRUARY 1932.)

Preliminary heads of inquiry.

Having regard to the wide range of inquiries which it is necessary for the Franchise Committee to undertake before it can frame detailed plan for the constitution of several legislatures the Chairman is of opinion that it is very improbable, if not impossible, that the Committee will be able to cover the whole field during the first stage of their inquiry. In order to provide a practical programme it will therefore be necessary to concentrate attention in the first instance on the fundamental question of the franchise to be adopted in the constituencies which will elect the various legislatures.

It may therefore be necessary to postpone inquiries relating to the representation of special interests, the advisability of creating bicameral legislatures in Provinces, the qualification and disqualification of candidates and other subsidiary though important questions until a later stage of the Committee's investigations. A further questionnaire relating to these matters will be issued in due course. The following questionnaire deals with the franchise to be adopted for the Provincial and Central Legislatures. Questions relating to the representation of women, labour and depressed classes have been included because the solution of these problems depends largely on the extent to which the basis of suffrage can be widened in general constituencies.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

1. Extension of the franchise.

Having regard to the fact that the principle of a responsible Federal Government, subject to certain reservations and safeguards, has been accepted by His Majesty's Government and that the Governor's provinces are to become responsibly governed units, enjoying the greatest possible measure of freedom from outside interference and dictation in carrying out their own policies in their own sphere, it is obviously necessary so to widen the electorates that the legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of the population, and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinion. The Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference considered that adult suffrage was the goal which should ultimately be attained, but the majority thought that it was not practicable to reach that goal immediately and recommended " the immediate increase of the electorate so as to enfranchise not less than 10 per cent. of the population, and indeed a larger

number—but not more than 25 per cent. of the total population—if that should on full investigation, be found practicable and desirable ".

(*a*) What means can you suggest by which the existing franchise for the Provincial Legislature could be extended so as to include 10 per cent. of the population in the electoral roll ?

(*b*) Do you consider that such an electorate will be capable of casting an intelligent vote ?

(*c*) Do you consider that such an electorate would be administratively manageable having regard to the arrangements likely to be feasible for the preparation, maintenance and revision of the electoral rolls, and for the recording and counting of votes ?

(*d*) If the answer to (*b*) and (*c*) is in the negative, what alternative qualifications for the electorate would you propose ?

(*e*) If the answer to (*b*) and (*c*) is in the affirmative, do you consider that it would be practicable and desirable, having regard to the same considerations, to enlarge the electoral roll still further and, if so, what means would you suggest for the purpose ?

(*f*) It has been suggested that, assuming adult suffrage to be impracticable at present, all adults not entitled to a direct vote should be grouped together in primary groups of about 20 or in some other suitable manner for the election of one or more representative members from each group, who would be entitled to vote in the provincial elections either in the same constituencies as the directly qualified voters or in separate constituencies to be framed for them. The suggestion has been discussed mainly with reference to rural villages, but might be made applicable to towns also.

Do you consider that any such system would be feasible and advantageous in the areas with which you are acquainted, and, if so, would you advise that the group electors should vote in the same constituencies as the directly qualified electors, or in separate constituencies composed of group electors only ?

(*g*) It has been proposed that in the event of separate constituencies being framed for group electors, only group electors should be qualified to stand as candidates for such constituencies ?

Are you in favour of this course ?

(*h*) Do you consider that it would be feasible and advantageous to abolish all the existing qualifications for voters and to extend a system of the nature described in (*f*), and to confine the electorate for all constituencies to secondaries chosen by groups of primary voters ?

(*i*) In the event of your answer to (*f*) or (*h*) being in the affirmative, what do you consider would be a suitable size for the groups referred to above? On what basis would you constitute them, and whom would you charge with the duties of framing them?

(*j*) Would you require any special qualification, whether property, educational or other, in the persons chosen by such groups to vote on their behalf for the election of members? If so, what?

2. Franchise qualifications.

(*a*) Do you consider that in the areas with which you are acquainted there is any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas? If so, what measures would you suggest in order to rectify such disparities?

(*b*) It has been suggested that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers, and that the franchise system should be so contrived as to secure this result, in so far as it may be practicable.

Are you in agreement with this suggestion, and, if so, what measures would you suggest for giving effect to it in your province on the assumption (*i*) that separate electorates are retained, (*ii*) of joint electorates with reservation of seats, and (*iii*) of joint electorates without reservation of seats?

(*c*) Is the possession of property of some kind in your opinion a suitable test of fitness for the franchise? (The term "property" should be understood in its widest sense as including not only the ownership of landed property but also the occupation of land or house property or the receipt of income or wages whether in cash or kind.) If so, do you consider the existing property qualifications suitable? If you do not, what modification do you suggest?

(*d*) Are you in favour of introducing a qualification based on education, independently of property? If so, what educational qualification would you suggest?

(*e*) Are you in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and extending it so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces?

3. Women's suffrage.

(*a*) At present women are admitted to the suffrage on the same terms as men, but as the existing qualifications are mainly based on property and the payment of taxes, the number of women on the provincial electoral rolls is only a little over a quarter of a million as compared with 6½ million men. The Statutory Commission proposed that the wives and widows (if over 25 years of age) of men entitled to vote under the property qualification, should be enfranchised, and that in addition an educational qualification should apply to women over 21 as well

as to men. In the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference it was suggested that the age-limit should be 21 for women as well as for men.

Are you in favour of increasing the women's electorate in the ways suggested or would you prefer any other method ? If so, what method ? To what extent would you favour an increase in women's electorate ?

(*b*) In the event of a system of group representation being established as proposed in paragraph 1 (*f*), do you consider that women should be formed into groups, and, if so, should separate groups be formed for women or should groups contain both men and women ?

(*c*) The suggestion has been made that at any rate as a temporary measure the legislature should co-opt women members to an extent not exceeding 5 per cent. by a system of proportional representation so as to ensure some representation of women in the legislature. What are your views on this suggestion ?

4. Representation of the depressed classes.

It is evident from the discussions which have occurred in various connections in the Round Table Conference, that it is generally felt that provision should be made in the new constitution for better representation of the depressed classes, and that the method of representation by nomination is no longer regarded as appropriate.

What communities would you include as belonging to depressed classes ? Would you include classes other than untouchables, and if so, which ?

Do you consider that the depressed classes are likely, through such general extension of the franchise as you favour, to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates, and if so, to what extent ? If your answer is in the negative, what specific proposals would you make to secure their representation in the legislatures ? The possible application of the group system of representation to the depressed classes should be specially considered.

5. Representation of labour.

Assuming that such widening of the basis of suffrage in general constituencies as is found practicable does not provide adequate representation of labour what special measures would you recommend for representation of labour (*a*) where it is or can be organized as in industrial areas, (*b*) where it is unorganized as in the case of agricultural and plantation labour ? On what basis would you allot representation to labour in each case ?

5-A. Representation of special interests.

What are your views as to the retention of the representation of special interests (Universities, Commerce, European and Indian, Mining, Planting, Labour, Landholders, etc.) in the legislatures ? If you favour its retention, do you consider that the existing methods of election thereto are satisfactory ? If not, what suggestions would you make ?

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. Allocation of seats to British Indian Provinces.

In the third report of the Federal Structure Committee the following allocation of seats to provinces of British India in the two chambers of the Federal Legislature was tentatively suggested :—

Names of provinces.	Upper Chamber.	Lower Chamber.
Madras	17	32
Bombay	17	26
Bengal	17	32
United Provinces	17	32
Punjab	17	26
Bihar and Orissa	17	26
Central Provinces (if Berar is included)	7	12
Assam	5	7
North-West Frontier Province	2	3
Delhi	1	1
Ajmer-Merwara	1	1
Coorg	1	1
British Baluchistan	1	1
	120	200

As a working hypothesis for the purpose of arithmetical calculation at the present stage it may be assumed that the Federal Legislature will be approximately of the size indicated in the report of the Federal Structure Committee.

(*a*) The Federal Structure Committee proposed that the representatives of British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by a single transferable vote. Do you agree with this proposal or have you any alternative to suggest ?

(*b*) Do you consider that the franchise qualifications ought to be different for the Federal and Provincial Legislatures ? If so, what do you consider it ought to be in the case of the Federal Legislature ?

(*c*) The majority of members of the Federal Structure Committee considered that election to the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature

should be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would cast their vote directly for the candidates of their choice. Under a scheme of this nature there would be more than a million inhabitants on an average in each constituency. The constituency would in some cases be of enormous size, especially if communal electorates were introduced. In view of the obvious difficulties which must confront a candidate in canvassing and maintaining contact with such large constituencies the Committee recommended that the alternatives of direct and indirect elections should be fully explored and suggested that while it might be possible without difficulty to adopt direct election in certain areas some form of indirect election might prove desirable in rural areas.

The Franchise Committee would be glad to have your views on this difficult question. In the event of your favouring some system of direct election it would be very useful if you would indicate the nature of the constituency that you would form having regard to the number of seats which you consider ought to be allotted to your province.

7. Representation of women, labour and depressed classes.

Please add any further suggestions which you desire to make regarding the representation of women, labour and the depressed classes and other interests at present specially represented in the Federal Legislature.

8. General.

It will be of great assistance to the Franchise Committee if you will favour them with any observations on the working of the existing franchise and electoral rules which will throw light on the problems now under consideration. The Committee will of course require information later on many other questions but it is not necessary to deal at present with matters outside the scope of this questionnaire.

It is not the function of the Franchise Committee to consider the maintenance, modification or abolition of the existing system of separate communal electorates, though it is clear that this question must be decided before a final scheme can be drawn up for the composition of the various legislatures and the arrangement of the constituencies upon which they are to be based. His Majesty's Government have instructed the Franchise Committee to proceed, in so far as they may find that the absence of such an assumption may preclude them from arriving at conclusions, on the assumption that separate communal electorates will continue to form a feature of the new constitution. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible to offer answers to the questions asked in this paper, without entering upon a discussion of the communal problem.

Points for local Governments.

(1) The Franchise Committee are anxious to save local Governments unnecessary labour as far as possible. A great deal of information which will be of great value in connection with their inquiries must already be available in reports on the working of the present constitution prepared for the Statutory Commission or for other purposes.

In dealing with the questions now raised it will suffice to refer to such reports or to send copies corrected up to date where such a course is found convenient.

(2) The Franchise Committee desire, if possible, during their visit to each provincial headquarters, to spend a day or part of a day in a conveniently situated village, where they would meet typical bodies of villagers and discuss with them questions arising out of this inquiry. The Committee would like to have an opportunity of talking to a group of existing voters, a group of those who would become entitled to a vote if the franchise were extended in the manner considered possible by the local Government, and a group of those to whom the vote could not be granted within the limits of any practicable system of franchise. In the last case, the Committee would like to consider, on the spot, the possibility of adopting some system of group representation. The Committee would be grateful if one or two officers could be deputed to accompany them as interpreters, who are well acquainted with the village selected for a visit or with village life in general.

APPENDIX TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

I

TELEGRAM XX, FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, LONDON, TO THE VICEROY (REFORMS DEPARTMENT), NEW DELHI, No. 168, DATED THE 13TH (RECEIVED 14TH) JANUARY 1932.

Chairman who is anxious to expedite work of Franchise Committee as far as possible would be glad if this was practicable to ascertain in general terms during first stage of enquiry any preliminary views which Provincial Governments and Committees may feel able to express on

(*a*) size of Provincial Legislatures,

(*b*) representation of special interests

(*c*) qualification of candidates,

(*d*) if possible on question of Bicameral Legislatures in Provinces.

It would be unnecessary of course to go into details at present stage but written statement would be of much value. If time permits it might be possible to arrange for brief general discussion of such statements after franchise questionnaire had been disposed of. Chairman recognises difficulties of expressing any save provisional views on (*a*) and (*b*) above in absence of communal agreement but as hypothetical basis of discussion provisional working hypothesis referred to in paragraph 7 of Prime Minister's letter of 29th December may be adopted as a basis in this connection.

Please inform local Governments accordingly and ask them to take such steps as they consider feasible to prepare the ground. In the light of experience in first two Provinces visited Committee will probably be able to decide definitely whether or not any extension of field to be explored beyond that covered by questionnaire already issued will in fact be feasible at this stage having regard to very short time at their disposal.

II

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARIES, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS (EXCEPT BIHAR AND ORISSA AND BURMA), No. S.-570, DATED THE 13TH FEBRUARY 1932.

As stated in paragraph 2 of Questionnaire question of bicameral legislatures will probably have to await final decision till a later stage, though Chairman will be glad to receive written statement of local Governments' views asked for in January through Government of India. Point has however now been taken in United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa that wider extension of franchise could be contemplated if Provincial Legislatures contained second chamber which would at once serve as stabilizing influence and as source from which persons with administrative experience could be drawn to serve as Ministers etc. Chairman would be glad if local Governments and committees could consider, and be prepared to discuss question of second chamber as affecting extension of franchise.

Replies

of the

Government of Madras

and the

Madras Provincial Franchise Committee

to the

Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.

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MADRAS.

Memorandum by the Government of Madras.

I

VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

LETTER FROM THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 298, DATED FORT ST. GEORGE, THE 22ND FEBRUARY 1932.

[*Franchise Committee Questionnaire—Views of the Government of Madras.*]

I am directed to forward to you a copy of the Madras Provincial Franchise Committee's replies to the questionnaire issued by the Franchise Committee together with the views of the Government of Madras on extension of the franchise, women's suffrage and other matters referred to in the questionnaire and also on the question as to whether there should be a second chamber in the provincial legislature.

2. I am to state that the questionnaire and the recommendations of the Provincial Committee have been considered by His Excellency the Governor with his Executive Council and Ministers sitting together and that the views expressed in this letter are the views of the Government as a whole.

3. *Question 1 (c)—Administrative possibility of an electorate comprising 10 per cent. of the population.*—The Madras Government consider that such an electorate and all the arrangements for the preparation, maintenance, and revision of the rolls, and for polling and counting of votes in this Province are administratively possible.

4. *Question 1 (b)—Capacity of such an electorate to cast an intelligent vote.*—The Government consider that a large portion of the electorate that will result from the franchise necessary to give the vote to 10 per cent. of the population will not at present be able to cast an intelligent vote, but as electoral rolls for the district municipalities and local boards have already been prepared which will enfranchise roughly 10 per cent. of the population it is administratively convenient to adopt the same roll for the Legislative Council. The reduction in the size of constituencies made possible through an increase in the number of elected members of the Council, and the local board and municipal elections being held on a wider franchise than has hitherto existed, are expected to quicken up the political education of the electors.

5. *Question 1 (e)—Desirability and feasibility of further extension.*—The Government are emphatically of the opinion that at present no further extension beyond such additions as may be made by lowering the franchise for Madras City as proposed by the Provincial Committee, and by providing an independent literacy qualification for men and women, is either feasible or desirable.

6. *Franchise suggested to bring 10 per cent. of the population on the electoral roll.*—The franchise provided by the Madras District Municipalities and Local Boards Acts as last amended will as stated by the Provincial Committee give the result apparently aimed at. Extracts from those Acts to show the qualifications of electors under this proposal are appended.* Short of adult suffrage it is the widest possible so long as a property qualification is retained. Briefly, the qualification is occupation of land as pattadar, inamdar, landholder, landholder's tenant, or lessee on a written lease, or assessment to any tax however small, or being an *ex*-officer or *ex*-soldier of His Majesty's regular forces. In the Madras City the limit of exemption from the property tax is high compared with mufassal municipalities while the profession tax is as low as Rs. 1-4-0 a year. In order therefore to extend the franchise in the Madras City to the same extent as is proposed in the district and rural areas the Government agree with the Provincial Committee that the occupancy franchise should be altered from occupation as tenant of a house of not less than Rs. 60 annual rental value to occupation as owner or tenant of a house of not less than Rs. 18 annual value. With the addition of the independent literacy qualification which this Government is disposed to adopt it is anticipated that the total number of persons enfranchised would be 5·38 millions or 11·5 per cent. of the population. The Government agree with the Provincial Committee in thinking that the provision in the Local Boards Act by which lessees of land on a written lease are included in the electoral roll requires more precise definition with a view to prevent the manufacture of bogus leases and votes. A minimum period of three years, a minimum rent of Rs. 2 or its equivalent in kind and a minimum area of 1 acre would probably be a suitable modification.

7. *Question 1 (f) to (j)—Group representation.*—The Madras Government do not consider that the system of group representation suggested by the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference and in the questionnaire or as described in the literature on the subject which the Franchise Committee have been good enough to circulate in advance, is suitable for this province, and are in general agreement with the views expressed on this subject by the Provincial Committee.

8. *Question 2 (a)—Disparity in operation of franchise.*—The franchise now proposed will rectify such disparity as there is. The population of the urban areas including Madras is just under 8 per cent. of the whole; the urban electors are at present 13·6 of the total electorate and under the new franchise will be about 8·4 per cent.

9. *Question 2 (c)—Property qualification.*—The Government consider that the property qualification laid down in the District Municipalities and Local Boards Acts which is based on assessment to a direct tax of some kind or occupation of property in the shape of building or land is the most suitable definition and evidence of a property qualification.

10. *Question 2 (d)—Literacy qualification.*—The Madras Government had already recommended the introduction of an independent literacy qualification in paragraph 24 of its letter No. 978, Public Department,

* *Vide* Appendices I—III, pages 16—18.

dated the 11th August 1930, to the Government of India on the recommendations of the Statutory Commission. At that time it contemplated only a comparatively small extension of the franchise on a property qualification and suggested a fairly low literacy qualification. In view however of the wide extension of the franchise now agreed to, and the fact that generally speaking the vote given by the individual is representative of the family opinion, it considers that the independent literacy qualification for men at least, should be fairly high, and accordingly accepts the recommendation of the Provincial Committee that it should be the possession of a completed Secondary School-Leaving Certificate or its equivalent. As regards women the case is different. Some means has to be found other than the ordinary property qualification to increase to some extent the number of women on the electoral roll since the property laws of the country operate against their coming on the roll in sufficient numbers as compared with men, and the Government agree that in their case the literacy qualification may be ability to read and write, the qualification of women claiming to be registered on this qualification to be certified to by some such method as the certificate of a village magistrate or other magistrate as to her ability to read and write or her own written application to be included on the roll.

11. *Question 2 (e)—Military qualification.*—The Madras Government consider that an extension of the present military qualification to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces is unnecessary.

12. *Question 3 (a)—Women's suffrage.*—The Government agree with the view of the Provincial Committee that it is not desirable to give the vote to the wives or widows (not otherwise qualified) of male electors qualified by property. The reduced property qualification and the low literacy qualification proposed will bring on to the electoral roll in the neighbourhood of 900,000 women as compared with the present 128,000, and it should be seen how far these will exercise their electoral rights before proposals for further increasing the proportion of women on the roll are accepted.

13. *Question 3 (b)—Group system for women.*—The Government have expressed their opinion on the suggested group system in paragraph 7 of this letter.

14. *Question 3 (c)—Representation of women on the Legislative Council.*—The Government are opposed to the suggestion that women members should be co-opted by the Legislative Council, but are not in favour of the Provincial Committee's proposals for reserved seats in urban areas. They agree that representation should be secured but consider that a simpler and better method than reservation of seats would be as follows. A fixed number of seats should be reserved in the Council for women: women should be allowed as at present in this Province to stand for any constituency for which they are qualified to stand and unsuccessful women candidates up to the number so reserved obtaining the highest percentage of votes to the number of electors on the electoral roll in the constituency for which they stand, should be declared elected to the seats reserved for women, provided that they have obtained sufficient votes not to forfeit their deposits. Women who top the poll in any constituency

and win a seat outright would come into the Council as ordinary members and would be additional to those filling the seats reserved for women. If on the other hand the number of women candidates was insufficient to fill the quota of reserved seats, no further step to fill the quota should be taken, whether by nomination or otherwise.

15. *Question 4—Representation of depressed classes.*—The Government adhere to the views already expressed by them previously in paragraph 20 of their Memorandum to the Statutory Commission and in paragraph 12 of their letter No. 978, dated the 11th August 1930, to the Government of India on the recommendations of the Commission. They agree with the Provincial Committee that without separate electorates the depressed classes cannot get representatives of their own choice.

As regards the definition of depressed classes the Government consider that the definition of the term Adi-Dravidas as given in clause 3 (1) of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920, would be suitable. Under this section a supplementary list of communities has been notified by the Government in G. O. No. 1541, L. & M., dated the 7th May 1931,* of which a copy is appended together with an extract from the Act. The Government propose that a similar list should be issued in respect of the separate electorates for the Legislative Council. This would cover all those known or hitherto regarded as 'untouchables' and the Government consider that only such communities should be included in the category of 'Depressed classes' for special treatment. The Government do not consider it desirable to apply the group system to the depressed classes. It is estimated that the lower franchise will bring on to the rolls about 300,000 depressed class electors which will be about 8·4 per cent. of their total adult population.

16. *Question 5—Representation of labour.*—Subject to the proviso that the qualifying period should be not less than one year's continuous employment the Government accept the recommendation of the Provincial Franchise Committee for the formation of special labour constituencies to bring the voice of labour into the Council in preference to making registered unions the constituency or constituencies as was proposed by the Whitley Commission. The ground for their opinion is the backward state of labour organization in the province and the way the unions are organized for the employees of particular firms or corporations.

17. *Question 5-A—Representation of special interests.*—The Government are of opinion that as at present Landholders, European Trade and Commerce, Planting, Indian Trade and Commerce and the Universities should have representation secured to them and that Labour be added as a special interest. They agree with the Provincial Committee's suggestion that the Madras Trades Association should be merged with the Chamber of Commerce for the purpose of forming a European Trade and Commerce constituency.

18. *Question 6 (a)—Method of election to the Upper Chamber—Federal Legislature.*—The majority of the Government are not in favour of the proposal of the Federal Structure Committee. They prefer direct election by a limited electorate of qualifications calculated to ensure the

* *Vide* Appendix IV, page 18.

inclusion therein of persons of wealth, education and administrative experience not only in local bodies and the legislatures, but in the public services of the country, such as *ex*-judges, *ex*-collectors and retired officials of similar standing, and the method of election should be by proportional representation by the single transferable vote as is at present the practice for the Council of State. With the increased representation proposed to be given to Madras the province can be divided up into plural constituencies of more manageable area than at present. With a limited electorate and canvassing mainly done by post, and candidates generally men of standing known to the public, the size of the constituencies is not of such importance as in the case, say, of the Provincial Legislative Council.

19. *Question 6 (b)—Franchise qualifications for Federal Legislature.*—The suggestion of the Provincial Franchise Committee that for the Lower Chamber of Federal Legislature the franchise qualification should be lowered so as to double the number of electors at present on the rolls for the Legislative Assembly is acceptable to Government. So also their proposal that the electorate for the Upper Chamber should be one similar to that at present existing for the Council of State supplemented by a provision for the inclusion of *ex*-officials of fairly high standing.

20. *Question 6 (c)—Election to Federal Lower Chamber.*—The majority of the Government agree with the majority of the members of the Federal Structure Committee that election to the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would cast their vote directly for the candidates of their choice, which is also the view of the Provincial Franchise Committee.

21. *Question 7—Representation of women, etc., in the Federal Legislature.*—Disagreeing with the Provincial Committee the Government do not consider that there is any proper ground or necessity for securing specially the representation of women in the Upper Chamber. Only representation of Muslims and Europeans needs to be secured. In the Lower Chamber the interests which should be secured representation are Landholders, Indian Commerce, Women and Labour, and the communities for whom special provision is required to secure adequate representation are Muslims, depressed classes, Europeans and Indian Christians. No special provision for the representation of European Commerce is suggested as it is considered that the proposed representation of Europeans as a community will cover their commercial interests.

22. The provisional views of the Madras Government as to the size of the Legislative Council and the qualifications of candidates which have been asked for by the Chairman of the Franchise Committee will be forwarded shortly.* As regards the question of a Second Chamber in the Provincial Legislature, the Government as at present constituted are of opinion that, in view of the fact that the franchise for the Council is proposed to be very greatly extended, there should be a Second Chamber which would act as an effective check on ill-considered and hasty legislation ; the ideas of Government as to the details of the composition of the Second Chamber will be forwarded later.

* Page 20.

APPENDIX.

I

Present Qualifications for Madras City Electorate—Legislative Council.

Extract from the Madras Electoral Rules.

4. *Urban Madras City constituency.*—A person shall be qualified as an elector for a Madras City constituency who—

(*a*) was assessed in the previous year to property-tax or tax on companies or —profession tax ; or

(*b*) occupied for not less than six months in the previous year a house in the City, not being a house in any military or police lines, of an annual value of not less than Rs. 60 ; or

(*c*) was assessed in the previous year to income-tax ; or

(*d*) is a retired, pensioned or discharged officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier of His Majesty's regular forces.

Explanation.—No person shall be deemed to occupy a house within the meaning of clause (*b*) unless he is paying or is liable to pay to the owner the rent thereof, or is exempt from the payment of rent by virtue of any office, service or employment ; nor shall more than one person be qualified as an elector in respect of the same house.

II

Extract from the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920.

45. (1) *Qualifications for voting.*—No person shall be included in the electoral roll as qualified to vote unless—

(*a*) he is a British subject or a subject of a State in India :

Provided that the Local Government may exclude from the scope of this restriction any alien or class of aliens ;

(*b*) he has attained the age of twenty-one years in the year preceding that in which the electoral roll is published ;

(*c*) he has been assessed in such preceding year to any tax payable to the Government of India or to the Local Government or to any local authority in the Presidency of Madras or is a retired, pensioned or discharged officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier of His Majesty's regular forces ; and

(*d*) he has resided in the municipality for one hundred and twenty days in the aggregate in such preceding year.

(2) If a company or association or the members of a family jointly or joint pattadars has or have been assessed to any tax, the company or association or the family or joint pattadars shall be treated as possessing the qualification, and the person entitled to be registered in the electoral roll shall be the secretary of the company or association or some other person duly authorized in that behalf or the member authorized by a majority of the family or of the joint pattadars, or, in the case of a joint Hindu family, either a member so authorized or in default of such authorization, the manager thereof.

(3) A person may be qualified either in his personal capacity or in the capacity of a representative of a company or association or of a joint family or of joint pattadars, but not in both capacities.

(4) Save as provided in sub-section (2), no person shall be qualified as an elector unless he possesses the necessary qualifications in his personal capacity.

46. (Omitted).

47. *Disqualifications of voter.*—Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (5) of section 44, a person who is of unsound mind, a deaf-mute or a leper shall not be entitled to vote at any election to a municipal council.

III

Extract from the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920.

52. *General qualifications for registration.*—No person shall be included in the electoral roll (of a local board) as qualified to vote unless—

(*a*) he is a British subject or a subject of a State in India:

Provided that the Local Government may exclude from the scope of this restriction any alien or class of aliens;

(*b*) he has attained the age of twenty-one years in the year preceding that in which the electoral roll is published;

(*c*) he possesses one or more of the qualifications described in Schedule III (annexed);

(*d*) in the case of a district or taluk board, he has resided for one hundred and twenty days in the aggregate in such preceding year in the district or taluk or in a municipality (including the City of Madras) or cantonment, situated within three miles of the district or taluk:

Provided that in the case of persons whose sole residential qualification consists in their residence in any such municipality or cantonment, their being assessed to a tax payable to a municipal or cantonment authority shall not be deemed to be a qualification within the meaning of this clause; and

(*e*) in the case of a panchayat, he has resided in the village for one hundred and twenty days in aggregate in such preceding year.

53. *Disqualifications of voter.*—Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (5) of section 51, a person who is of unsound mind, a deaf-mute or a leper, shall not be entitled to vote at any election to a local board.

SCHEDULE III.

Electoral Qualifications.

[See section 52 (*c*).]

Local Board Electors.

1. A person shall be qualified as an elector of a district board, taluk board or panchayat who—

(*a*) was in the previous year assessed to any tax payable to the Government of India or to the Local Government or to any local authority in the Presidency of Madras; or

(*b*) is registered as a ryotwari pattadar, or as an inamdar, of land in the district, taluk or village, as the case may be; or

(*c*) holds land in the district, taluk or village on a written lease or demise under a ryotwari pattadar or an inamdar or any tenant under such pattadar or inamdar; or

(*d*) is registered jointly with the proprietor undersection 14 of the Malabar Land Registration Act, 1895, as the occupant of land in the district, taluk or village; or

(*e*) holds an estate in the district, taluk or village as a landholder as defined in the Madras Estates Land Act, 1908 ; or

(*f*) holds land in the district, taluk or village as ryot or as tenant under a landholder, as defined in the Madras Estates Land Act, 1908 ; or

(*g*) is a retired, pensioned, or discharged officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier of His Majesty's regular forces.

2. (Omitted.)

General.

3. If property is held by, or tax is assessed upon, a company or association, or the members of a family jointly, or joint pattadars, the company or association or the family or joint pattadars shall be treated as possessing the qualification, and the person entitled to be registered in the electoral roll shall be the secretary of the company or association or some person duly authorized in that behalf or the member authorized by a majority of the family or of the joint pattadars, or, in the case of a joint Hindu family, either a member so authorized or, in default of such authorization, the manager thereof.

4. A person may be qualified either in his personal capacity or in the capacity of a representative of a company or association or of a joint family or of joint pattadars, but not in both capacities.

5. Save as provided in rule 3, no person shall be qualified as an elector unless he possesses the prescribed qualifications in his personal capacity.

IV

G. O. No. 1541-L. & M., dated 7th May 1931.

[Rule—Madras Local Boards and Madras District Municipalities Acts, 1920—Definition of the term 'Adi-Dravida'—Confirmed.]

* * * * * * * * * *

The appended notifications will be published in English in the *Fort St. George Gazette* and in all District Gazettes in English and in the vernacular language or languages of the district concerned.

NOTIFICATIONS.

(i)

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (1) of section 3 and clause (*a*) of sub-section (2) of section 199 of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920 (Madras Act XIV of 1920), the Governor acting with Ministers is hereby pleased to make the following rule prescribing the communities which in addition to those mentioned in clause (1) of section 3 of the said Act shall be included in the 'Adi-Dravida' community for the purposes of the said Act :—

Rule.

Any person professing the Hindu religion and belonging to any of the communities mentioned in the schedule annexed hereto shall be an Adi-Dravida within the meaning of clause (1) of section 3 of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920.

Schedule.

Bairas.	Kanakkans.	Pambadas.
Bakudas.	Koragas.	Paravans (Parawans)
Bavuris.	Madaris.	Raneyars.
Bellaras.	Mailas.	Rellis.
Chalavadis.	Mogers (Mera or Kaipudas or Mogeras).	Semmans.
Goddas.	Mundalas.	
Haddis.	Nalkedayas.	
	Nayadis.	Vettuvans.

(ii)

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (1) of section 3 and clause (a) of sub-section (2) of section 303 of the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920 (Madras Act V of 1920), the Governor acting with Ministers is hereby pleased to make the following rule prescribing the communities which in addition to those mentioned in clause (1) of section 3 of the said Act shall be included in the 'Adi-Dravida' community for the purposes of the said Act :—

Rule.

Any person professing the Hindu religion and belonging to any of the communities mentioned in the schedule annexed hereto shall be an Adi-Dravida within the meaning of clause (1) of section 3 of the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920.

Schedule.

Bairas.	Kanakkans.	Pambadas.
Bakudas.	Koragas.	Paravans (Parawans).
Bavuris.	Madaris.	Raneyars.
Bellaras.	Mailas.	Rellis.
Chalavadis.	Mogers (Mera or Kaipudas or Mogeras).	Semmans.
Goddas.	Mundalas.	
	Nalkedayas.	
Haddis.	Nayadis.	Vettuvans.

V

Extract from the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920.

PART I.

Chapter I—Preliminary.

* * * * * * * * * *

3. In this Act unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context—

(1) 'Adi-Dravida' means any person professing the Hindu religion and belonging to any of the following communities, namely, the Paraiyans, Pallans, Valluvans, Malas, Madigas, Chakkiliyans, Tottiyans, Cherumans and Holeyas, or to any other community that may be prescribed.

* * * * * * * * * *

II

Supplementary memorandum by the Government of Madras on the Franchise Committee's Questionnaire and connected points.

LETTER FROM ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 298-A., DATED FORT ST. GEORGE, THE 23RD FEBRUARY 1932.

[*Reference.*—Continuation of my letter No. 298, Public, dated the 22nd February 1932.]*

I am directed to communicate to you the views of the Madras Government on the following subjects.

2. *Question 2 (b)—Methods of adjusting the franchise so that voting strength of communities is proportional to population strength.*—If separate electorates are retained, differences of proportion of voting strength on the electoral rolls to population in the various communities are in the opinion of the Government immaterial. If separate electorates are not retained, and if joint electorates with or without reservation of seats are adopted with a general electorate of about 10 per cent. of the population the voting strength of the minority communities would still be so small in most constituencies that nothing short of adult suffrage in favour of the minority communities only would so strengthen their position as to enable them to get candidates of their own choice elected if their election was seriously opposed by the Hindu majority community. It is believed that in the case of Muhammadans and Indian Christians the franchise proposed wil result in the numbers of electors from these communities being nearly proportional to their population strength. In the case of the depressed classes the Government have recommended separate electorates for them and agree with the recommendation of the Provincial Franchise Committee that they should also have a vote in the general non-Muhammadan constituencies in order to prevent a permanent gulf being fixed between the communities and to provide a starting point for the eventual abolition of separate electorates for depressed classes. This proposal will tend to equalize their voting strength in proportion to population with that of other communities. It has already been stated in the previous letter that about 300,000 of the depressed classes will come on to the electoral roll if the low franchise for the local boards and district municipalities is adopted. Their population is 7·1 millions and the proposal is tantamount to giving them 600,000 votes or a little over 8 per cent. of their population strength.

3. The Government are of the opinion that the size of the Provincial Legislative Council should be 210 with the following composition :—

Communities—	
Non-Muhammadans	126
Muhammadans	21
Indian Christians	9
Depressed classes	18
Europeans	3
Anglo-Indians	2

* Page 11

Special Interests—

Women	8
Landholders	12
Universities	1
Labour	2
Planting	2
European Trade and Commerce..	3
Indian Trade and Commerce	3

Indian Trade and Commerce includes two seats for the South Indian Chamber of Commerce and one for the Nattukottai Nagarathars Association.

It will be seen that their proposals differ in some respects from those of the Provincial Committee. They consider that a strength of 25 members for depressed classes is too large having regard to the difficulties of getting suitable candidates and the fact that it is proposed to give them votes in the non-Muhammadan general electorates. It may be mentioned that in connection with the reservation of seats for the depressed classes in the municipalities and local boards the number adopted was a minimum of one per local body and a total membership roughly proportionate to half their population strength. The 25 seats proposed by the Provincial Committee in a House of 220 amounts to giving them representation according to full population strength. The Muhammadans on population strength should only have about 12 members but have had, since the introduction of the reformed Council, considerable weightage allowed. In the present Council they have 13 out of a total of 132 members and the strength now proposed to be given to them is one-tenth of the total strength of 210. As regards the representation of Indian Christians the eleven seats proposed by the Provincial Committee is excessive and much higher than their present five members out of 132 would warrant. As regards Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Landholders, Universities, Planting, Trade and Commerce, both European and Indian, Government have accepted the Committee's proposals. Europeans have been given one more than they would proportionately be entitled to in view of the effect on the European element in the Council by the abolition of the official "bloc." The non-Muhammadan seats have been fixed having regard to the desirability of making the revenue division, or where the population is very heavy, a portion thereof, a single member constituency.

4. *Qualifications of candidates for Legislative Council.*—Government are of the opinion that for general constituencies there need be no change in the present electoral rules.

The Universities constituency.—They consider that the candidate should be a member or *ex*-member of the Senate of one of the Universities in the Province.

The Landholders' constituencies.—They accept the Provincial Committee's proposal that the candidate should be registered as an elector in *any* landholders' constituency within the Province. At present he has to be registered in the constituency he is standing for.

For Labour constituencies Government are unable to accept the Provincial Committee's proposal which will allow too much scope for the "carpet bagger" and professional labour politician. They consider that candidates should be registered on the electoral roll of any labour constituency within the Province.

As regards women's seats the Provincial Committee's proposal goes hand in hand with their idea of reserved seats in urban areas, not necessarily the whole of the constituency, and the electors of all general electorates within that area forming the electorate for women. The Government have proposed an entirely different system for securing the representation of women in the Council and consider that women should be under the same rules for candidature as men in the general constituencies.

5. *Qualifications of candidates for the Federal Lower Chamber.*—The Government agree with the Provincial Committee's recommendation that the present rules for the Legislative Assembly may be adopted with the modification that a candidate for a general constituency may be on the roll of *any* general constituency within the Province for the Federal Lower Chamber. At present the rule is rather a peculiar one. The candidate must either be registered on the roll of the constituency he is contesting or on that of any constituency for the Provincial Legislative Council.

6. *Qualifications for candidates for the Federal Upper Chamber.*—The Government agree with the Provincial Committee's proposal to adopt the rules at present in force for candidates for the Council of State but modified so that there shall be no sex disqualification.

7. *Disqualifications of candidates.*—The Provincial Committee's proposal to adopt the disqualification of conviction for offences as laid down in the Local Boards Act is not acceptable to Government. Government are of opinion that there need be no change in the present rules.

8. *Constitution of the Provincial Second Chamber.*—The Government consider that the strength of the Provincial Second or Upper Chamber should be about a quarter of the strength of the Provincial Lower Chamber. Some Members of the Government consider all the members of the Upper House should be elected by a limited electorate on a high franchise qualification; others favour the nomination by the Governor of a certain number of persons possessing administrative experience, the number of nominated members to be less than the number elected.

III

Memorandum by the Madras Provincial Franchise Committee.

VIEWS OF THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

1. Extension of Franchise.

Q. 1 (a).—According to figures supplied by the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards, the franchise under the recently amended District Municipalities Act and Local Boards Act will bring to the electoral rolls a total of 4,928,655* voters. This is approximately 10·5 per cent. of the population and is the nearest approach to adult suffrage so long as some property or tax qualification is adopted. A literacy qualification for men and women not otherwise qualified, if the qualifications suggested by this Committee in the answers to 2 (*d*) and 3 (*a*) are accepted, it is estimated will produce approximately another 390,000 voters † who are not otherwise qualified. There are at present 26,248 voters on the Madras City non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan rolls and it is anticipated the Committee's proposals in reply to 2 (*a*) will raise this to approximately 60,000. The percentage of the whole roll (5·37 million) to the population would be 11·5 or 23 per cent. of the adult population. This franchise will allow of an automatic and gradual expansion as village panchayats are formed.

Q. 1 (b).—The Committee thinks that a considerable portion of this electorate may not at present be able to cast an intelligent vote: doubt has been expressed even about the capacity of the present electorate. It is hoped however that as the franchise is the same as that for the municipal councils and local boards, the electorate will be gradually educated by experience. Some of the members of the Committee, both non-official and official, feel that the Statutory Commission's proposed expansion of the electorate to 10 per cent. of the population endorsed by the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference is too great having regard to the low standard of education, political or otherwise, in this Province.

Q. 1 (c).—The Committee considers that such an electorate will be administratively manageable, though much larger expenditure than has been incurred in the past will be necessary. So far in this Presidency the preparation, maintenance and revision of the electoral rolls for the Legislative Council and the arrangements for conducting elections have been carried out by the Revenue Department with, for the polling of votes, some assistance from officials of other departments in the districts and a very small non-official assistance. There has been employed under the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards for the past one year a special staff for the preparation of the new electoral rolls for the Local Boards and District Municipalities and by the end of March of the

* 396,625 urban voters. 4,532,030 rural voters.

† Women 250,000 out of 355,000. Men 140,000 out of 269,400.

present year these rolls will be final and ready for taking over for maintenance and revision. In the beginning some additional special staff will be required to prepare the final rolls for the Legislative Council on the new franchise in view of the inclusion of a large number of women and men on a literacy franchise ; and the additions in Madras City due to a lower occupancy qualification. The Committee is inclined to consider that subsequently instead of the present system of triennial revision by the Revenue authorities with the employment of the special staff, that maintenance might be continuous and that it might in respect of the rural areas be made part of jamabandi or the annual settlement of the revenue accounts village by village, which is a feature of this Province, when the village officers should report all changes and corrections to the Jamabandi Officer and anybody desiring to have his name entered on the roll could come forward with a petition for the same and orders would be passed there and then. Some addition to the permanent revenue staff in the districts might be required for the maintenance of the rolls. As regards polling an examination of the number of Government servants in three typical districts *(Guntur, Tanjore and Malabar) suggests that from 160 to 250 polling stations can be adequately manned. It is anticipated there will be greater necessity for employing non-officials in connection with the elections and about such employment some of the members of the Committee share the views of the Government of India expressed in paragraph 9 of their fifth Despatch on the Reforms, dated 23rd April 1919, and also those of the Simon Commission to be found in paragraph 105, Vol. II of the Report. Still they consider that risks must be taken if any large expansion of the electorate is to take place. The elections under the new franchise of the amended Local Boards Act have not yet been held but it is expected there will not be any serious breakdown.

Q. 1 (d).—No answer is required.

Q. 1 (e).—The Committee does not consider it to be either practicable or desirable at present to enlarge the electoral roll still further. It considers that until education of the electors is further advanced and the administrative machine tested out for the proposed increase from 1·47 millions to 5·37 millions it would be a great mistake to enlarge the electoral roll any further either by direct franchise or by the method suggested in question 1 (*f*).

Q. 1 (f).—The Committee has perused the information furnished regarding the electoral system of groups and the representation of primary voters by secondary electors adopted in some of the Near Eastern countries and is of opinion that it is not suitable for this Province in its present stage of development. The people of this Province have become accustomed to

* Number of public servants including Local Board employees available.

	Drawing Rs. 35 and over (1).	Number in (1) drawing Rs. 50 and over.	Number in (1) drawing Rs. 100 and over.
Guntur	1,119	469	241
Tanjore	1,822	787	343
Malabar	2,237	831	389

the procedure and machinery of direct elections. Since 1870 there have been direct elections for the Municipal Councils and for Local Boards from 1884. Up to 1930 election to the District Board was indirect and by and from the members of the Taluk Board and the system was not satisfactory. Direct election to the District Board on a territorial basis was one of the chief amendments to the Local Boards Act in 1930. The history of the Legislatures is also one of development from indirect to direct election. Local Boards and municipal elections are all based on an individual exercise of the franchise and as it is proposed to introduce the same franchise so as to include 23 per cent. of the adult population it is not considered advisable further to burden the administration with the working of a complicated system of indirect adult suffrage. The great majority of the members of the public and associations who have sent in replies to the questionnaire are also against this system. If election to the Council should be indirect through secondaries, the unit for primaries should be not an artificial group but the village. Faction over Local Board elections is already rife in villages in many parts of the country and it is anticipated that election even by the village as a whole of secondary voters would stir up still more trouble in the villages. The Committee considers that the difficulties of forming satisfactory groups in villages, bringing them together to elect their secondaries or deputies, of deciding disputes as regards such elections and of finding the machinery for all these purposes would more than counterbalance any supposed advantage of the system. If elections for secondaries are not held more or less simultaneously and objections decided promptly, the final roll of secondary electors may be held up indefinitely. It is felt that however carefully the group elections may be conducted there will always be some doubt as to the genuineness of the elections. The group system, complicated as it is even when applied to a homogeneous population, will become greatly more complicated on account of the fact that the population in our villages is almost everywhere divided into different communities each with its own caste and communal hierarchy and discipline and also on account of the fact that it is proposed to have different communal electorates. What, however, the Committee considers the gravest objection of all is that the group system would greatly facilitate manipulation and corrupt practices both in forming the groups of primary electors and in the election of the secondaries. The comparative fewness of the number of secondaries would also expose them to corruption.

Q. 1 (g).—Please see reply to (*f*).

Q. 1 (h).—The Committee considers that it will be a retrograde step to go back to indirect voting through secondaries for all constituencies. As already pointed out in the answer to clause (*f*) the people have become accustomed to direct voting and an indirect suffrage such as this system proposes will not be appreciated.

Q. 1 (i) and (*j*).—In view of our answers to (*f*) and (*h*) no reply is necessary.

2. Franchise Qualifications.

Q. 2 (a).—The examination of the figures under the present franchise does not show any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualification in urban as compared with rural areas. The population of the urban areas including Madras City is just under 8 per cent. of the whole, while the electors in these areas are 13·6 per cent. of the total on the present roll. Although the franchise minimum property qualification of Rs. 3 taxation in municipalities and Rs. 6 in Madras City appears to be less than the Rs. 10 rural qualification, actually it normally represents a higher standard, especially if it represents profession tax. The Committee's proposals for the lowering of the qualification will it is considered rectify any disparity. Urban voters will be 8·4 of the whole electoral roll with some addition for literates which is not readily calculable.

Q. 2 (b).—The Committee is not in favour of having different qualification for different communities in this Province. The minority communities are relatively so small, that no differentiation in franchise qualification short of adult suffrage within the communities only would benefit them materially in joint electorates and in principle differentiation seems to be undesirable. The Committee believes that as regards Muhammadans and Christians the extension of the franchise proposed will give them approximately proportionally equal voting strength with the majority community. As regards Muhammadans the Local Board electorate rolls show a voting strength of 3·6 as against a population strength of 3·8. As regards depressed classes, the figures for three districts of voters on the new local board rolls show that there will be a very considerable increase in their numbers; according to figures furnished to the Simon Commission there are only 56,800 voters on the present Legislative Council rolls who belong to the depressed classes whereas for the three average districts referred the total as per proposed franchise is 36,641. There are 25 districts in the Province *plus* Madras City and it is anticipated there will be about 300,000 depressed classes electors in all.

Q. 2 (c).—The possession or occupation of property of some kind or the assessment to a tax as evidence of property or income is in the opinion of the Committee a suitable test of fitness for the franchise. It does not consider that a claim to be in receipt of any particular wages or income incapable of easy verification unless evidenced by assessment to some tax or payment of land revenue or cesses and therefore acceptable as a franchise qualification. The Committee has in reply to the question regarding labour representation recommended the formation of special electorates of certain classes of workers drawing Rs. 15 per month in wages or more, but in this particular case the claim to income can, it is believed, be checked by employers' returns under the Factory Act. The Committee has recommended the adoption of the Municipal and Local Boards property qualifications for the franchise, which are wider in scope as regards the meaning of property than the existing qualifications for the Legislative Council franchise, but is of opinion that the provision in the Local Boards Act by which lessees are included in the electoral roll requires more precise definition with a view to prevent the manufacture of bogus leases for the purpose of procuring the registration of electors not really qualified.

Q. 2 (d).—The majority of the Committee is in favour of introducing a qualification based on education independently of property and suggests for men as a standard the possession of a completed Secondary School Leaving Certificate and for women ability to read and write in any language. The Committee does not consider it desirable to flood the electorate with males of a low standard of general education who have no property or taxation qualification, but as regards women it considers a low literacy standard a better method of bringing a considerably increased number of women on the rolls than dragging them on as wives or widows of male voters.

Q. 2 (e).—All the Committee are in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and do not think it necessary to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces in view of their other proposals for the extension of the electorate.

3. Women's Suffrage.

Q. 3 (a).—Though for the whole of India, the proportion of female to male voters is 1 to 26, in Madras it is 1 to 10 already. The Committee is not in favour of increasing the number of women voters by enfranchising women merely because they are wives or widows of men who are or have been entitled to vote under the property qualification, but a majority of the Committee is in favour of a low educational qualification for women aged 21 and over, in addition to and independent of the ordinary property qualifications. It is expected that if their proposals for widening the franchise are accepted the probable number of women to be enfranchised will be at least 900,000. The Committee consider that to bring wives of male electors on to the roll would at present in the majority of cases merely mean increasing the husband's vote and also that a very large number of the women would not use their vote at all and the rolls would merely be swollen to the embarrassment of the Government and of candidates for election without any practical benefit. The advance now proposed coupled with provisions to ensure the representation of women by women in the Legislative Council is considered sufficient for the present. It is estimated on the basis of the number of girls in schools reading up to the V class that for some considerable time the literacy qualification for women will add at least 25,000 electors a year.

Q. 3 (b).—The Committee is entirely against the proposed system of group representation for reasons already given and does not think it will be any more suitable for women than for men.

Q. 3 (c).—The Committee is definitely against co-option by the Legislative Council. It prefers the setting apart for women of seats in selected urban areas, the electorate for the purpose in each such area being the electors belonging to that area on the rolls of all the general constituencies.

4. Representation of the Depressed Classes.

Q. 4.—It is anticipated that the proposed widening of the franchise would bring on to the rolls about 300,000 voters of the depressed classes as against the present 58,000. The Committee is unanimously of opinion

that even with the increased number of voters the depressed classes will not be able to secure election without special protection. If this special protection takes the form of reservation of seats in joint electorates the majority of the Committee is of opinion that they will not be able to secure representatives of their own choice. The majority of the Committee therefore think that the depressed classes should be formed into a separate electorate and elect their own representatives, and in addition is also inclined to suggest as a special case in order to prevent perpetuation of a communal separation that they should have a vote in the general electorate as well so that as their present disabilities disappear their special representation may be reduced and eventually disappear altogether. As the depressed classes are generally resident in *cheris* apart from the rest of the villagers, the group system of representation if tried at all could be most easily applied to them, but the Committee prefer the method of direct choice by an electorate which has the same qualifications as the rest of the electors in the country. The definition of Adi-Dravida in the Local Boards Act as supplemented by the notification in G. O. No. 1541-L. & M., dated 7th May 1931*, sufficiently covers, in the opinion of the Committee, those who are the depressed classes. It covers all the sections and subsections of the untouchables.

5. Representation of Labour.

Q. 5.—The Committee considers that as employers are represented in special interest constituencies, such as the Chambers of Commerce, it is desirable that labour should also have an opportunity to make its voice heard and should be treated as a special interest. Though the idea of making registered labour unions the constituency is tempting, the Committee consider that in Madras Province at least the unions so far organized and registered are too much based on individual works or factories to be really representative of industrial labour as a whole, and further that their development at present is such that the railway unions would swamp the others and monopolise the representation. It is further doubted whether prospective candidates would be really representatives of labour. The Committee prefers to give representation to Labour by forming labour constituencies in special selected centres of industrial population, the qualification for franchise being the receipt of a minimum monthly wage of Rs. 15 and being a worker in a factory coming within the purview of the Indian Factories Act in the selected areas. The Committee consider that as certain returns have to be made under the Factories Act by the employers the preparation of an electoral roll of this kind would not be difficult. In the case of unorganized labour such as agriculture and plantation, the Committee considers that no special representation is required *qua* labour. A great bulk of the agricultural labour is part-time and the labourers have themselves small interests in land and on the lower franchise now proposed would come on to the electoral roll. Their interests are not generally dissimilar from those of their employers. The depressed classes form perhaps the biggest section of agricultural labour and adequate measures for their representation are already suggested. Plantation labour also is

* Quoted in *extenso* on pages 18–19.

practically entirely drawn from the depressed classes and as much of it floats back and from the villages its organization as a special interest would be difficult.

5-A. Representation of Special Interests.

Q. 5 (a).—The Committee is in favour of the retention of representation of the following special interests :—

Universities, European Trade and Commerce, Indian Trade and Commerce, Planting, Landholders, Nattukottai Nagarathars. There is no specially important mining interest within the Province requiring special representation.

The Committee is of opinion that the Madras Trades' Association, a special constituency, should be merged into a European Trade and Commerce constituency in which members of both the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades' Association would have a right to be electors.

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. Allocation of Seats to British Indian Provinces.

Q. 6 (a).—The Committee does not agree with the proposal of the Federal Structure Committee, but considers that the provincial representatives to the upper chamber should be directly elected by a limited electorate of qualifications calculated to ensure the inclusion therein of persons of wealth, education, administrative experience, etc., and that the method of election should be by proportional representation by the single transferable vote. The Committee, two dissenting, was further of opinion that Muslims should be elected by a separate Muslim electorate of the same kind and that no other minority community need be specially provided for.

Q. 6 (b).—The Committee considers that the franchise qualifications for the federal and provincial legislatures should be different. For the federal lower chamber it is suggested that the present franchise qualification may be reduced so as to double the number of electors and that for the federal upper chamber an electorate similar to the one at present existing for the Council of State supplemented by provision for the inclusion of persons with administrative ex erience referred to in the answer to Q. 6 (*a*), such as *ex*-Judges, *ex*-Collectors and officers of similar standing.

Q. 6 (c).—The Committee is of opinion that election to the lower chamber of the federal legislature should continue to be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would cast their vote directly for the candidate of their choice. With the increased number of seats proposed for Madras it is considered that at any rate for the non-Muhammadan seats, constituencies of one or at the most two districts may be formed. Muhammadans and Indian Christians with their separate electorates, if maintained, would be no worse off than they are at present and so far as the Committee can ascertain general opinion is in favour of direct choice of the candidate with all its attendant difficulties rather than indirect election.

7. Representation of Women, Labour and Depressed Classes.

Q. 7.—As regards the upper chamber, the Committee is of opinion that the only community whose representation should be safeguarded is the Muslims, and the only interest requiring special provision for its representation is that of women. As for the lower chamber, the Committee is of opinion that representation should be secured to women, labour, depressed classes, Indian commerce, landholders and also to Muslims, Europeans and Indian Christians.

IV

Supplementary memorandum by the Madras Provincial Franchise Committee.

LETTER FROM THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 283-1, DATED FORT ST. GEORGE, THE 22ND FEBRUARY 1932.

In addition to the subjects specifically referred to in the Franchise Committee's questionnaire the Provincial Franchise Committee has also discussed—

(1) whether there should be a Second Chamber or not in the Provincial Legislature,

(2) the qualifications for candidates for the Provincial and Federal Legislatures,

(3) the size of the Provincial Legislative Council, the Chairman of your Committee having intimated that these matters will probably be discussed with it and the Provincial Government.

2. In regard to the Second Chamber the majority of the Committee were against a Second Chamber for the Provincial Legislature.

3. In regard to qualifications for candidates the recommendations of the Committee are as follows :—

General electorate, Planting, South Indian Chamber of Commerce, Nattukottai Nagarathars' Association—No change in present rules.

For Universities seat, candidates to be on the roll of any electorate, general or special.

For landholders' constituencies, candidates to be registered in the electoral roll of *any* landholders' constituency within the Province.

For Labour constituencies, candidates to be registered on the roll of *any* electorate within the Province.

For women's seats, any women registered on *any* electorate within the Province may be a candidate.

For European Trade and Commerce, no change except that the present separate rolls of the Madras Chamber of Commerce and Madras Trades' Association should be combined into one electoral roll and the candidates shall be registered as an elector on that roll.

Federal Lower Chamber.—No change is recommended in the present rules for the Legislative Assembly elections except that a candidate should be on the electoral roll of any general constituency within the province of the Federal Lower Chamber.

Federal Upper Chamber.—No change in the present rules for the Council of State except that there should be no sex disqualification. The candidate to be on the electoral roll of any constituency of the Upper Chamber within the province if more than one constituency is formed.

4. *Disqualifications of candidates.*—The Committee recommends that in place of the present disqualification on account of conviction for offence in the Electoral Rules, the wording of section 55 (1) of the Madras Local Boards Act should be substituted. The section runs as follows :—

"A person who has been sentenced by a criminal court to transportation or to imprisonment for a period of more than six months for any offence other than an offence of a political character or an offence not involving moral delinquency (such sentence not having been reversed or the offence pardoned) shall be disqualified for election while undergoing sentence and for five years from the date of the expiration of the sentence."

5. The Committee's proposal for the size of the Provincial Legislative Council is 220 members, with a composition as follows :—

General.	
Non-Muhammadans	124
Muslims	21
Indian Christians	11
Depressed classes	25
Europeans	3
Anglo-Indians	2
Special interest.	
Women	10
Landholders	12
Labour	3
Universities	1
European Trade and Commerce	3
Indian Trade and Commerce	*3
Planting	2

* South Indian Chamber of Commerce 2
Nattukottai Nagarathars' Association 1

V

Note on Depressed Class representation by Rao Bahadur N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Mr. K. P. Raman Menon of the Madras Provincial Franchise Committee.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM RAO BAHADUR N. GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR AND MR. K. P. RAMAN MENON, DATED THE 19TH FEBRUARY, 1932, TO THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, FRANCHISE DEPARTMENT.

Section 4 of the questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee asks for specific proposals to secure the representation of the depressed classes in the legislature. The Madras Franchise Committee of which we are members has, by a majority, decided in favour of separate electorates for these classes. We do not accept this decision which, we feel strongly, is not in the lasting interests either of the depressed classes or of the Hindu community as a whole. The political segregation of the depressed classes involved in separate electorates will create a division in the ranks of Hindus and is certainly not calculated to help in the early disappearance of the age-long social segregation and economic dependence from which the community has already begun to emerge. Therefore, while we believe that these classes need special and adequate protection as regards representation in the legislatures, we are of the opinion that that protection should take the form of reservation of seats in joint electorates.

The committee of which we are members, having first taken a decision by a majority in favour of separate electorates could not—in consequence of a ruling of the Chair against re-opening the original decision—hear in detail or discuss the scheme suggested for the purpose of getting over the only really serious objection urged against reservation of seats in joint electorates. The scheme, however, is in our opinion deserving of consideration and we attach a copy of a note* briefly outlining it. It is in principle applicable to the representation of other minority communities as well but the questionnaire does not specifically raise the method of representation of these. We have therefore contented ourselves in this letter with the representation of the depressed classes.

As the Madras Franchise Committee has ruled—against notes by individual members being appended to its answers to the questionnaire, we have decided to send this communication independently and request that the Madras Government may be pleased to take it into their own consideration and, if they see no objection, to place it before the Indian Franchise Committee.

A NOTE ON THE METHOD OF DEPRESSED CLASS REPRESENTATION.

It is common ground—

(*a*) that protection should be given to important minority communities as regards representation in the legislature,

**Vide* below.

(*b*) that among the communities which deserve such protection should be included in the depressed classes, and

(*c*) that the method of giving such protection should be the earmarking of a definite number of seats in the legislature for which only persons belonging to the depressed classes shall be treated as eligible.

2. It is also agreed generally that the members of the depressed classes should no longer be chosen by the method of nomination and that they should come in—through some form of election.

3. The real point of dispute is as regards the method of election. The opposed views are :—

I. Separate electorates.

II. Joint electorates with reservation of seats.

4. The objections to I are both obvious and strong. They are :—

(1) the depressed class representatives elected by separate electorates to the Legislative Council will be dominated by a communal outlook. It would be difficult for them to fit in with parties on political lines which it is the object of the coming changes to develop ;

(2) in this province, we have discarded separate electorates for the depressed classes in local authorities. It would be anomalous therefore to have joint electorates with reservation for local self-government and communal electorates for the province and the centre ;

(3) if a minority community all over the province has to be segregated into a small number of electorates of its own, the territorial area of each such constituency will be unduly large, in some cases difficult to manage ;

(4) the non-communal elector will have no voice in the election to the communal seats ; and

(5) what perhaps is more important from the standpoint of the community protected, every voter belonging to the segregated community will be disabled from exercising any influence on the election to any one of the non-communal seats in the legislature. It has to be remembered that the non-communal seats will be in a majority. The Committee has no doubt proposed that, in addition to separate electorates for the depressed classes, they should continue on the non-communal electorate also and participate in the elections to the non-communal seats. But, unless the number of seats allotted to separate communal electorates is very small, this giving of a double vote to the depressed class elector will be difficult to justify, especially in view of the fact that other communal electors, like the Muhammadan and the Indian Christian, will not get the same privilege.

The above reasons are conclusive against the acceptance of separate electorates if the object is that the province should progress towards real national unity.

5. The alternative left is joint electorates with reservation of seats.

6. The only really serious objection to this alternative is that the candidate of the community protected who is elected by a joint electorate may not represent any substantial volume of opinion in the community which he is supposed to belong to; in other words, that the men elected will be those who are acceptable to the caste majority but who are not thereby necessarily acceptable to the community to which by birth they belong. By suitable devices, this objection is, however, capable of being eliminated altogether.

7. Reservation in joint electorates may be—

(*a*) reservation of specific single-member constituencies for the community, or

(*b*) reservation of seats for the community in multiple member constituencies.

(*c*) itself may provide for two alternative systems, *viz.*,

(*i*) system where there is no restraint placed on the voter's choice among all candidates, and

(*ii*) system where a voter is prevented from voting for more non-communal candidates than there are non-communal seats.

8. (*b*) (*i*) is the system now in vogue as regards non-Brahmins in the Legislative Council constituencies, and as regards women and all minority communities including the depressed classes in local authorities. But there is the danger in this case of the majority of electors—who will be non-communal—ignoring at the time of poll the communal candidates altogether.

9. (*b*) (*ii*), though a less advanced stage in the progress towards national unity than (*b*) (*i*), deserves to be preferred at present as it will have the effect of educating the non-communal elector to exercise his vote in favour of one or other of the communal candidates. As regards (*b*) (*ii*), the possible criticism from the narrow communal point of view is that communal candidates will seek alliances with non-communal ones and the communal candidate elected might be one who is a hanger-on of the most powerful non-communal candidate. The fear underlying this criticism will be removed under the scheme described in paragraph 11 below.

10. Though a less advanced stage in the direction of national unity than even (*b*) (*ii*), (*a*) will, in view of the very large number of illiterate

voters, be perhaps the most suitable for the depressed classes as a first step. It will have the following advantages :—

(1) compactness of constituency;

(2) candidature will be confined to the community. There will be no complications of having to stand along with candidates of other communities for the same constituency;

(3) elimination of complicated methods of election like plural voting, etc.; and

(4) simplicity in every respect.

The specific constituency for the depressed classes might be selected, if necessary, by rotation.

11. Whichever of the system (*a*), (*b*), (*i*) or (*b*) (*ii*) is adopted, arrangements have to be made for ensuring that the successful candidate is one who, in addition to being acceptable to the electorate in general, is also one in whom the community has confidence. These arrangements may take one of the two following forms.

(A) Communal candidates should be required to secure a prescribed quota of *the* communal votes. Among such candidates, the one who has secured the largest number of total votes should be declared elected. The quota of communal votes should be obtained by dividing the total number of communal votes polled by the number of communal candidates who have been validly nominated, have not withdrawn and have secured votes not less than 1/8th or such other proportion as may be fixed for avoiding forfeiture of deposits.

(B) Communal candidates should secure a prescribed quota of the total number of *all* votes. Among such candidates, the one who has secured the largest number of communal votes should be declared elected. The quota in this case should be obtained

(1) in system (*b*) (*i*) or alternative (*a*)—by dividing the total number of all votes polled by the number of all candidates who have been validly nominated, have not withdrawn and have secured votes not less than the proportion fixed for avoiding forfeiture of deposits—multiplied by the number of seats;

(2) in system (*b*) (*ii*)—by dividing the total number of *all* votes polled for the communal candidates by the number of such candidates who have secured not less than the proportion fixed for avoiding forfeiture of deposits.

12. (A) or (B) can thus with equal ease be applied to either multiple or single-member constituencies. In the latter case, the quota will be easier to ascertain. (A) will perhaps be the better system.

13. It may also be laid down that if no candidate whether under (A) or (B) obtains the prescribed quota, the person to be declared

elected shall be the one who has secured the largest number of the communal votes.

14. It will not be difficult administratively to work this system. The community of each voter could easily be entered on the roll and the voting paper issued to the voter belonging to the particular community for which a seat is reserved may be given a distinctive colour or mark.

15. A system on these lines could be worked also for all the minority communities other than the depressed classes as well as for women.

VI

Supplementary Questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Government of Madras and the Madras Provincial Franchise Committee, dated 6th March 1932.

1. Please state your final views as to the qualifications for the franchise, and how you would meet the objections which have been raised against some of them on the ground that they would lead to an extension of the electorate by party manipulation, and not merely by the spread of education, etc., as you contemplated. Please give a complete list of the local taxes or licenses which would qualify for the franchise in the system you propose.

2. (A) What is the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the Province, using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible—

(*i*) if the election is spread over—

(*a*) one day;

(*b*) two days;

(*ii*) taking 750 as the number of voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day—

(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women;

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women.

(B) What percentage would this number represent of (*a*) the total, and (*b*) the adult population?

(C) Do you consider that a longer polling period than that suggested above would be practicable or desirable?

In answering the above, please state—

(*a*) whether you propose to use the coloured boxes system, and also whether your existing system can be simplified in the light of the evidence from Ceylon;

(*b*) whether you consider it feasible and advisable for polling clerks in twos to issue ballot papers to voters under the general supervision of the presiding officer, or whether the ballot papers should be issued by the presiding officer himself;

(*c*) whether on the average you consider that 1,000 voters can be polled per day by each polling unit;

(*d*) what polling hours you propose?

Polling Machinery.

3. What is the maximum personnel which could be used as presiding or polling officers? The Committee would be glad to have this information under the following heads:—

(*i*) Total number of Government officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial;

(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government officers;

(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards officers (superior and ministerial);

(*iv*) Total number of members of local bodies (Municipal Commissioners, Members of District and Local Boards), Presidents and Members of Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates, and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed. To what extent could these figures be supplemented by the use of non-officials (school-masters, etc.). Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose?

(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for—

(*a*) separate polling booths for women, and for women presiding officers and clerks;

(*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters?

4. What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise the maximum number of voters you consider administratively possible in Question 2 above? What proportion of women would be enfranchised under these qualifications?

5. Do you recommend such a maximum extension or such franchise qualifications; and if not, why not?

6. Are you still of opinion that (*a*) the universal indirect system, or (*b*) a combination of direct voting and a group system for the unenfranchised section of the population, is undesirable in your Province?

7. Please give an analysis of the elements of the population which will not be enfranchised under your final proposals. In the event of the Mukhi system being adopted for the unenfranchised elements would you want to modify your proposals for direct electorate?

8. Do you propose that the same electoral system should be applied to town and country. Have you considered the possibility of universal direct franchise in the towns?

9. Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or do you consider that the towns should have some weightage; and if so, to what extent. Would you advise the grouping of municipalities and urban areas into constituencies apart from the rural areas, as has been suggested in another Province?

Women's Suffrage.

10. What are your final views as to the method by which a small number of women are to be specially elected to the Council?

11. The suggestion was made in the discussions which have taken place that women managing the property of minors should be given the vote. What are your views on this point?

Depressed Classes.

12. The Committee note from paragraph 4 of the Provincial Committee's report that it is anticipated that the proposed widening of the franchise will bring on to the rolls about 300,000 voters of the depressed classes. They understand that this is an approximate estimate. They realise the administrative difficulties involved, but would be glad of as close an estimate as practicable of the actual number likely to be enfranchised.

Labour.

13. In the light of the discussions which have taken place, do you prefer that the special representatives of Labour in the Council should be returned—

(*a*) by the trade unions ;

(*b*) by special constituencies of industrial voters ?

If you decide in favour of the trade unions, how would you propose that they should return the Labour representatives ?

A proposal has been made in one province that labour should be represented by members elected by an electoral college which shall be formed by registered trade unions composed of manual workers throughout the province " electing delegates in the proportion of one per every 20 members of each trade union. A candidate must be an honorary or ordinary member of not less than one year's standing of a registered trade union which is itself of not less than one year's standing. Provision should be made in the electoral rules that trade unions which send delegates to the electoral college should require adequate standards of paying membership. The Registrar of Trade Unions should also be given adequate powers of scrutiny for the purpose ". What would be your views on this system in the case of Madras ?

If you decide in favour of industrial constituencies as opposed to representation through trade unions, at what rate of wage would you fix the qualification for the vote—

(*a*) for men ;

(*b*) for women ?

Do you think that any qualifying period, such as one year's continuous employment, is necessary for the acquisition of the right to vote in a labour constituency ?

14. Do you think that wages should be made an additional qualification for the vote in general constituencies ; and if so, how ?

15. Could you give the Committee a report on the average wage of industrial workers—

(*a*) in Madras City;

(*b*) in the Presidency as a whole ; separate figures being given if possible for men and women ?

Second Chamber.

16. Are you in favour of a Second Chamber in the Provincial Legislature. If so, what should be its numbers, and on what basis should it be elected ?

17. Would you modify your proposals about the franchise, or the representation of special interests, if there were a Second Chamber. If so, in what respects ?

Federal Government.

18. What is your final view as between electing to the Senate by direct election, or by the Provincial Legislatures voting through the single transferable vote ?

19. What are your final views as to the extent to which the franchise for the Federal Assembly should be enlarged ?

20. Do you still propose that Indian Commerce should be represented in the Federal Assembly, but not European Commerce ; and if so, what is your reason for making the distinction ?

21. What form of constituency do you propose for electing members representing special interests to the Federal Legislature, *e.g.*, women, depressed classes, commerce, etc.

22. Generally, state any other respects in which you would modify your original proposals, which have not been covered by the above questions.

23. Please send copy of regulations for election of members representing Chamber of Commerce.

VII

Memorandum by the Government of Madras in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee. *

LETTER FROM THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, PUBLIC (FRANCHISE) DEPARTMENT, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 449-P., DATED FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS, THE 20TH MARCH 1932.

I am directed to forward to you a copy of the Madras Provincial Committee's replies† to the further questionnaire* issued by the Indian Franchise Committee together with the views of the Government of Madras. It should be stated that this questionnaire and the recommendations of the Provincial Committee have as before been considered by His Excellency the Governor and his Executive Council and Ministers sitting together and the views expressed are those of the Government as a whole.

Q. 1.—The Government, after considering the points raised in discussion with the Franchise Committee and the reply of the Provincial Committee to this question, have come to the conclusion that some modification of their original proposals is desirable and that possibly too much stress can be laid on the administrative convenience of adopting the ready-made rolls of the municipalities and local boards. On further consideration the majority of the Government also feel that, as a check on manipulation in regard to municipal and local board taxation, payment of the tax rather than mere assessment should create the franchise qualification. The original proposals though enfranchising persons from all classes and layers of the population probably left out a considerable number of partially educated people living in rural areas who were not subject to house tax or profession tax because they did not reside in a panchayat village which levied such taxes or because their income was below Rs. 25 a month and had no direct connexion with the land. They also left out a number of people who cultivate land from year to year on oral agreements on the crop-sharing system which is common in parts of this Presidency, many of them quite substantial cultivators. Except in Madras City they left out householders living as sole tenants in rented houses who were not subject to profession tax. In devising the present proposals an attempt has been made to include as far as possible all people with a substantial interest in the land and all householders of any substance in the urban areas, while the reduction of the independent literacy qualification for men to the same as for women, that is ability to read and write some language, besides bringing in all persons not otherwise qualified who may be presumed to be fit to exercise the vote, provides a method of steady expansion of the electorate amongst all classes of the people. The following in detail are the qualifications for the franchise which the Government now recommend for general electorates :—

(1) Assessment to income-tax ; or

*Printed on page 38. †Printed on page 54.

(2) Payment of tax under the Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation Act for the whole official year immediately before the electoral roll is prepared or revised ; or

(3) Being a registered landholder, inamdar, ryotwari pattadar, or occupancy ryot under the Madras Estates Land Act ; or

(4) Assessment to ground-rent payable to Government ; or

(5) Payment of property tax for the two half-years immediately prior to the preparation or revision of the roll under the Madras City Act or the Madras District Municipalities Act or the Madras Local Boards Act ; or

(6) Payment of profession tax for the two half-years immediately prior to the preparation or revision of the roll under the Madras City Act or the Madras District Municipalities Act or the Madras Local Boards Act ; or

(7) Being during the whole of the previous fasli a kanamdar or kuzhikanamdar or the holder of a kudiyiruppu or a verum-pattadar having fixity of tenure, each of these terms bearing the meaning defined in the Malabar Tenancy Act, 1929 ; or

(8) Being for the whole of the fasli immediately preceding the preparation or revision of the electoral roll a mortgagee with possession, lessee or tenant of immoveable property (other than a house property) of an annual value of Rs. 100 in Madras City or a municipality and Rs. 50 elsewhere in the Presidency ; or

(9) Being a guardian of a minor possessing one of the above property qualifications ; or

(10) Occupying during the whole of the previous year as sole tenant house property on which property tax or house tax has been duly paid for the year ; or

(11) Being a retired or pensioned officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier of His Majesty's armed forces ; or

(12) Being able to read and write in any language ; or

(13) Being a registered joint landholder, inamdar, pattadar, or occupancy ryot entitled to an additional vote on an application signed by a majority of the registered joint holders, votes being allowed to joint holders on the following scale :—

For landholders and holders of whole inam villages of Rs. 1,000 and above annual rental—one vote for every complete Rs. 500 of annual rental, and

for joint holders of minor inams, ryotwari pattas and estate pattas of Rs. 100 and over—one vote for every complete Rs. 50 of assessment, rent or kist.

The additional votes will only be given to persons included amongst the registered joint holders and the registration should have been made

not later than the fasli previous to the one in which the rolls are under preparation or revision. Persons qualified under items (1), (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6) will be entered on the preliminary rolls by the Registration Officers from the accounts of the Government and the estate holders and from the municipal registers. Those qualified under items (7) to (13) will only be entered on the list on application to the officer preparing the electoral roll. Applications under items (7), (8), (9), (12) and (13) will be made through village officers and tahsildars, when the village officers will add a certificate that they have satisfied themselves that the statements in the application are correct to the best of their knowledge and belief. With regard to applicants under item (12) it is proposed that the applicant should in the presence of the village officer sign an application which will be in a printed form showing place of education and highest standard attained, form or class in which applicant has been educated and containing a certificate to be signed by the village officers to the effect that the applicant signed in their presence without assistance and that they have satisfied themselves that the applicant can read and write the language specified. In the case of items (1), (4), (5) and (6) the assessment should have been made in and for the year, official or fasli as the case may be, immediately preceding the preparation or revision of the electoral roll. Payments under (5) and (6) need not necessarily have been made within the year but should have been made before the date fixed for the completion of the final electoral roll. This means that late payers omitted from the preliminary roll can apply to be included in the final roll.

It is believed that these qualifications will not allow much scope for manipulation. It takes time and trouble to get a transfer of patta or sub-division of patta or the addition of names to a joint patta and these transactions have to be carried out by the revenue officers in the ordinary course of their duties. The insistence on payment as opposed to mere assessment to taxes of local authorities is a further safeguard, while in regard to leases, oral or written, the comparatively high value adopted will bring in only substantial under-tenants the fact of whose tenancy will be common knowledge in the village and the village officers who have to certify to the correctness of the claim are liable to departmental discipline and even prosecution if they sign false certificates.

The taxes or payments to Government or local authorities which will qualify for the franchise in general electorates under the system now proposed are as follows :—

In rural areas—	*Madras City and municipalities—*
(1) Income-tax.	(1) Income-tax.
(2) Motor vehicles tax.	(2) Motor vehicles tax.
(3) House tax.	(3) Property tax.
(4) Profession tax.	(4) Profession or companies tax.
(5) Ground-rent.	(5) Ground-rent.
(6) Land revenue.	(6) Land revenue.

Ground-rent is levied on house-sites assigned by Government in recent years in urban areas and also in rural areas when land is acquired

by local bodies for the purpose of providing house-sites. No payment is made to Government for the occupation of house-sites in the nattam (or village sites) of villages or of long standing in urban areas ; land revenue is levied on all occupied agricultural land and also, but rarely, on house-sites which previously have been occupied agricultural land.

Q. 2.—The Government agree with the Provincial Committee* in thinking that the percentage of women voters will not affect the speed of polling in this Province. They agree to the adoption of the system of coloured boxes and the issue of ballot papers by polling clerks sitting in pairs under the general supervision of the Presiding Officer and his assistants, but consider that at least one of each pair of clerks should be in the permanent service of the Government. They consider, moreover, that it is desirable to have provision for the identification of voters in cases of dispute. In the separate constituencies for Muhammadans, Indian Christians and depressed classes, each of which may extend over more than one district, it is doubtful whether candidates will always be able to have agents at every polling station. Government prefer to have the poll completed in one day, even if it means employing non-officials as Presiding or assistant Presiding Officers. They consider that the polling hours may remain as at present, namely, from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M., with one hour's interval for rest and refreshment. Assuming 750 as the number of actual voters with whom a Presiding Officer can deal in a day, the number of voters that can be polled in one day without recourse to non-official assistance is 3,750,000 and in two days 7,500,000. They are inclined, however, to think that in polling stations where the number of voters is likely to be more than 750, the Presiding Officer, provided he has an adequate number of polling clerks, could control the voting of 1,000 persons and would put the number of voters that can be polled in one day in this Province using the new system with possibly some recourse to non-officials as assistant Presiding Officers under gazetted officers of Government as Presiding Officers at something like five millions. So far in this Province gazetted officers, of whom there are 2,000, have not been much used for polling duties. The tendency has been to have a number of small polling areas and small polling stations. With the large increase in the electorate now agreed to Government realise that it may be necessary in thickly populated areas to concentrate the polling in order to make the most effective use of the staff available. If 750 voters per day is the capacity of the Presiding or assistant Presiding Officer and a 75 per cent. poll of the electorate is assumed, the total electorate on a one-day poll using only officials will be (*a*) 5,000,000 and for a two-day poll, (*b*) 10,000,000. (*a*) is 10·7 per cent. of the total and 21·4 of the adult population, (*b*) is 21·4 of the total population and 42·9 of the adult population. Government, however, have already stated that they can probably poll about 5 millions in a day, representing approximately an electorate of 6,700,000 which is 14·3 per cent. of the total population and 28·7 of the total adult population. Government are strongly against a longer polling period than two days both on administrative and public grounds and would prefer to use every means possible to ensure the poll being carried out in one day.

*Page 56.

The Government agree with the Provincial Committee that members of local boards and municipalities and honorary magistrates should not be regarded as officials for polling duties, but consider that there is probably a considerable body of non-officials who will take no active part in party politics and could be drawn on to work as assistant Presiding Officers under senior Presiding Officers of gazetted rank. Wives of gazetted officers of Government could also be appointed Presiding Officers in certain cases for polling stations for women only.

Q. 3.—Information as to the total number of Government officers has already been furnished to the Committee during its sittings in Madras and is repeated as Appendix I* to this letter. The total number of Government officers, gazetted and non-gazetted, considered suitable for appointment as Presiding or assistant Presiding Officers is 6,597. Of these 1,361 are stationed in Madras and will not be normally available for duty except in Madras City and its neighbourhood.

(1) Of the officers in the districts 4,000 is the maximum which it is considered feasible to employ without dislocation of the work of Government and another 1,000 may be found from pensioned Government officers, local board and municipal officials and the officers stationed in Madras.

(2) The total number of pensioned Government officers on pension over Rs. 35 is 3,891, of whom 1,036 are in Madras.

(3) The establishment lent for service under the Court of Wards is included in (1).

(4) The total number of members of local bodies and honorary magistrates is as follows :—

Municipalities	1,938
District boards	1,024
Taluk boards	2,539
Honorary magistrates	1,565

It is not considered desirable to use village schoolmasters, but lecturers and masters in secondary schools and colleges will be amongst those drawn upon by the Collector for his list of non-officials to be employed.

(5) Complete figures for officials employed under district boards and municipalities have not yet been received. Information so far gathered is as follows :—

——	Those drawing Rs. 35 and over. (1)	Number in (1) drawing Rs. 50 and over. (2)	Number in (1) drawing Rs. 100 and over. (3)
District boards (20 out of 25) ..	3,480	1,448	547
Madras City—			
Men	1,712	820	221
Women	554	151	17
Municipalities (54 out of 81) ..	2,309	953	320

**Vide* page 52.

Separate compartments and booths can be provided for female voters where necessary. Government agree with the Provincial Committee that as a general rule such provision is not necessary in rural tracts and it is only for Muslim women and possibly for urban areas, where the poll of women voters may be fairly heavy, that any separate arrangements are really necessary.

Qs. 4 and 5.—The franchise qualifications stated in the reply to question 1 will enfranchise the maximum number of electors which the Government consider it administratively possible to poll satisfactorily. It is not possible to state with any exactitude what proportion of women will be enfranchised under these qualifications, but the Government believe that the modifications of their previous proposals now recommended will not reduce the number of women previously estimated to be enfranchised, and if anything may increase it owing to the provision for their acquiring a vote as guardians of minors and as sole tenants of houses on which property tax has been paid. The number will be in the neighbourhood of 900,000 or 8·88 of the adult female population. With the lowering of the literacy qualification for men the proportion of women voters to the total electorate will be somewhat reduced but still will be substantially higher than it is at present.

Q. 6.—The Government are in entire agreement with the Provincial Committee in its opinion that either a universal indirect system of adult suffrage or a combination of direct voting and a group system is undesirable in this Province.

Q. 7.—The Government are strongly against any proposal to introduce the group system of election and on the possibility of its being imposed on them are unable to state in what way they would have to modify their proposals for the direct electorate without knowing details as regards number of primaries, method of election of secondaries, etc., that would be proposed. It is anticipated that this Government's final proposals for the franchise will give the right to vote to at least 6½ million people. The estimate is worked out as follows :—

(1) Income-tax	35,000
(2) Motor-tax	19,000
(3) Ryots	4,916,000
(4) Ground-rent	—
(5) and (6) Urban property and profession tax	326,000
(7) Special tenures	300,000
(8) Leases, etc.	—
(9) Guardians	—
(10) Tenants of houses .. .. .. (Madras City only available.)	2,000
(11) Military	—
(12) Literacy—	
Men	1,616,000
Women	250,000
(13) Joint pattadars, etc.	30,000
Total ..	6,494,000

The previous figures given for municipal qualifications have been reduced on account of probable non-payment and the removal of vehicle and animal taxes from the list of qualifying taxes. Income-tax and motor-tax payees are probably mostly covered by other qualifications. About 900,000 of the 6,500,000 voters will be women. The number of male voters will therefore be 5,600,000. The number of adult males is 11,932,000 and the number of males without votes will therefore be 6,332,000. Of these, however, a considerable number will be members of families or households, the head of which has a vote, and Government are inclined to think that the statement made by the Provincial Committee in its answer to question 7 that in this Province Muhammadans and Indian Christians very largely follow the Hindu custom, and enjoy the family property in common and have landed property registered in the name of one only, is in the main correct. We may therefore assume that out of the 6,332,000 voteless males 5,600,000 $\times \frac{2}{3} \times \frac{1}{2}$ or 4,200,000 will have representation through the heads of the families. This leaves a balance of 2,132,000 illiterates of castes and communities entirely unrepresented and of these about 1·14 million will be Adi-Dravidas (depressed classes) to whom, if the system of separate electorates proposed by Government and the Provincial Committee is accepted, fairly adequate representation as a community will be secured. The remaining million *illiterates* will be—

(*a*) *In Madras City.*—Illiterates who neither own nor occupy as sole tenants houses of Rs. 36 and more annual value, nor have incomes of Rs. 100 a month and are not hotel-keepers, eating-house-keepers or shop-keepers paying the special tax on such nor possess any of the other of the property qualifications. It should be stated here that under the Madras City Act the Corporation can tax houses of Rs. 18 annual value and above, but does not at present impose property tax on houses below Rs. 36 annual value.

(*b*) *In district municipalities.*—Illiterates who neither own nor occupy as sole tenants houses of Rs. 12 and more annual value, nor have incomes of Rs. 25 a month nor possess any other of the property qualifications.

(*c*) *In rural areas.*—(1) Illiterate persons who live in panchayat villages in which house tax or profession tax is levied, but pay neither of these taxes nor any tax to Government and are landless or are small cultivators on the crop-sharing system or on leases of less than Rs. 50 annual value.

(2) Illiterate persons who live in other villages but pay no tax to Government or are either landless or are small cultivators on the crop-sharing system or on leases of less than Rs. 50 annual value.

It is not possible to particularize further, and in general it may be said that the residue who are not members of the depressed classes will be illiterate landless labourers and illiterate petty cultivators of others' land and beggars.

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APPENDIX I.

Suggestion for enfranchisement of wives of council voters.

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, MADRAS, DATED THE 15TH APRIL 1932.

E-683. Suggestion has been made that in order to increase number of women on electoral roll wives of existing Council voters should in all provinces be enfranchised for future provincial legislature. Please wire whether Government would agree to this course in case of Madras in event of its commending itself to Franchise Committee. Allowing for overlapping maximum addition to women's electorate proposed by Madras Government will apparently be less than one million.

TELEGRAM FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, MADRAS, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, DATED THE 26TH APRIL 1932.

4/0-1. Your telegram 683 of 15th April. Suggesting enfranchisement of wives of existing Council voters. Madras Government consider proposal both undesirable and unnecessary and are opposed to its adoption in this Presidency and would be prepared to acquiesce only if uniformity of franchise qualifications is considered vitally essential for all Provinces and the measure is found necessary in other provinces. Presumably there would be the usual age limitation and some restriction on the number of wives entitled to vote on account of husband.

APPENDIX II.

Position of Village Menials.

TELEGRAM FROM THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, DATED THE 21ST APRIL 1932.

E-715-Mad. Please wire urgently whether village menials recognised by Government either as public servants or under Government control all belong to the depressed classes. Please wire also approximate numbers of such menials.

TELEGRAM FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, REVENUE DEPARTMENT, TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, SIMLA, DATED THE 22ND APRIL 1932.

All village menials are under Government control. *Talayaries* number about thirty-two thousand and *vetties* and *nirgantis* about thirty-one thousand most latter and some former belong to Depressed Classes.

Replies
of the
Government of Bombay
and the
Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee
to the
Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.

would seriously restrict the franchise among labourers and therefore would prefer the original proposals of the Committee.

Q. 14.—The Committee already fully considered whether wages could be made a property qualification for the vote in general constituencies, and came to the conclusion that the criterion or proof must be taxation. There is nothing to prevent the legislature so amending the Acts as to reduce the half-yearly taxable income below the present minimum of Rs. 150. The Committee see no reason to revise their previous conclusion.

Q. 15.—The answer to this question is left to Government.

Q. 16.—The Committee previously expressed its opinion against a Second Chamber*. This was a majority decision and by a majority decision opinion is now in favour of a Second Chamber. It seems but right to state that certain members who previously voted against a Second Chamber were absent from the meeting at which the reply to be given to this question was discussed. The Committee, it may be said, are more or less evenly divided on the question. If there is to be a Second Chamber it was agreed that the strength should be about one-fourth of that of the Lower House. A majority are in favour of a proportion of nominated members, but there was no agreement as to the proportion. Some members are in favour of one-eighth, others of one-fourth, and one only—an official member—in favour of two-fifths. For the elected portion it was agreed that the electorate should correspond to that proposed for the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature. A substantial majority of the Committee are against communal representation and representation of special interests in the Provincial Second Chamber.

Q. 17.—A large majority of the Committee are against any modification of their franchise proposals or the proposals for representation of special interests in the Lower House, merely because of the existence of a Second Chamber.

Q. 18.—The Committee adheres to its original views on this matter.

Q. 19.—The Committee remains of the same opinion as before and believes that a reduction of the franchise to Rs. 10 for urban qualifications and Rs. 25 for rural land qualifications will approximately double the electorate.

Q. 20.—On reconsideration the Committee is of opinion that there is no need to secure special representation for Commerce in the Federal Lower House, but if representation is secured for Indian Commerce, then it should also be secured for European Commerce.

Q. 21.—With regard to seats for communities in the Federal Legislature, without knowing the number of seats allotted the Committee find it difficult to frame more detailed proposals than that election to them should be from territorial constituencies. Some members, however consider that, in the case of depressed classes, such constituencies, where the number of voters is very large, would be difficult to work satisfactorily. For landholders, a territorial constituency with an electorate of those on

* Page 31.

the electoral rolls for the landholders constituencies of the Madras Legislative Council with postal voting. It should be mentioned here that the Committee decided that the landholders franchise qualification should be reduced to Rs. 1,000. For labour the same constituency for the Assembly as is proposed in the Committee's revised reply for the Legislative Council. For women, the members of the Legislative Council should form the constituency though the candidate herself need not be a member of that body. If Indian Commerce is to be represented in the Federal Lower Chamber the existing electorate for the Assembly should remain. If European Commerce is to be represented, the constituency should be the proposed electoral roll for European Trade and Commerce for the Legislative Council.

Q. 22.—(*a*) This Committee in framing its proposals assumed single-member constituencies, but did not expressly state this in its original memorandum. As there was a discussion about the relative advantages and disadvantages of the multiple-member and the single-member constituencies the Committee takes this opportunity of stating that it decidedly prefers single-member constituencies and is against multiple-member constituencies.

(*b*) Some of the members of the Committee among whom is included the depressed class member who was responsible for moving for reconsideration of the original recommendation, think that it is undesirable to give the depressed classes a vote in the general electorate in addition to their separate electorates. The grounds given are that it may be made an excuse for giving them less than they consider is their due representation in the Legislatures through separate electorates and also that the general electorate candidates may interfere with the free choice of the depressed class communal candidates.

Q. 23.—This is for Government.

FORT ST. GEORGE, S. MUTHIAH,

The 15th March 1932. *Chairman.*

estate ryots on written leases are enfranchised there will be an increase of 1½ million voters, mostly males.

The figures will then be—

Total adult males	.. 11,932,000
Total male electors	.. 5,932,000
Total males without the vote	.. 6,000,000

Probable number of Hindu joint family members who will have representation through the head of the family.

$5,932,000 \times \frac{4}{6}\frac{1}{6} \times \frac{3}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = 3,748,000.$

6,000,000 voteless males.

3,748,000 joint family members.

2,252,000 completely unrepresented adult males.

Of these about 1,161,750 will be Adi-Dravidas. It is anticipated that the lowering of the educational qualification will very substantially increase the number of Muhammadan electors. Most Christians, it is believed, will be literate. In this Province Muhammadans and Indian Christians very largely continue as members of the family enjoying the family property in common and having landed property registered in the name of one only. The figures of 3,748,000 for joint family members may therefore have to be increased to very nearly 4,449,000 which would leave 1,551,000 unrepresented adult males of whom 1,161,750 will be Adi-Dravidas and a balance of 389,250 illiterates, all other castes and communities, comprised in the following categories :—

In municipalities—

(*a*) those who own houses of less than Rs. 12 annual value and whose income is less than Rs. 300 a year, and pay no vehicle or animal tax,

(*b*) similar persons living in rented houses.

In rural areas—

(*a*) Cultivators who cultivate the land of others on oral leases or agreements and have no land in their own names and pay no panchayat tax.

(*b*) Landless persons and labourers in non-panchayat villages, and in panchayat villages which do not levy house tax or profession tax.

(*c*) All landless persons in panchayat villages which do levy house tax and profession tax but whose houses are less than Rs. 240 capital value, or whose incomes are below Rs. 300 a year.

Q. 8.—The Committee considers that the same electoral system should be applied to town and country. It has considered the possibility of direct adult suffrage in the towns and sees no reason why it should be adopted in urban areas when not adopted in the country. Such a system

would give undue weightage to the town populations in the separate communal electorates and also in the general non-Muhammadan electorates if urban and rural areas are included in the same constituency.

Q. 9.—A substantial majority of the Committee are against any weightage to the urban areas and consider they should have representation proportionate to their population. The Committee is unanimous in agreeing that municipalities (not necessarily all) which are the urban areas for this Province may be grouped into separate constituencies for non-Muhammadan seats, due regard being had to the urban character of their population, number of voters and district conditions.

Q. 10.—The great majority of the Committee are in favour of the method originally suggested by it, and prefer it to that suggested by the Madras Government. Candidature to the women's constituencies should be open to women on any electoral roll in the Province.

Q. 11.—The Committee agree that women who are the guardians of minors possessing a property qualification may be enrolled as electors on application.

Q. 12.—The answer to this question is left to Government. The Committee's proposal to reduce the literacy qualification for men may bring a few more on the rolls and with the spread of elementary education among the depressed classes provides the easiest method for their proportional voting strength rising to that of other communities. It is understood that further information gathered makes the probable number of Adi-Dravida electors about $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs on the Committee's original franchise proposals.

Q. 13.—The Committee in its preliminary discussions decided in favour of Trade Unions being the electorate for special interest labour seats, but found the objections involved so great that it eventually adopted the proposal for special constituencies of factory workers as a means of giving labour as a special interest a voice in the legislature. It fully recognizes that if employers' organizations are given special representation, labour organizations can claim the same. Trade Unions, however, in this Province are not well organized and there are also a number of unions organized for people who can hardly be termed industrial workers. The majority of the Committee on further consideration recommends that the special labour constituencies should be formed from all in the selected areas who are usually employed as factory workers, mechanical transport workers and dockyard or port workers, and who are not employed on clerical duties or the like, and who have been members of a permanent registered union for a period of one year and have paid their union subscription. Recognizing that it may be difficult for employed workers to get away for sessions of the Council without losing their employment the Committee adheres to its former opinion that persons on any electoral roll for the Legislative Council shall be eligible as candidates for these labour constituencies. The Committee realize that at first these constituencies may have a comparatively small number of electors. On these proposals the rate of wage of the elector does not matter. Some members of the Committee consider that this proposal would lead to manipulation and

difficulty about polling clerks. To supplement these there is an indeterminable number of non-officials if required. The Committee does not consider that the proportion of women voters will affect the speed of polling in this Province, and on the basis of 750 voters per presiding or assistant presiding officer, finds that for one day's poll the maximum poll administratively possible without using non-officials is 3,750,000, and with a two days' poll 7,500,000. If the opinion referred to above, that the capacity of a presiding officer is more than 1,000 electors is correct, these figures can be substantially raised. Allowing for a 75 per cent. poll which at any rate for the first two elections is possibly a high estimate, the total electorate under each possibility is (*a*) 5,000,000 and (*b*) 10,000,000. (*a*) is 10·7 per cent. of the total and 21·4 of the adult population. (*b*) is 21·4 per cent. of the total population and 42·9 of the adult population. (*a*) is somewhat less than the electorate already proposed by the Committee and if polling is all to be on one day it may be necessary to employ non officials as presiding officers. Polling on more than two days is practicable but undesirable on administrative grounds as well as on the general ground that it is desirable that an election should be finished expeditiously in order that the excitement inevitably engendered by an election should be ended as soon as possible. The Committee prefers a one day poll, but if the electorate should be further extended it is almost certain a two days' poll will be required. The polling in any constituency ought preferably to be on one day, but with our system of separate electorates for certain communities, once the poll extends beyond one day, the polling in such constituencies will necessarily extend over more than one day. The Committee also does not like the idea of portions of a district being polled on different days, and it is doubtful whether it would be administratively convenient to transfer polling staff from one district to another.

Q. 3.—The information that will be furnished by the Government in reply to this question has been communicated to the Committee. It is of opinion that members of municipalities and local boards as well as honorary magistrates, though they are public servants in respect of their duties as members of the councils or boards or as magistrates cannot be considered as necessarily suitable for employment on polling duties, merely in virtue of their positions. They are perhaps more liable than other non-officials to have political interests. The Committee prefers that the District Collector should for the polling staff in the district draw first on all available Government officers, then on gazetted officers of local fund services, then on civil pensioners and lastly on non-officials. A system somewhat similar to that employed in selecting assessors and special jurors may be adopted and the list of non-officials selected may be published each year to allow of objections. No non-official should be employed against his will. The Committee is of opinion that in this Province non-gazetted officers on Rs. 100 and over may be employed as presiding or assistant presiding officers. Where other than Government officials are employed as polling clerks one of each pair should always be a Government servant.

Separate compartments or booths can be provided for female voters where necessary. In rural tracts as a general rule special provision is not necessary. It is only for Muslim women, and possibly for urban areas where the poll of women electors may be fairly heavy, that any special arrangements are really necessary.

Qs. 4 and 5.—The majority of the Committee consider that if a system of one day's polling is retained, the maximum possible electorate is that already proposed, and admits of no extension. All agree that if a system of two days' polling is adopted an extension on the following lines is possible, and a substantial number of members consider that this extension should be made irrespective of whether one or two days' polling is required :—

(1) The literacy qualification for men may be the same as that already suggested for women. It is estimated that this at present will make possible an addition of 1·4 millions not otherwise qualified to the rolls, and will provide for a wider representation of all categories of the population and a natural and gradual extension of the electorate. Persons claiming to be so qualified will have to apply to the registration officer.

(2) Tenants by written lease or demise of estate ryots should have the franchise on the same terms as tenants by written lease of ryotwari pattadars and inamdars. The provision in the Local Boards Act was originally included to enfranchise a special class of sub-tenants on the Malabar coast, and it seems to have been an omission in drafting that provision was not made for tenants of estate ryots also. This proposal is put forward subject to the recommendation already made that a more precise definition of these lease-holders is necessary to prevent creation of bogus leases and votes. Only a very rough estimate is possible of the probable addition to the electorate on this account. Putting it at one-third of the ryotwari lessees so far on the rolls the number would be 100,000. The total electorate would then be in the neighbourhood of 7 millions and short of complete adult suffrage for males which the Committee is not in favour of and which would make the electorate more than can be administratively managed without undue prolongation of the poll, is unable to suggest any other suitable qualifications for the general franchise. In the Committee's first proposals the women voters were estimated as very close to one million. These two proposals will practically not affect them and in a 7-million electorate they would be approximately one-seventh of the electorate. The proportion of women electors to the adult female population will be in the neighbourhood of 9 per cent.

Q. 6.—The Committee unanimously remains of the opinion that (*a*) the universal indirect system of adult suffrage and (*b*) a combination of direct voting and a group system is undesirable for this Province.

Q. 7.—The number of males left without representation of any kind on the Committee's proposals was 4,537,305 as exhibited in the note prepared by Mr. Rutherford for the Franchise Committee. If the literacy qualification for men is made the same as for women and tenants of

VIII

Memorandum by the Madras Provincial Franchise Committee in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee.*

Q. 1.—The Committee decided by a majority to adhere to its original proposals with a rider that if possible the Municipal and Local Boards Acts may be so amended as to reduce the possibilities of manipulation of vehicle and animal taxes for vote-creating purposes or the election rules may be so framed as to give the registration officer power to refuse registration where it is proved there has been such manipulation. The Committee recognize that manipulation is possible but considers that the probabilities of such manipulation in large constituencies can be exaggerated and would point out that in the maximum scales laid down for municipal taxation, the lowest profession tax, *viz.*, 8 annas for half-year, is the same as the lowest animal tax while the lowest vehicle tax, namely, that on a bicycle, is Rs. 2 per half-year. The minimum income on which profession tax can be levied is Rs. 150 in the half-year. Profession tax, especially since it is merely a question of assessment and not of payment, could be equally manipulated but profession tax must be retained as a property qualification since it is our one method of bringing on to the roll the man with a small professional income or substantial wages, who is not a house-tax assessee, nor connected with land in some form of proprietorship or as a lessee. It may be mentioned that in the old Acts payment of tax was the qualification and this was altered to " assessment to " in the amending Bills to prevent tax-payers being excluded from the electoral rolls of the municipality or taluk boards because the tax was not collected from them before the end of the year, sometimes deliberately, sometimes owing to the dilatory methods of local bodies. So far as is known there has been very little, if any, manipulation except in the case of written leases for land in view of the preparation of the present local boards and municipal rolls, and the temptation to do so will be less with large constituencies of 25,000 to 40,000 voters than it was in small municipal wards of perhaps 200 voters each. The Committee desire again to emphasize the administrative convenience of adopting a ready-made roll to which only additions on application have to be made on account of the literacy qualification.

The taxes that will qualify under the Committee's proposals are:—

Municipal areas.

(1) Income-tax.

(2) Motor vehicles tax.

(3) Property tax.

(4) Profession tax.

(5) Vehicle and animal taxes.

(6) Tax on carts.

* Page 38.

Rural areas.

(1) Income tax.

(2) Motor vehicles tax.

(3) House tax in panchayat villages.

(4) Profession tax.

(5) Land-cess.

(6) Direct panchayat taxes recommended to and sanctioned by the Local Government as convenient and suitable to the village. Vehicle and animal taxes are included in these.

In both municipal and rural areas, licence fees such as those for carrying on dangerous and objectionable trades, market stalls, temporary stalls, sun-shades and the like do not confer the franchise.

In both municipal and rural areas, registration as pattadar or landholder, tenant or inamdar and holding land by written lease and military service qualify.

Q. 2.—The Committee approves of the adoption of the coloured box system with blank but numbered ballot cards or papers for all voters, but considers that there should be provision for identification in case of disputes by the village officers. Identification cards with the voter's number on the roll may be given to the voters either by candidates or their agents or, failing them, by a person specially deputed for the purpose by the presiding officer. One of the members of the Committee suggests that if possible one colour should be allotted to all candidates of a particular party. The Committee consider it both feasible and advisable to have the ballot papers issued by polling clerks sitting in two's and under the general supervision of the presiding or assistant presiding officer. One of the two should always be a Government servant. The Committee as a whole are of opinion that allowing for a 60 per cent. to 75 per cent. poll, a group of 1,000 *electors* can be polled per day by each polling unit, by polling unit being understood a presiding or assistant presiding officer and at least two polling clerks. Some of the members consider that if the Ceylon system is adopted a single presiding officer can control the polling of two units, provided he has sufficient polling clerks. On the other hand, some members point out that polling stations should not cover a radius of more than three miles and this will limit the possibilities of large polling stations in rural areas. As regards polling hours those at present in force in this Province, *viz.*, 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. with an interval of one hour for rest, seem suitable.

The Committee has had access to the figures prepared for Government of the personnel available and finds that if presiding officers may be drawn from non-gazetted ranks on Rs. 100 a month and upwards as well as from gazetted officers, the Government officers, gazetted local board officers and civil pensioners available number about 5,000. There will be no

APPENDIX I.

Name of the district.	Total number of non-Gazetted officers.			Total number of Gazetted officers.
	Number of persons drawing Rs. 35 and over. (1)	Number in (1) who are drawing Rs. 50 and over. (2)	Number in (1) who are drawing Rs. 100 and over. (3)	(4)
1. Anantapur	605	244	128	27
2. North Arcot	911	309	149	44
3. South Arcot	762	388	134	50
4. Bellary	629	241	125	41
5. Chingleput	695	271	147	69
6. Chittoor	580	217	111	31
7. Coimbatore	1,178	366	178	118
8. Cuddapah	648	249	114	27
9. Ganjam	819	311	141	49
10. East Godavari	1,107	404	195	91
11. West Godavari	615	224	100	45
12. Guntur	850	301	148	51
13. South Kanara	657	246	122	45
14. Kistna	1,019	306	118	61
15. Kurnool	611	232	139	32
16. Madura	919	288	151	64
17. Malabar	1,907	491	266	121
18. Nellore	693	210	139	38
19. Nilgiris, the	317	155	136	48
20. Ramnad	659	201	102	45
21. Salem	1,023	322	168	77
22. Tanjore	1,360	457	212	134
23. Tinnevelly	938	271	141	60
24. Trichinopoly	894	313	141	56
25. Vizagapatam	991	429	194	113
26. Madras	2,942	1,894	796	565
Total ..	24,329	9,340	4,495	2,102

APPENDIX II.

1. *Registered landholder* means a person owning an estate or part thereof and includes every person entitled to collect the rents of the whole or any portion of the estate by virtue of any transfer from the owner or his predecessor-in-title or of any order of a competent court or any provision of the law and who has been registered as such by the Collector. *Estate* means (*a*) any permanently settled estate or temporarily settled zamindari or any portion of such which is separately registered in the office of the Collector, (*b*) any unsettled palaiyam or jaghir, (*c*) any village of which the land revenue alone has been granted in *inam* (as gift) to a person not owning the *kudivaram* (occupancy right) thereof, provided that the grant has been made, confirmed or recognized by the British Government, or any separate part of such villages are generally known as *whole inam* villages, (*d*) any portion consisting of one or more villages of any of the estates above in (*a*) and (*b*) which is held on a permanent under-tenure. The essential condition in all estates is that the Government has assigned to or recognized the right of the landholder to collect land revenue or rent from the cultivating tenants. The landholder has generally to make certain payments to Government. Some of the zamindaris are very large estates and as big as many of the smaller states in other parts of India.

2. *Land Revenue* is the commuted value of the Government share of the produce of the surface cultivation on all occupied land.

3. *Inamdar.*—(1) The proprietor of a whole inam village, or (2) a person who holds a *minor inam* in a village. A *minor inam* is a small grant of land within a village which if not an inam would be subject to ordinary land revenue ; it is subject to payment of local-fund cesses calculated on its nominal land revenue assessment and generally also to a small quit-rent.

4. *Ryotwari pattadar.*—The owner of land not being inam in a Government as distinguished from a proprietary village. He has full title in his holding subject to the payment of the land revenue assessed thereon.

5. *Patta.*—A signed and sealed extract from the Government land revenue accounts showing the extent of a ryot's holding, wet and dry and the assessment or land revenue payable thereon. Every Government ryot is entitled to this document. The holder of the patta is termed the pattadar.

6. *Occupancy ryot* means a ryot in an estate having a permanent right of occupancy in his holding.

7. *Fasli* is the revenue year from 1st July to 30th June.

8. *Kanamdar, kuzhikanamdar, kudiyiruppu holder and verumpattadar* are persons in Malabar district holding various rights in land as intermediaries or tenants under the janmi who is, so far as the payment of land revenue is concerned, the pattadar. The land is nominally ordinary ryotwari land, but owing to the growth of these sub-rights by custom confirmed by legislation, the janmi is treated as a landholder and all paying land revenue of Rs. 500 or over are entitled to be registered in the electoral roll for the special landholders' constituency. The various rights and tenures are governed and defined by the Malabar Tenancy Act, 1929.

9. *Registered* means registered in the Government land revenue accounts or records.

10. *Tahsildar* is the officer in charge of a taluk. There are ordinarily seven to nine taluks in a district. He is a non-gazetted officer on pay of Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 per month.

11. *Gazetted officers* are officers whose appointments and transfers are notified in the *Fort St. George Gazette.* Their pay is from Rs. 300 per month upwards.

12. *Village officers* are the headman and karnam (accountant) of a revenue village or group of villages. Every municipality forms one or more revenue villages and has its village officers in the same way as any rural village.

Q. 15.—The average daily rates of wages of factory workers for the Presidency and for Madras City are exhibited in the following table :—

Main class of labour.	Average daily rate of wages in Madras City factories.	Average daily rate of wages paid in all factories in the Presidency.	
		1929.	1930.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Skilled labour—			
Engine driver	1 12 11	1 5 4	1 5 1
Fireman	1 0 9	0 11 4	0 11 4
Oilman	0 14 10	0 9 0	0 9 3
Fitter	1 7 3	1 4 4	1 4 5
Turner	1 8 6	1 2 5	1 2 0
Rivetter	1 2 0	0 14 2	0 13 4
Boilersmith	1 8 9	1 4 10	1 4 5
Blacksmith	1 5 11	1 2 2	1 1 7
Moulder	1 4 5	1 2 5	1 0 6
Carpenter	1 4 3	1 0 9	1 0 8
Bricklayer	1 6 1	1 0 6	0 15 11
Compositor (printer)	1 0 2	0 15 7	0 14 4
Mechanist	1 1 3	1 0 4	1 0 6
Weaver (cotton), man	1 10 5	0 10 8	1 0 10
Do. boy	0 11 7	—	0 7 11
Spinner (cotton), man	1 9 7	0 9 10	0 12 7
Do. boy	0 9 4	0 5 4	0 5 11
Weaver (jute), man	—	0 10 0	0 9 4
Do. boy	—	0 3 2	0 6 6
Spinner (jute), man	—	0 9 4	0 9 5
Do. boy	—	0 4 8	0 4 1
Unskilled labour—			
Female coolie (gin) ..	—	0 4 11	0 5 2
Male do. ..	—	0 7 9	0 8 3
Female coolie (press) ..	—	0 6 0	0 5 6
Male do. ..	—	0 10 7	0 9 1
Female coolie (rice mill) ..	—	0 4 6	0 4 8
Male do. ..	—	0 8 0	0 7 8
Female coolie in fields ..	—	0 4 10	0 5 2
Male do. ..	—	0 7 9	0 8 0
Female coolie (tile press) ..	—	—	—
Male do. ..	—	—	—

Before the Whitley Commission the Employers' Federation of Southern India gave as the wages of industrial labourers, unskilled young adults, at Rs. 13 to Rs. 14 per month, unskilled adults, Rs. 18 to Rs. 20 per month, semi-skilled adults, men, Rs. 23 to Rs. 25 per month, skilled adults, men, Rs. 35 to Rs. 60 per month, piece-workers, men, Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per month, unskilled workers, women, Rs. 14 to Rs. 18 per month. The

Labour Union, Coimbatore, gave the wages obtaining in Coimbatore Mills as from Rs. 12 a month up to Rs. 30 a month, while women on the average drew Rs. 12 a month. In the Government Press wages range from Rs. 15 up to Rs. 40 a month. The Madras Government Press Labour Union stated that the average wage was something less than Rs. 25 a month. The Buckingham and Carnatic Mills Employees' Union gave as minimum wages, 1929, females Rs. 11-11-6 per month and adult males from Rs. 16 to Rs. 33-6-0.

Q. 16.—Government have nothing to add to what was stated in paragraph 8 of their letter No. 298-A., dated 23rd February 1932.*

Q. 17.—The reply is in the negative. It is mainly on account of the proposed very large extension of the electorate that the Government are now in favour of a second chamber.

Qs. 18 and 19.—The views of the Government remain the same as those already expressed in the replies to questions 6 (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) of the original questionnaire given in paragraphs 18, 19 and 20 of their letter No. 298, dated 22nd February 1932.†

Q. 20.—The Government are of the opinion that both Indian and European Commerce of the Madras Province should be specially represented by one member each in the Federal Lower Chamber. But if it should be decided that out of the number of seats allotted to the Province it is not possible to give both a communal seat to Europeans and a special interest seat for European Commerce, the communal seat is to be preferred. Indian Commerce in any circumstances should have a seat.

Q. 21.—Government are in agreement with the views expressed by the Provincial Committee.

Q. 22.—Government consider that no further modification of their original proposals is necessary.

Q. 23.—The regulations for the preparation of electoral rolls for Commerce and Industry constituencies will be found on pages 61 to 63 of the Madras Legislative Council Manual, 1930, Volume II, of which a copy has already been supplied to you and regulations for the conduct of elections will be found on pages 65 to 67, 73 to 78 and 86 to 88. Copies of the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, the Rules and Regulations of the Madras Chamber of Commerce and Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Nattukottai Nagarathars' Association, Madras, are enclosed.‡ An explanation of some of the land tenure and other terms used will be found in Appendix II.§

* Page 22. † Pages 14 and 15. ‡ Not printed. § Page 53.

BOMBAY.

I

Memorandum by the Government of Bombay.

[*See* IV on page 116.]

II

Memorandum by the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee.

VIEWS OF THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

Q. 1—

(*a*) The existing franchise for the Provincial Legislatures can be extended to 10 per cent. by reducing the property qualification.

Carried *nem con.*

(*b*) The electorate so enfranchised would be as capable of casting an intelligent vote as the present electorate.

(*c*) Such an electorate, *i.e.*, if extended to 10 per cent. under the property qualification, would be administratively manageable.

(*d*) Does not arise.

(*e*) The Committee considers that it would only be practicable and desirable to enlarge the electoral roll still further by the addition of the educational qualification proposed under Question 2 (*d*); the military qualification proposed under Question 2 (*e*) and the enfranchisement of officiating "village servants useful to Government" proposed under Question 4 (*c*); to which some of the members of the Committee would add the group system for men and women outside Bombay and Karachi Cities, as explained under Question 1 (*f*) and Question 3 (*a*) (*ii*).

Note.—Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh considers that in addition to the above, in Sind all persons paying any direct tax (other than local fund cess) to local boards should be enfranchised. The rest of the Committee were not prepared to endorse this proposal.

A proposal by Mr. Koreishi that all persons paying an annual grazing fee to Government or to a contractor on behalf of Government to the extent of Rs. 8 should be enfranchised, was rejected by 8 to 2, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Koreishi alone supporting it.

(*f*) There is a marked difference of opinion among the Committee about the group system:—

(1) (*i*) A section consisting of Mr. Petit and Sardar Mutalik thinks the group system undesirable and wrong in principle; and Mr. Wadia though not present at the final discussion agrees with the above.

Qs. 8 and 9.—The Government are in agreement with the views of the Provincial Committee.

Q. 10.—The Government adhere to the method for the election of a quota of women members to the Legislative Council already suggested by them.

Q. 11.—The Government accept the suggestion that women managing the property of minors should be given the vote and have included it in their proposed franchise qualifications, item (9).

Q. 12.—It has been possible in the time available to get information as to the number of Adi-Dravida or depressed class voters on the local boards and municipal rolls for six districts in all. The estimated number of depressed class voters on the original franchise proposal is now 366,000 for the whole Presidency assuming that the number of electors of the depressed classes bears the same proportion to the total depressed classes population in the whole Presidency as in these six districts. It is anticipated that the lowering of the literacy qualification will make up for any decrease in the number of such electors caused by cutting out animal and vehicle taxes as a qualification and by raising the limit for leases, written or oral, to qualify. As a check on the estimate of 366,000 it may be stated that the total number of Adi-Dravida ryotwari single pattadars paying Re. 1 or more is 219,000 out of a total of 2,984,000 single ryotwari pattadars paying Re. 1 or more of all classes, and the number of Adi-Dravidas in municipalities paying Re. 1 or more taxation is 9,000. Out of the 703,000 pattadars paying less than one rupee each probably at least 54,000 are Adi-Dravidas. To these figures should be added something which is difficult to estimate for depressed class ryots in proprietary estates which cover an extent equal to about one-third of the ryotwari land in the Presidency.

Q. 13.—Government adhere to their previous proposal for special labour constituencies, but with the following modifications :—

(1) Minimum monthly wage earnings to be Rs. 12 for men and Rs. 8 for women.

(2) Qualifying period of employment to be six months within the year preceding the preparation or revision of the electoral roll.

(3) An elector to be registered only on application.

(4) Candidates for the special labour constituencies must either be on the electoral roll of any of these constituencies in the Presidency or have been a member for two years preceding his nomination of a registered permanent trade union of industrial workers in the Presidency with a strength of not less than 500 members.

Q. 14.—Government agree with the Provincial Committee that wages unsupported by taxation evidence should not be made a qualification for the vote in general constituencies.

(*ii*) A section consisting of Rao Bahadur Kale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, and Messrs. Koreishi, D'Souza and Mrs. Premchand considers that the group system would be feasible and advantageous in order to give some voice to minorities and women who cannot otherwise be enfranchised, and in order to give all the unenfranchised some voice, even though indirect, in the selection of members of Council, and to pave the way to the eventual attainment of adult suffrage.

(*iii*) A third section consisting of Dr. Solanki, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Messrs. Haji, Winterbotham and Prater thinks that the group system is not desirable for general application, but it may be desirable as a special device for particular classes.

(*iv*) Sardar Mutalik and Mr. Rajadhyaksha think that it is administratively impracticable but consider that if the experiment is to be made at all, the system should be applied generally.

(2) As regards the areas in which the group system would be feasible, four members, *viz.*, Rao Bahadurs Angadi, Asavale and Kale and Mr. Koreishi, think that the group system is feasible everywhere except in Bombay and Karachi cities. Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh thinks it impracticable in all parts of Sind. The other members preferred not to express any opinion on this point.

(3) The majority of the Committee, *viz.*, Messrs. Koreishi, Haji, Solanki, Prater and Winterbotham, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Rao Bahadurs Asavale and Angadi consider that if the group system is adopted the group voters should vote in the general constituencies along with the direct voters and not in a separate constituency composed of group voters only. Rao Bahadur Kale considers that the group voters should vote in a separate electorate of their own composed of all communities.

(*g*) Does not arise.

(*h*) The answer of the majority of the Committee is in the negative. But Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, while not thinking the group system possible for all general application at all, is of opinion that if it were applied generally, it should be to the exclusion of all other methods of enfranchisement. Mr. Jadhav who was absent at the Assembly has sent a separate note favouring the suggestion that the group system should be applied to the exclusion of all other methods of enfranchisement.

(*i*) The majority of the Committee consider that the groups should be of 21 persons; they should be formed by numbering each house *seriatim* for each separate electorate, and then putting on the register the names of persons not already enfranchised by other methods in groups of 21 in serial number from house to house; each group would

elect a spokesman who would vote in the separate electorate to which he belongs. If at the end of the village a fraction below 21 remains, then if it is 10 or more it would count as a group ; if less than 10 it would be neglected unless it could be added to some neighbouring village in close proximity. The groups should be formed and arranged by the Government Officer responsible aided by a small committee drawn from the primary voters of the village. The Committee should include a representative of the Mahomedan and Depressed Classes where these classes exist in the village.

Rao Bahadur Kale and Sardar Mutalik think that a clause should be added in the rules providing that in areas where it is found more suitable, the Returning Officer should be empowered to apply the collective method of grouping in place of the rigid house to house groups. The majority, however, think that this suggestion would result in embittering factions in the villages.

(*j*) No special qualifications should be fixed for the spokesman voter.

Q. 2—(*a*) It is agreed that disparity exists in the percentage of voting strength to population between urban and rural areas. A majority of the Committee, *viz.*, Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Haji, and Prater and Sardar Mutalik and Rao Bahadur Kale consider that the disparity cannot be removed without depriving the labouring classes in the towns of their franchise. Four members, *viz.*, Rao Bahadurs Asavale and Angadi, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Dr. Solanki held that in order to remove this disparity it is desirable that the house rental qualification in purely urban constituencies only should be lowered to half the present qualification, in addition to applying the group system, but in municipal and cantonment areas situated in rural constituencies the house rental qualification should remain as it is at present, *i.e.*, at Rs. 36. This suggestion did not meet with the approval of the other members.

(*b*) Assuming separate electorates, the Committee does not consider that the principle that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers is of any importance.

Assuming joint electorates with reservation of seats, the Committee considers that the principle is not practicable in the case of all communities.

Assuming joint electorates without reservation of seats, the Committee considers that the principle would be essential, but cannot possibly be attained except either by adult suffrage or by adoption of the group system to the exclusion of all other qualifications.

(*c*) (*i*) The Committee considers that property is a suitable basis of franchise qualification.

(*ii*) "Property" includes occupation as well as ownership of land, and of houses also in urban areas : but the suggestion that wages or income below the limit of income tax assessment, should be made a basis of franchise qualification is unworkable.

(*iii*) The Committee considers that in addition to the income tax qualification the property qualification limit in urban areas based on the rental value of houses should be halved: and the qualification based on assessment should be quartered so as to bring it to the level of the present taluka local board qualification.

(*iv*) In Sind the Sind Haris should be enfranchised by the omission of the word "permanent" from rule 3 (*a*) (1) of Schedule II of the Bombay Electoral Rules.

(*d*) *Educational qualification*: —

The Committee is by a majority of 9 to 5 in favour of introducing a qualification based on education.

It should be the possession of a certificate of having passed the promotion examination from the 4th Vernacular Standard in approved Vernacular Schools or from the equivalent Standard in approved English Teaching Schools.

Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha, Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Mr. Petit and Dr. D'Souza form the majority. Messrs. Syed Munawar, Haji, Dr. Solanki, Rao Bahadurs Asavale and Angadi oppose the proposal on the ground that it will accentuate the disparity in voting strength and political power between the educationally advanced and educationally backward classes. They think that no such educational qualification should be introduced till compulsory primary education is generally in force. Messrs. Winterbotham and Jadhav who were absent agree with the minority.

(*e*) *Military Qualification*:—

Yes. It should be retained.

It should be extended to all persons who at the time of the preparation of the electoral roll are borne on the strength of the A. F. I. or the I. T. F. and to those members of the U. T. C. who produce a certificate that they have completed 2 years' approved training and to those *ex*-members of both forces who held the Long Service Medal or the Volunteer Decoration.

Q. 3—

Women's Suffrage:—

(*a*) (*i*) The age limit should be 21 for both men and women. Mr. Jadhav thinks the limit should be 20.

(*ii*) As regards areas outside Bombay and Karachi Cities, the only practical method of giving an independent vote to women is by means of the group system.

This was agreed, subject to the various conflicting opinions expressed on the group system in dealing with Question 1 (*f*). Mr. Winterbotham, who was absent, is opposed to any special qualification for women and thinks the difficulties of applying the group system to big cities rule it out for rural areas also. He would leave the question of

a special franchise for women to be settled by the Councils under the new constitution.

Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mrs. Maneklal were of opinion that if the group system be not adopted generally in rural areas, the vote should be given to all women who can read and write. But the majority did not agree with this, as they thought that it would benefit some classes more than others and it would be difficult or impossible to devise a satisfactory test.

(*iii*) As regards Bombay and Karachi Cities where the group system is believed to be unworkable various schemes for giving women a special qualification were discussed; but all were rejected. They were as follows :—

(1) Mr. Haji's proposal that all adult wives and widows whose husbands are or were voters should be enfranchised.

This was rejected by 6 to 8 firstly because it was opposed by Women's Associations and Mrs. Maneklal; and secondly because it was thought to give a double vote to husbands and thus to accentuate the disparity in voting strength between classes.

(2) Rao Bahadur Angadi suggested that the group system be applied to women only in Bombay and Karachi Cities without any other special qualification for women.

This was rejected by 8 to 4, Syed Munawar, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi and Dr. Solanki supporting it, because the majority thought it would be even more difficult to form groups for women in those centres than for men.

(3) Rao Bahadur Kale proposed that in Bombay and Karachi Cities all women members of registered Women's Associations or Societies whose object is the social or political advancement of women should have the vote.

This was rejected by 8 to 6, Mrs. Maneklal, Messrs. Prater and Petit, Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Dr. D'Souza supporting it, because the majority did not think that the scheme was workable and thought that it would probably not help the women of the backward classes.

(4) Rao Bahadur Kale also proposed that all widows in Bombay and Karachi Cities, whose husbands were enfranchised at the time of their death should be enfranchised.

This was rejected by 10 to 2, Rao Bahadur Kale and Dr. D'Souza alone supporting it.

(5) Dr. D'Souza proposed that all adult women in Bombay and Karachi Cities who can read and write should be enfranchised.

This was lost by 8 to 2, Dr. D'Souza and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh supporting it.

The majority thought it impossible to devise a workable test by which a Returning Officer could decide whether a woman voter could read and write and also that such a proposal would unduly favour the educationally advanced classes.

(*b*) The proposal that there should be common mixed groups for men and women was carried by a majority of 6 to 5.

The majority consisted of Mrs. Maneklal, Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Messrs. Prater and Petit; the minority in favour of separate groups for women were Messrs. Koreishi, Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Angadi. Mr. Jadhav who was absent agrees with the majority.

(*c*) No seats for women should be reserved; but if in the elections women do not secure at least 3 seats, the deficiency should be made up by co-option by the members of the Legislative Council, voting on the system of proportionate representation and the single transferable vote.

This was carried, Mrs. Maneklal alone dissenting on the ground that co-option is bad in principle.

Mr. Winterbotham who was absent thinks that provision should be made for co-option by the Council up to 5 per cent.

Q. 4—

Depressed Classes :—

(*a*) The term "Depressed Classes" should be confined to the Untouchable Classes as shown in Schedule I of Appendix II of the Starte Committee's report.

(*b*) The group system should be applied to the unenfranchised adults of the Depressed Classes in both rural and urban areas.

This was agreed to, subject to the diversity of opinion given on the group system in the reply to Question 1 (*f*).

(*c*) All officiating village servants "useful to Government" should be enfranchised as direct voters.

(*d*) The Committee considers that the Depressed Classes in the extension of franchise proposed will not be able to secure candidates of their own choice in the general electorate.

(*e*) The Depressed Classes should be given separate electorates for 20 years.

Carried by a majority of 8 to 6. The majority consisted of Rao Bahadur Asavale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Messrs. Syed Munawar, Haji, Prater, Koreishi, Winterbotham and Dr. Solanki. The minority consisted of Rao Bahadurs Angadi and Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Mrs. Maneklal, Messrs. Rajadhyaksha and Wadia; most of these were understood to favour reserved seats in the general electorate.

Q. 5—

Labour :—

(1) The Committee agrees that there is no practical way of enfranchising unorganised labour in rural areas unless it be possible through the group system.

(2) The Committee considered various ways of enfranchising labour in urban areas. It was decided that organised labour interests should be represented by members elected by an electoral college, which shall be formed by registered Trade Unions composed of manual workers throughout the Presidency, electing delegates in the proportion of 1 for every 20 members of such unions ; the candidate must be an ordinary or honorary member of at least one year's standing of a registered Trade Union which is itself of at least 1 year's standing. The electoral rules should require from the Trade Unions which will send delegates to the electoral college adequate standard of paying membership ; the Committee also considers that the Registrar of Trade Unions should be given adequate powers of scrutiny for this purpose.

Two other additional proposals were considered and rejected. The first proposed by Rao Bahadur Asavale that in industrial towns to provide for un-organised labour, there should be a separate electoral roll of all industrial manual labourers in factories and docks who are not members of registered Trade Unions and they should have a separate electorate, electing their own representatives ; and some of the seats allocated to labour should be assigned to them. This was rejected by 6 to 4 the supporters being Rao Bahadur Asavale, Syed Munawar, Rao Bahadur Angadi and Dr. Solanki. The majority thought that this arrangement would be difficult to work in practice and being based on an entirely different system from that adopted for organised labour, could not well be combined with that ; also that it would cut across the lines of communal representation.

The second, proposed by Mr. Haji instead of the proposal adopted above with regard to Trade Unions, that all labour should be represented by special members with reserved seats elected separately by the votes of the general Mahomedan and Non-Mahomedan constituencies of Bombay, Karachi, Ahmedabad and Sholapur Cities, was rejected, Mr. Haji alone supporting it.

Q. 5-A—

Special interests :—

It was agreed that special interests should continue to be represented in Council.

(i) A majority of the Committee are of opinion that all the special interests at present represented by election or nomination should continue to receive representation.

Carried by 10 to 1, Rao Bahadur Angadi being the dissentient.

Rao Bahadur Angadi made two proposals, which were rejected :—

(*a*) That there should be no special representation for the University and he argued that the ordinary members of the Council are all fully alive to the interests of the University.

This was rejected by 11 votes to 1.

(*b*) That there should be no special representation for the great landholders. He argued that the landholders are certain to be sufficiently represented by election in the ordinary constituencies.

This was lost by 8 to 4, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki and Syed Munawar forming the minority.

(*ii*) Any graduate of the University, irrespective of his standing, should be enfranchised for the University Constituency.

Agreed *nem con.*

(*iii*) A majority of the Committee consider that there should be no change in the present electoral franchise for the Sardars and Inamdars of the Deccan and Gujarat and for the Sind Jagirdars and Zemindars constituencies.

This was carried by 6 to 3. Mr. Rajadhyaksha, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. D'Souza and Mr. Petit voting in the majority, and Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Rao Bahadur Asavale in the minority.

Rao Bahadur Angadi proposed that in addition to the existing franchise to the landholders' constituencies, all officiating Watandar Patels and Kulkarnis should be enfranchised. This was rejected by 5 to 3, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi and Dr. Solanki supporting it; and Messrs. Rajadhyaksha, Petit, Rao Bahadur Kale, Dr. D'Souza and Sardar Mutalik being against it.

(*iv*) No change should be made in the method of election of the Commerce and Industries constituencies, subject to any suggestions in memoranda that may hereafter be received regarding the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau constituency.

(*v*) One seat should be filled by election from the cotton trade in place of the nominated seat by which the trade is now represented; but the Committee has not sufficient material before it to enable it to propose the exact method of election. It considers that the representation of the cotton trade should include both cotton growers and cotton dealers.

(*vi*) The Committee considered the number of seats to be given to special interests. It decided by a majority of 7 to 4 that until the allocation of seats for each community in general constituencies is fixed, the number of seats for each special interests cannot be fixed. Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki and Syed Munawar formed the minority.

Note.—Rao Bahadur Angadi proposed that no increase should be made in the number of seats assigned for special interests, irrespective of what the size of the Council may be. He argued that all that is needed

is that each special interest should have a voice in the Council and that there is no object in giving more than one seat to any such interest. This was rejected by 6 votes to 5, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki, Syed Munawar and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh supporting it, and Mr. Rajadhyaksha, Mr. Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahadur Kale, Dr. D'Souza and Mr. Petit being opposed to it.

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

Q. 6—

(*Prelude*) : *Number of Seats allotted to Bombay*—

Having regard to the commercial and industrial importance of the Bombay Presidency and to the fact that Bombay city is the main port of India, and that there is a second important port in the Presidency, *viz.*, Karachi, the Committee hopes that the weightage allowed to the Bombay Presidency in the allocation of seats for the Assembly may be increased by 4 more seats.

Note.—This was agreed, Rao Bahadur Angadi alone dissenting.

(*a*) *Federal Upper Chamber*—

(*i*) The Committee agrees that representatives of British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected in the Provincial Legislature by a single transferable vote.

Note.—Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Sardar Mutalik favour direct election and propose that the existing method of election to the Council of State be retained for the Federal Upper House. This was rejected by 9 to 2. Mr. Winterbotham who was absent favours direct election for the Upper House.

(*ii*) Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh also proposed a rider to the resolution adopted above in favour of indirect election as follows :—" provided that the proportion of Musalman representation in the Federal Upper House which may be laid down in the future Indian Constitution, is secured."

This was agreed to.

(*b*) *Franchise Qualification for the Assembly*—

A majority of the Committee consider that the present franchise qualification for the Legislative Assembly should be retained unchanged except for the addition of all holders of a recognised University degree, British or Indian.

Carried by 7 to 4. Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha, Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Petit voted for and Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Dr. Solanki and Syed Munawar opposed it.

Note.—The following other proposals were considered and rejected :—

(1) Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh proposed that the members of the Federal Assembly should be elected by the members of the Provincial Legislature, each community voting separately.

This was lost by 6 to 1, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh being its sole supporter.

(2) Rao Bahadur Asavale proposed that the franchise for the Assembly should be the same as is at present in force for the Provincial Council. He argued that the franchise adopted above by the Committee is too narrow and as the Provincial franchise is being reduced, so also should be that of the Assembly.

This was rejected by 7 to 3, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Syed Munawar and Dr. Solanki alone supporting it.

(3) Rao Bahadur Angadi suggested that the present Assembly franchise should be retained unchanged without the addition of the University graduates.

This was rejected by 6 to 4, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki and Syed Munawar supporting it and Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha, Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahadur Kale and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh opposing it.

(*c*) *Election to Lower Federal House*—

(*i*) Election to the Lower Federal House should be by territorial constituencies of direct qualified voters and not by any indirect method.

(Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Winterbotham favour indirect election.)

(*ii*) A narrow majority of the Committee consider that there should be single seated constituencies for election to the Lower Federal House; and that in combining districts where necessary, regard should be had to convenience, and as far as possible to language.

Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki, Syed Munawar, and Messrs. Koreishi and Haji favoured this proposal, on the ground that single seated constituencies would be smaller in size and more manageable and convenient for candidates and for election purposes.

The alternative proposal that the constituencies should as far as possible be multiple-seated with cumulative voting was supported by Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha and Petit and Rao Bahadur Kale and Sardar Mutalik on the ground that such constituencies gave minorities of all kinds a better chance of securing a candidate of their own choice.

Q. 7—

Representation of Women, Labour, Depressed Classes and Special Interests—

(*a*) *Labour.*—Labour should be represented in the Federal Lower House by a member or members elected by the registered trade unions of the Bombay Presidency.

(*b*) *Women.*—Women representatives in the Federal Lower House should be co-opted by that body by means of single transferable vote, provided that a minimum of 3 be not elected in the ordinary course.

(*c*) *Depressed Classes.*—A majority of the Committee consider that the Depressed classes should have special representation in the Federal

Assembly. The representative or representatives of the Depressed classes should be elected to the Federal Lower House from among the members of the Depressed classes by the vote of all the members of local bodies and the members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

Carried by 6 to 2. Messrs. Syed Munawar, Petit, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Kale and Sardar Mutalik supported this ; Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Haji alone opposed it.

The Committee considered and rejected 3 other proposals as follows :—

(1) Dr. Solanki's proposal :—If the principle of separate electorates for Depressed classes is agreed to, then the representatives of those classes in the Lower Federal House should be chosen by direct election from the Depressed classes themselves. Their qualification as voters should be the same as the present franchise qualification for the Provincial Councils. This was rejected by 6 to 4. Rao Bahadur Asavale, Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh supported it and Rao Bahadur Angadi , Rao Bahadur Kale, Messrs. Koreishi, Haji, Petit and Sardar Mutalik opposed it.

(2) A similar proposal by Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh providing for a franchise qualification for the Depressed classes similar to that proposed for future Provincial Councils was rejected by 8 to 1.

(3) The proposal of Mr. Haji that the representatives of the Depressed classes on the Assembly should be elected by the Depressed class members of the local bodies and Legislative Council was rejected by 7 to 3 ; Messrs. Haji, Koreishi, and Dr. Solanki alone favouring it. The majority considered that it would give much too small a body of electors.

(*d*) *Special Interests*—

A majority of the Committee consider that the number of seats at present assigned in the Assembly to special interests (excluding labour) should not be increased.

Carried by 5 to 2. *For* : Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Koreishi. *Against* : Sardar Mutalik and Mr. Petit.

Mr. Winterbotham, who was absent, disagrees with the majority.

Note.—Sardar Mutalik's proposal that the landholders and mill-owners constituency should have 2 continuous seats each in the Assembly was rejected by 5 to 3. Sardar Mutalik, Mr. Petit and Rao Bahadur Kale voted *for* and Rao Bahadur Angadi and Rao Bahadur Asavale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Koreishi were *against.*

Q. 8—

General—

(*i*) The Committee is of opinion that the life of the Provincial Legislatures should be five years, instead of 3 as at present.

(*ii*) The Committee thinks that the Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans should be formed into a separate electorate, *i.e.*, separate from the Europeans. Their electoral roll should include all persons of European descent in the male line who being British subjects resident in British India, are domiciled in British India, or were born of parents habitually resident in British India and not established for temporary purposes.

(*iii*) Indian Christians should be represented in the Council by reserved seats in the general Non-Mahomedan electorate for a period of 20 years.

(*iv*) A majority of the Committee hold that the reserved seats for Mahrattas, with a right to contest additional seats, should be continued in those constituencies where they will not have a percentage of voting strength equal to the percentage of their population.

Carried by 5 to 4.

Those who favour this proposal are Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Koreishi.

Note.—The minority consisting of Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik and Messrs. Wadia and Petit were of opinion that no seats be reserved for Mahrattas anywhere.

(*v*) The Committee considered Mr. Koreishi's proposal that in view of the fact that 52 per cent. of the Musalmans of the Presidency proper reside in urban and suburban areas and notified areas, such areas should as far as possible in the future Muslim constitution be grouped with cities instead of with purely rural villages as at present.

The proposal was rejected by 4 to 3. Messrs. Haji, Koreishi and Syed Munawar supported the proposal. Rao Bahadurs Angadi and Kale, Dr. Solanki and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh opposed it; the others were neutral.

Bicameral Legislature:—

(*i*) The Committee by a majority of 8 to 4 considers that for the first few years at least a second chamber would be necessary for the provincial legislature, the powers of that chamber being broadly those of the present Council of State.

Note.—The majority consisted of Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Dr. D'Souza, and Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Prater and Petit. Rao Bahadur Kale supported the proposal subject to the opinion that if a second chamber was established, there would be no need for representation of special interests in the Lower Chamber.

The majority considered that a second Chamber is needed to act as a brake on the Lower House and to relieve the Governor of the necessity of constantly falling back on his emergency powers with reference to ill-considered legislation, and to supply the lack of the official block as a moderating influence.

The minority consisting of Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Haji argued that the house elected by the people ought to be the final voice ; that any Upper House would be undemocratic and unduly, almost certainly conservative ; and that its constitution would entail a heavy and useless expense out of all proportion to its utility. Also an Upper House would weaken the Lower House's sense of responsibility.

(*ii*) A majority of the Committee adopted Mr. Petit's proposal that the second Chamber should be elected on a franchise of higher qualifications than the lower Chamber, and those qualifications should be based on property and education. A certain proportion of the seats should be filled by nomination by the Governor to represent special interests and minorities.

Carried by 8 to 3. The majority consisted of Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Sardar Mutalik and Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Petit, Prater and Winterbotham. The minority consisted of Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Dr. Solanki.

Note 1.—Mr. Winterbotham agrees with the majority on the first part of the Resolution but is opposed to nomination to the second Chamber, considering that special interests and minorities should secure representation through special constituencies.

Note 2.—The following rival proposals were considered and rejected :—

(1)—of *Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh*, that half the Upper House should be composed of elected members and half of nominated.

5 were in favour of this, Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi and Prater, Dr. Solanki and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh.

5 were against : *viz.*, Rao Bahadur Kale, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Sardar Mutalik and Mr. Petit.

The Chairman gave his casting vote against the proposal.

(2)—of *Rao Bahadur Asavale*, that the second Chamber should be elected by the members of the Lower House from among themselves by a single transferable vote.

Rejected by 5 to 1, Rao Bahadur Asavale alone supporting.

(3)—of *Rao Bahadur Angadi*, that the second Chamber should be a body elected by the same electorate as the Lower House.

This failed by the adoption of Mr. Petit's proposal.

The majority considered that such a Lower House would not be sufficiently different in composition from the Upper House.

(*iii*) The Committee agrees that in the event of a difference of opinion between the 2 chambers the matter should be referred to a joint session.

(*iv*) The Committee agrees that the life of the second Chamber should be 7 years, half the members vacating their seats after 3½ years.

Size of the Provincial Council.

A majority of the Committee hold that the size of the Provincial Lower House should not be more than 200 nor less than 150.

Carried by 7 to 4. The supporters were Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, and Messrs. Haji, Petit, Koreishi and Winterbotham. The minority consisted of Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Dr. Prater.

Note.—The following several proposals were rejected :—

(1)—*Rao Bahadur Angadi's* proposal that the number of seats should be 220, *i.e.*, one seat for every hundred thousand of the population.

Lost by 9 to 3, its supporters being Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Dr. Solanki.

(2)—*Rao Bahadur Asavale's* proposal that the size should not be less than 200.

Lost by 7 to 6 ; its supporters were Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, and Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha, Prater and Dr. Solanki. Its opponents were Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Sardar Mutalik, and Messrs. Haji, Prater, Koreishi, Petit and Winterbotham.

Qualification of Candidates.

The Committee agrees that the present rules regarding the qualification of candidates for the Legislative Council should be retained, subject to the following modification :—

(*i*) The Committee recommends that only subjects of such States should be qualified to stand as candidates, in which British subjects are eligible as members of the State Legislatures, if any.

(*ii*) Members of other legislative bodies should not be disqualified from standing as candidates for Provincial Councils, provided that if elected, they resign their seats on that other body before taking their seats on the Council.

(*iii*) The residential qualification for a candidate for the Council should be abolished.

(*iv*) Persons holding contracts from the Provincial Government should be debarred from standing as candidates for Council by a rule framed on the general lines of those contained in the Bombay Municipal Acts.

(*v*) There should be no disqualification of a candidate on the ground that he has been convicted of a criminal offence, provided that he is not undergoing a sentence of imprisonment at the time of his nomination, and provided that if elected he will be able to take his seat within 3 months from the date of election or at the first session of the Legislative Council, whichever is later.

(*vi*) The word " permanent " in rule 3 (*a*) (*i*) of Schedule II of the Bombay Electoral Rules should be omitted before the word " tenant ".

Note.—This is in pursuance of the decision of the Committee regarding the enfranchisement of Sind Haris recorded under Question 2 (*c*) (*iv*) above.

(a) Note on Franchise by Mr. B. V. Jadhav, M.L.A.

Under the Montague-Chelmsford Scheme elections to the Provincial Legislatures were made direct and about 3 per cent. of the population of the Presidency of Bombay was enfranchised. All over India the proportion was almost the same.

The question of widening the franchise was considered by a Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference. The Committee came to the following conclusions:—

1. That adult suffrage was the goal which should ultimately be attained.
2. That the Special Expert Committee should consider the immediate increase of the electorate so as to enfranchise not less than 10 per cent. of the population; and indeed a larger number; but not more than 25 per cent. of the population—if that should on full investigation be found practicable and desirable.
3. That in any given area the franchise qualifications should be the same for all communities.
4. That the ideal system would as nearly as possible give each community a voting strength proportional to its numbers and that the franchise system should be so contrived as to secure this result in so far as it may be practicable.
5. That the Sub-Committee supported the property qualification and recommended to understand the word "property" in its widest sense.
6. That educational qualification should also be considered.
7. That special franchise qualification should also be examined.
8. That the Franchise Committee should endeavour so to adjust the franchise qualifications as to remove in those areas where it may exist any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rual areas.

The goal has been clearly stated as being that of adult suffrage. It is not the intention of the Sub-Committee to give up the property qualification altogether. But the Committee has kept an open mind and has asked the present Committee to examine the Mukhi or the Group system also.

In former times persons in possession of real property were considered to have some stake in the country and were enfranchised to the exclusion of others. The meaning of the word was subsequently widened and more and more people were given the vote, as it was realised that they too had some stake in the country.

Before the Montford Reforms the vote was enjoyed by those only who possessed real property. Under the franchise scheme sanctioned by the Reforms the connotation of the term property was extended; and

tenants both of land and tenements were given the vote. The time has now come to widen the franchise still further.

At present in England every adult person is invested with the vote. The ancient principle of the necessity of having some tangible or intangible property is discarded and every citizen now enjoy the vote. It is noteworthy that when the Franchise Sub-Committee of the R. T. C. accepted the goal of adult suffrage they also expressed their readiness to discard the old idea that the possession of property was necessary to claim the privilege to vote. They have recognised the right of every citizen to enjoy the right of having some voice in the affairs of his country. They do not favour the introduction of adult suffrage at once, as they fear that it will be almost impracticable to hold such elections.

They have therefore recommended that at least 10 per cent. of the total population should be given the vote under the new scheme. They would like to widen the franchise still further, up to 25 per cent. if possible.

Now let the suggested schemes be examined to see how far they satisfy the conditions laid down in the conclusions of the Sub-Committee.

(*a*) That the present franchise for a rural voter be reduced to a quarter of what it is at present. This will no doubt increase the number of voters to some extent. But it does not help the agricultural or factory labourer, nor does it give any vote to the large body of artisans and craftsmen. If the definition of the word property be widened so as to bring in the wage-earner also it will give the labouring classes and others a chance. But one has to bear in mind the practical difficulties of an enquiry in each case and the total expenditure that will have to be incurred at each election. One has to take account of the apathy of an average subordinate revenue officer who will be more ready to reject as many names as possible. This way of enlarging the roll is contrary to recommendation no. 4 on page 79.

(*b*) That those possessing a certain amount of education be enfranchised. This qualification will give a great advantage to the advanced communities over the backward. The few that are literate among the latter will not be able to prove that they once completed a prescribed course. The trouble, expense and difficulty of ascertaining the fact of having completed a certain standard has been shown in the letter of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay. The strong objection against this qualification is that it violates the conditions 4 and 8 laid own by the Sub-Committee as stated on page 79.

(*c*) That widows of deceased voters and wives of voters should be brought on the register of voters. This amounts to give two or more votes to a man : his own vote and those of his wife and widowed mother. This gives an unfair advantage to the propertied classes over the labouring or the artisan classes. It offends conditions 4 and 8 on page 79.

(*d*) That the village servants be given the right to vote. This gives an unfair advantage to a particular small body of servants over others. This will break conditions 3 and 4 on page 79.

It will thus be seen that any new scheme of widening the franchise on the old principle of qualification based upon property will be unjust to those who have not been enfranchised so far. It may benefit those communities who are enjoying the vote now to a greater extent than at present. The agricultural labourers and the factory labourers who are not organised will not derive any benefit from them. Even the lowering of the rental qualification in a city like Bombay will not materially change the situation; as only a few of the labouring classes can afford to hire a whole room.

The goal is clearly stated to be adult suffrage. It is an accepted principle that direct elections are to be preferred to the indirect. But as adult suffrage at the present time is considered impracticable, the indirect method may be taken advantage of if it helps us to secure a better and juster way of enfranchising the people. We have also the experience of new nations who have adopted a democratic form of government.

Egypt, Turkey, Mesopotamia and other Asiatic countries are starting popular assemblies, and they have done well in beginning at once with adult suffrage. They have imbibed the democratic principle that it is unjust to make difference between man and man simply because one is richer and the other is poorer. They have started with the idea that every citizen has equal rights and responsibilities. So all adults must have an equal voice. They know that their present machinery is inadequate to cope with the work of taking a poll of all the adults of the nation. They have, therefore, adopted for a time the expedient of indirect voting. The election is divided into two parts. All the adult males are divided into convenient groups and each group elects a secondary voter. These secondary voters vote in different constituencies for the members or deputies.

It will be right to adopt such system for elections in India. The old doctrine of property qualification is now discarded even in England. It should be abandoned in India also; and the group system should be adopted throughout. The work of preparing a roll will be very simple. The only thing to be determined is whether an individual is over a prescribed age. This the headman of a village can very easily determine. The case with other qualifications is quite different. Detailed enquiries are to be made, and State documents have to be examined. Then there is the right to appeal and an opponent has an opportunity to ask that a particular name should be removed from the voting roll. All this bother and expenditure is saved when the Mukhi or the group system is adopted. Its practicability is proved by the experience of other countries not so much advanced as India. This system is suited to the genius of the people.

But the adoption of the system should be declared to be as a step towards direct adult suffrage. The present idea is to enfranchise between 10 and 25 per cent. of the population. It ought to satisfy the people if only $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. are enfranchised; that is $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. are chosen as group leaders or spokesmen. This amounts to about 25 per cent. of the adults being chosen as Mukhis. It follows that each group should consist of four adults only. This system if adopted will no doubt deprive some

of those who now enjoy the vote of their privilege to vote. Some may object to this. If this objection is to be allowed, then it will suffice to keep all those who are now already on the roll to remain on the roll, and not to add any further names to that roll. There is no necessity to consider how to extend the electorate. The further widening of the franchise should be wholly by the group system. If the Franchise Committee decides to extend franchise by ten per cent. then each group should consist of five adults only. This will provide the necessary extension and ought to satisfy all. It will easily lead to adult suffrage. On the next occasion the group need be made of three adults only and from there the passage to direct adult voting is easy. It will give us the desired percentage of increase as required by condition 2 on page 1 of this note. It will satisfy the third condition also as the franchise qualification will be the same for all communities. The fourth condition which is really impossible under any property qualification will be fully satisfied by this method. It will give each community a voting strength proportional to its numbers. It will satisfy the 8th condition also. The disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rual areas will also be removed. The labouring classes, the depressed classes and all the minorities will have representation in proportion of their numbers and nobody will have any cause to complain.

(b) Observations by Mr. B. V. Jadhav M.L.A., on some of the decisions taken by the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee on the Questionnaire.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.

Extension of the Franchise, f, g, h, i.

In recommending the Group system the Committee seem to have accepted it as an unavoidable evil. Properly speaking the group system is the only logical system leading the country to the goal of adult suffrage. The Committee is of opinion that in the case of males the group should consist of 21 and in that of females of 11 only. The odd numbers seem to be adopted to avoid ties. But one has to bear in mind that when the register of adults will be written up the groups will be formed ; and when the officer will go to the village to settle who are to be the spokesmen it will be found that all the 21 men or 11 women of the group will not be present and there will be cases of ties which the Committee is anxious to avoid. I submit that no special care need be taken to make a group of odd numbers only. Ties there will be ; but their number will always be small in any case and a simple device of casting lots will be acceptable to all. By making the groups consist of 21 males only 1% of the total population will get the vote and in the case of women the proportion will be only 2 %. I think that there ought not to be any such difference in the numbers constituting a group. The number should be the same for both the sexes. The labour and trouble for smaller and larger group is the same and the distinction is invidious.

Q. 2. (*a*), (*b*) —Paragraph 11 of the report of the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference runs thus :—

> " *Urban and rural enfranchisement.*—We are of opinion that the Franchise Commission should endeavour so to adjust the

franchise qualifications as to remove in those areas where it may exist any marked disparity in the operations of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas. Under the existing franchise 12·8% of the population in urban areas is enfranchised ; as against only 3% of the rural. The new franchise that is suggested raises the urban percentage to 20·7 while that of the rural is raised to 7·9 only. In the case of the urban areas there is to be an increase of about 8 per cent. while in the rural the increase proposed is only 4·9 per cent. So the direction of the Round Table Conference Franchise Committee is not only not paid attention to, but the proposals are to show more favour to the urban as opposed to the rural. But this undue favour to the urban does not matter so much as the constituencies are separate. There need be no heart-burning on that account. But what is objectionable is the utter disregard to the conditions of the rural as opposed to the urban population in those constituencies where the people within municipal areas and rural areas vote for the same candidates. The percentage of population enfranchised in municipal towns excluding urban constituencies is at present 7·7, while that of the purely rural areas is only 2·2%. The new proposals will raise the former percentage to 13·2 while the utmost to which the franchise committee goes is to enfranchise only 7·2%. The increase within the municipal areas is 5·5% while that in the rural areas is less than 5%. This probably is due to the large representation of the urban interests in the committee. The result has been that the Committee have come to the conclusion that it is not necessary to remedy the disparity. The result will be that a candidate may canvass the few municipal areas and neglect the vast masses of the people. Such a representative will naturally be more careful of the urban as opposed to rural interests. The urban qualifications ought not to have been halved, but reduced to the rental of Rs. 24, or the rural qualification ought to have been still further reduced. That is in place of adopting the present Taluka Local Board qualification a lower qualification should have been proposed. The present proposal is obviously prejudicial to the rural areas. The real remedy obviously was to adopt the group system for all further expansion in franchise. It would have helped in some way correcting the inequalities introduced at the time of the Montague Reforms. The best course is to clean the slate and to adopt the group system. It will be fair to all the people, backward as well as the more advanced, the Musalmans as the Hindus and Sikhs and the Depressed. It is the ideal adult suffrage indirectly in place of a direct election, till the condition of the country improves to such an extent as to make direct adult suffrage

election practical. Question 2 (*d*).—" The Committee is by a majority of 9 to 5 in favour of introducing a qualification based on education. It should be the possession of a certificate of having passed the promotion examination from the fourth vernacular standard in approved vernacular schools or from the equivalent standard in approved English Teaching Schools."

To oppose the educational qualification is rather hard, and unpopular. It is therefore noteworthy that no less than 5 members of the committee saw it necessary to oppose it. The cause of the masses may be called the cause of the plebians as opposed to that of the patricians. The latter have been enjoying political power and wish to keep it in their hands. Under the former regime they took advantage of the educational facilities, and the masses remained illiterate. The adoption of this qualification will enfranchise the whole of the adult population of the advanced communities ; while the addition to the roll of persons from the backward communities will be infinitessimally small. The few literates will be already enjoying the vote in virtue of the property qualification. The Director of Public Instruction has shown how difficult it will be for those whose education has not gone beyond the prescribed limit of promotion to the fifth standard. Past registers will not be easily available and the trouble and expense involved will deter the ignorant rayat from getting his name on the electoral roll. But in the advanced communities no one steps at the prescribed standard. After completing the vernacular fourth standard he either goes to an English School or studies for the vernacular final examination. He is thus able to show that he has completed the fourth standard, and he can without much difficulty get a vote. This qualification if adopted will give an immense advantage to the plebians. It is very unjust also to the depressed classes. No wonder that five were bold enough to raise their voice in opposition. I would have done the same had I been present.

Question 3 (*c*).—I agree with Mrs. Manekdal in condemning co-option on principle.

Question 4 (*c*)—*The Depressed Classes.*—All officiating village servants useful to Government should be enfranchised is the proposal approved by the Committee. The servants that will come under this are the Patil or the village headman, the Kulkarni or the village accountant and the Mahars. Now the officiating Patils are at most two in a village and in most cases only one it is common to find a large number of names on the register of Watandar representatives. Are all these to be enfranchised or only the officiating one for the time being ? In the case of the village accountant his service has been commuted and a paid Talati does the work. Are the nominally Watandar Kulkarnis to be brought on the electoral roll or they are not to be given the benefit of this qualification ? Now almost all the Patils hold land as also the Kulkarnis. They will with a few exceptions be already on the roll. The Kulkarnis whether serving or not will be enfranchised in virtue of the literacy qualification.

In this case the qualification may be of some advantage to the village Mahar. But the practical difficulties have not been taken into consideration. The Mahars as village servants work in rotation and the personnel is usually changed every year. Under these circumstances the names will have to be changed at every election and it will be a bother to keep up the roll as far as the village servants are concerned. Another consideration is that the depressed classes do not form one homogeneous community. There are several communities none of whom except the Mahars will get a single vote under their village service franchise. The Mahars thus get an unfair advantage and the other depressed communities will be the sufferers. The distinction thus made will be invidious and will be resented. It will be better to give the depressed class people adult suffrage than take to such unfair expedients to swell their numbers on the election rolls.

Question 5—Labour.—The Committee agreed that there is no practical way of enfranchising unorganised labour in rural areas unless it be possible through the group system. This big class of labourers will be without a vote under any scheme of property qualification. This shows the necessity of adopting the group system if injustice to a large class is to be removed.

Question 5 (a)—Special Interests.—When every graduate is to get a vote in a general constituency there was no necessity of keeping the University constituency. There is really no necessity to keep a seat for the cotton interest. Among the merchants should be included all trades. The interests of the cotton trade will be protected by the trade representatives: European and Indian.

Federal Legislature.

Question 6 (b)—It is very strange that the Committee has not realised the necessity of lowering the franchise for the Assembly. They are very partial to the advanced classes and have no regard to the rayat who is the real backbone of the State. I urge that the qualification for the Assembly should be lowered and the present council qualification, *viz.*, holding or renting of land assessed at Rs. 32 should be adopted for election to the Assembly. When the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference recommended that the franchise for the provincial councils was to be lowered and at least 10 per cent. of the population was to be enfranchised and that adult suffrage was the goal to be reached later on it is strange that this committee sees no necessity of lowering the franchise.

Question 6 (d) (i) and (ii).—I am against multiple seat constituencies. Such constituencies are very extensive and a candidate cannot educate it. Cumulative voting is very bad as it tempts people to impersonate deed or absent voters and leads to other abuses. The opinion in the committee was evenly divided and the first was carried by the casting vote of the Chairman only. I submit that it should be considered.

Question 8—General (*ii*).—The Committee has recommended that the " Indian Christians should be represented in the Council (Assembly ?) by reserved seats in the general non-Mohammedan electorate for a period of 20 years. I regret to observe that the Committee have not thought of the numbers of seats that will have to be so reserved. The population of the Indian Christians is scattered and I must admit that I am unable to see how the seats could be reserved in the general constituency to make the scheme a practical one.

Question 11 (*i*).—The Committee recommends that only subjects of such states should be qualified to stand as candidates in which British Subjects are eligible as members of the state legislature if any. This rule is almost meaningless. Very few Indian States have legislatures where a substantial proportion of members are elected. It will be better to say that all state subjects are to be considered as British Indian subjects. The principle of reciprocity is very subtle and elusive.

B. V. JADHAV,

Office of the Provincial Franchise Committee, Bombay,

3rd March 1932.

Copy forwarded for information to the Secretary, Indian Franchise Committee.

Mr. Jadhav is a member of the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee who has been absent at Delhi, through most of the meetings of the Committee and therefore has sent in his own comments on the Committee's provisional decisions.

(Sd.) , *Secretary,*

Provincial Franchise Committee.

(c) Note by Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M.L.C. and Member of the Provincial Franchise Committee.

Extension of the Franchise.

Bearing in mind the introductory remarks of the Questionnaire it is clear that the widening of the Franchise is closely interlinked with the form which the widened electorate is to take. Being of the opinion that the franchise should be broadened even up to the full limit of 25 per cent. of the population, I have during the course of the proceedings of the Committee supported and initiated proposals tending in this direction. The objective aimed at being the attainment of the true responsible Government, it is necessary to explore the different avenues which the broadening of the franchise would afford for reducing to a minimum, if not altogether doing away with, the need for special or separate electorates. The system of special or separate representation has its origin in the practice of nomination by Government when it was not responsible to the people, and when a foreign Government considered the need of some

method by which it could govern an alien population. When this nomination was partly replaced by election the same practice was continued as the form of Government was still not wholly responsible. But as observed by the Government of India itself in their Memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission, the acceptance of separate electorates by Government requires to be read in the closest possible relation to the nature of the Reforms which were being introduced at the time (the Morley-Minto Reforms 1909). The limited extent of those reforms was thus expressed in Lord Morley's well-known disclaimer :—" If it could be said that this Chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing to do with it." Now that we are on the eve of the Parliamentary system of full responsible government, we ought not to make a fetish of the fact that separate electorates are existing in the present system ; not only ought we to devise a formula by which any addition to the separate electorate system would be avoided, but a different method of representation would be substituted for some of the existing systems. In this connection I would refer to the Memorandum submitted to the Franchise and Constituencies Committee by the Proportional Representation Society for their consideration in framing their proposals regarding Franchise and Electorates.

The Group System.

As mentioned in the Preamble to Question No. 1, though adult suffrage is the goal, it being not considered practicable at present to reach it, we have to suggest a scheme by which the extension of the franchise would include all adults and afford them representation, indirect as it may be. The adoption of indirect election would, to a large extent, meet the various problems which confront us in dealing with the question of franchise. This system would afford representation to rural areas, labourers, women and the Depressed Classes and ease the difficulties of the communal problem to a certain extent, and will give effect to a recommendation contained in paragraph 5 of the Round Table Conference Sub-Committee (Franchise) Report and which forms part of Question No. 2 (*b*).

The group idea is more or less indigenous to this country, since the institution of Village Councils of elders or spokesmen of the villagers is an ancient one and though latterly it has lost its original significance, yet it has partially survived in the shape of Village Panchayats. It will be a revival of the old village council in a modern form with the potentiality of performing various functions pertaining to the village. The Joint family, the caste system, and the village community have already in them the germs of the group system. The Indian is not so much an individual citizen as a member of a group and there is a pre-existing natural disposition and capacity for such local grouping. In the East the group spirit has been always visible and there is historical evidence to show that even the untouchables have taken part in the decisions of the village assembly and have had a customary and recognised place in the concerns of the village. The group system will thus serve the purpose of an electorate of primary voters who will elect their spokesmen

and these with the direct voters in the village can form amongst themselves a sort of standing Committee which will act as a unit of village self-Government and to which the various old functions may be entrusted. A sense of civic responsibility with a spirit of co-operation and harmony will be engendered and Government will have thus contributed to the training of the villagers in a system of popular self-Government. I understand that some kind of group system is in existence in agricultural Denmark and in an agricultural country like India where local affairs of the various inhabitants differ from each other but very little, this scheme will afford an opportunity of giving trial to the method of Joint electorate for Mahomedans and the Depressed classes in rural areas, which represent 70 per cent. of the population, leaving the urban areas to indulge in separate Communal electorates if the Mahomedans insist upon their retention for a time.

The principal reason why the Mahomedans and now following their example, the Depressed Classes claim Separate Electorates is that their voting strength is not at present proportionate to their population. If adult suffrage were to be granted, each community's voting strength would approximate to its population strength. The decisions arrived at in the deliberations of the All Parties Conference and which are embodied in the Nehru Report include the giving of adult suffrage, the indirect method of enfranchising all and sundry in certain groups will meet the case and the advantages of adult suffrage will be indirectly enjoyed equally by all people belonging to different communities. In an electorate thus formed, the principle of separate electorates may not be allowed to enter. If there is a separate Constituency established for all those who will be enfranchised as Secondary Voters, we may provide for a system of Joint voting. There will thus be brought into existence joint electorates side by side with separate electorates based upon property and other qualifications. This scheme will afford an opportunity to the Mahomedans to see their way to agree to Joint Electorates since, as stated by Mr. Zaaffarullah Khan in the course of the proceedings of the Franchise Sub-committee of the R. T. C., it will induce the Mahomedans to give up separate electorates when they find that in the general electorate owing to their number having been brought up to correspond to their proportion of the population they are able to exercise the same influence on the Legislature as was the case with separate electorates, etc. (*vide* bottom of page 81 of the Report—Volume VI, R. T. C.). In this separate constituency the depressed classes and Mahomedans will be able to contest a seat and it will be necessary for candidates from the advanced classes to approach the depressed class voters and the Mohamedan candidates to approach the Non-Mahomedan ones and *vice versa*—thus giving an opportunity to the candidates to understand the needs of each other. Thus the depressed classes or the Mahomedans will have the certainty of getting the fixed number of seats reserved for them in case separate electorates are to be constituted and in addition may secure as many other seats as they can in the general constituencies. This double vote will be only for a specified period of 10 years (or 3 elections) at the end of which period the position should be reviewed and if it is

found that the Depressed classes or the Mahomedans are able to get the required seats in such general electorates formed by the group system, the reserved seats may be gradually reduced; and they will disappear when adult franchise is adopted throughout. A provision in the constitution should be made for enabling the Indian Legislatures to pass enfranchising laws in the years to come so as to reach the goal of adult suffrage. This scheme of separate constituencies framed for group electors will meet the contentions of both the advocates of special electorates and joint electorates; and hence it is that I advocate a separate constituency composed of group electors only and whenever possible a plural-member constituency.

Feasibility of the Group System.

It is said that there will be administrative difficulties in the practical working of the system. Replies received from the various collectors, however, show that the system is workable. The only difficulty pointed out is the necessity of having an additional staff and establishment, but this is by no means insuperable as any new scheme must involve some trouble and expense. Out of the 19 collectors only 4 seem to be against it, and two others are opposed on the ground that the Revenue Department would be over-burdened as their establishments have been already cut down for retrenchment purposes, the principle underlying the system being generally approved and favoured as a good beginning. Now as to the method of election some are in favour of the collective voting, while others prefer forming of groups. Lanes, streets, or other geographical divisions in villages and wards in Municipal areas should be taken as units, proportion of spokesmen to direct or primary electors being one in about 20, but in no case should the number of spokesmen be more than five for each unit; if a ward or lane is found too large, it must be cut up. Election of spokesmen could be made by show of hands. This last process is already in operation in the Village Panchayat elections which take place in villages under the Village Panchayat Act under the supervision of the Mamlatdar, and has been recently adopted by the Government in the newly passed legislation. Any Revenue Officer assisted by committees of intelligent and literate electors may be associated with him as in Turkey or Egypt should be entrusted with the work of holding an election which should be made by a majority of votes, the voters in each areas or ward or lane being entitled to elect their spokesmen at the rate of 5 secondary electors by a majority of votes. To me the collective method seems to be the simplest and less formal as should be the case in the beginning. In the mofussil areas in the Presidency proper the population of Mahomedans is small and it is also spread over different areas and this also of the agriculturists or the labouring or the working classes whose interests are common and in no way different from those of the other communities. Hence a separate common electorate in the group system would be most suitable from every point of view.

Women's franchise and their representation in Legislatures.

Both Begum Shah Nawaz and Mrs. Naidu, Members of the R. T. C. have stated that women were not prepared to accept any special qualification or allocation of seats. Mrs. Subbarayan, however, urged that

some method should be devised to ensure the representation of women in the Legislatures. The attitude of Mrs. Tarabai Maneklal Premchand, the lady member of our Provincial Committee, was indeed commendable. She looked at the problem from a broad nationalistic point of view and unlike the claim put forward by the other minorities representatives she did not ask for any special treatment to women either in the matter of franchise or seats in the legislature. The arguments put forward by the advocates of separate electorates that their communities have not got sufficient franchise nor representation and therefore they need special treatment, have not appealed to their Lady colleague, because she knows that they are unsound in principle and detrimental to the real interest of the country. The Depressed Classes complain of social tyranny and inferiority of status in society and on that account claim special treatment; but they forget that women are also treated by the Shastras in a similar manner and are even forbidden from worshipping with vedic rites and high caste Hindu widows are regarded as untouchable even in their own homes in respect of certain matters such as cooking or taking water at their hands. But this state of things is passing away; and fully realising the far-reaching evil effects of separatist tendencies in Hindu society, they are prepared not to claim separate treatment out of national and patriotic considerations. Their example of unselfishness and broad outlook deserves to be followed by others. On a full consideration of the subject therefore, I have finally come to the conclusion that the proposal of giving franchise to all wives, whose husbands are voters is not acceptable to me, nor was it approved by our Lady Member—Mrs. Tarabai Premchand. I, therefore, agree with the proposal of giving independent vote to women outside Bombay City by the group system, in Bombay City if groups are not feasible, the proposal of Mrs. Maneklal—that all women members of non-communal organisations registered under the Society's Registration Act paying an annual subscription of Rs. 2 and would further give the vote to the widows of persons who would have been entitled to the franchise under the property qualification at the time of their death. My reason for this last suggestion is that under the Hindu Law widows in undivided families and with male issue in divided families, labour under the peculiar disability of not inheriting the property of their husbands as heirs. This privilege will be discontinued when the Reform of Hindu Law in this direction takes place. As regards seats for women, the proposal of the Committee of providing for women at least 3 seats, which if they do not secure in the general elections, should be made up by co-option by the Members of the Legislative Council voting on the system of proportional representation with the single transferable vote, is acceptable to me.

Representation of the Depressed Classes.

As regards the Depressed Classes my sympathies are entirely with them. I belong to no communal organisation, but to the theistic School of the Brahmo or Prarthana Samaj which does not recognise any orthodox dogmas or caste or communal religion. The disabilities from which the Depressed Classes are suffering are being gradually removed, though it must be admitted that their treatment at the hands of Orthodox Hindus

in certain social and religious matters is such as to exasperate them. But because of such exasperation, they should not be driven to the other extremity and insist upon separate electorates. It will neither be patriotic for them nor will it be to their real interest ultimately. We have already adopted the group system of representation, lowered the franchise to ¼ in Rural and ½ in Urban areas and have given such of them as are Watandar Village servants a franchise. By these methods a large number of these classes are likely to be enfranchised and by the indirect method of Group Voting every one of them will have a voice, small as it may be, in the Legislature.

The next question that arises relates to their representation on the Legislative Council. We have already provided for special representation to Labour by which means they will get their proper share in it as many of them will be included in the category of Labour. Any further representation to be given to them must depend on various considerations such as the number of people qualified for the task, the number of seats available, the areas over which their population is spread, etc. The subject was considered by the Statutory Commission in paragraphs 78, 79 and 80 of their Report (at pp. 64 to 67, Vol. II). As stated therein "a separate electorate for Depressed Classes means stigmatising each individual voter in the list and militates against the process which is already beginning and which needs to be in every way encouraged—that of helping those who are depressed to rise in the social and economic scale", the Commission have not recommended the allocation of seats to them on the basis of their full population ratio. "The poverty and want of education which so widely prevail amongst them", the Commission goes on to state, "makes it extremely doubtful whether a large number of adequately equipped members could be at once provided, and it is far better that they should be represented by qualified spokesmen rather than by a larger number of ineffectives" (born in their own Community). By the larger enfranchisement, the Depressed Class voters will be enabled to cast their votes not only for those who are Members of their class but for others who have by their past history shown special interest in their welfare. In the future democracy candidates of wide outlook and without communal bias will have a better chance of securing the votes of depressed classes who themselves will benefit by being represented by such men. It will thus be seen that Joint Electorates, with some seats reserved for the Depressed Classes, if necessary for a transitory period, will be the proper solution of the representation of these classes. The Indian Central Committee of the Statutory Commission recommended such reservation of seats for the Depressed Classes in Joint electorates. In fact, that recommended the abolition of Communal electorates for Mahomedans also. "We are convinced", the Committee says, "that until Muslims and Hindus are brought together in common electorates there is little prospect of the evolution of a spirit of common citizenship, without which the system of responsible Government cannot be satisfactorily developed..... In these Provinces (which includes Bombay) the majority of us are of the opinion that separate electorates for the Muslims should now be abolished".

Coming to the Provincial Committees, appointed to confer with the Indian Statutory Commission, the Bombay Committee have not proposed separate electorates for them but have recommended reservation of seats for them in certain constituencies where their numbers are sufficiently large both in population and on the electoral roll. Dr. Ambedkar who was a member of that Committee has appended a separate report of his own which is published as Appendix D in Volume III of the Indian Statutory Commission. In this elaborate document he has torn to pieces the case for separate electorates for the Mahomedans based on what is called the Lucknow Pact. He has conclusively shown that for the error of separate Communal Constituencies, which have been condemned as vicious and unsound from time to time in several documents both official and non-official, " the Lucknow *Pact* should not and cannot be quoted as any justification for the continuance thereof nor is it correct to say that India itself has deliberately chosen this road to responsible Government, for it is the British Authorities who are primarily responsible for pointing out this wrong road in 1909 ". A short history of separate Mahomedan representation from 1892 to the time of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, will be found in a Note attached as Appendix V to the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Volume I, pp. 183 to 189. Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India in 1908 while accepting the principle of adequate Mahomedan representation expressed great doubts as to the suggestion for separate electorates. The following quotation from that Note will be found very helpful at this time when we are on the eve of a full responsible Government in India. " In considering the Morley-Minto reforms as they affect the question of communal representation, three points must be borne in mind. Firstly, the scheme was merely a further application of the principle of representation by classes and interests, the previous arrangements (of nomination) not having been satisfactory. Secondly, the political importance of the Community carried greater weight than its numerical strength in fixing the extent of the representation to be granted. And, thirdly, the reconstruction of the Councils was not intended as a step in the direction of the establishment of parliamentary Government in India. " In Lord Morley's famous phrase—already quoted in another connection— " If it could be said that this chapter of Reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a Parliamentary System in India, I for one, would have nothing to do with it ". The Government of Bombay stated in 1918 in paragraph 11 of their letter No. 1416, dated 21st February 1918, that communal representation was not acceptable to them. The Montford Report says that Communal Electorates are opposed to the teaching of history, they perpetuate Class divisions teaching men to think as partisans and not as citizens and they stereotype existing relations and they conclude by saying " We regard any system of communal electorates therefore as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle. *The evils of any extension of the system are plain* ". The views of the Government of India on the recommendations of the Southborough Committee with regard to Communal electorates are given in paragraphs 18 to 24 of their fifth despatch on Indian Constitutional Reforms. They state :—" We feel the objections of principle to the

communal system as strongly as the authors of the Reforms Report, but see no advantage at this stage in reiterating them. India is not prepared to take the first steps forward towards responsible Government upon any other road. The road does not lead directly to that goal and we can only echo the hope expressed by the Committee that it will be possible at no distant date to merge all communities in one general electorate."

At the meeting of the Congress in Madras in December 1927, joint electorates with reservation of seats was resolved upon. In the same month a section of the Muslim League at Calcutta under the Presidentship of Moulvi Mahammad Yakub practically accepted the resolution of the Madras Congress. The Hindu Maha Sabha has all along insisted on the abolition of separate electorates. The All Parties Conference, at which no less than 24 organisations both non-communal and communal representing Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Parsis, were represented appointed a Committee and their Report embodied in what is called the Nehru Report also rejected separate electorates and advocated joint mixed electorates throughout India. The All-India Liberal Federation, in August 1931, also passed a resolution advocating the abolition of separate electorates while stressing the necessity of all suitable measures for meeting the legitimate aspirations of the Depressed Classes. Only in this month a resolution was passed at Delhi by the All-India Shradhananda Dalitudhar Sabha advocating common electorates for Depressed classes and a Committee of 32 members was appointed to take steps to press this point before the Franchise Committee. Mr. M. C. Raja, M.L.A., the veteran Depressed Classes leader of Madras who was a member of the auxiliary Committee of Madras that co-operated with the Simon Commission, in a statement to the Press has made it clear that joint electorates would do good to them if the number of their voters is increased and that since the depressed classes have already agreed to reserve seats in Joint electorates in the Madras Presidency for Village Panchayat Taluka and District Boards and Municipal Councils, it would be very helpful to the candidates for the Indian Legislatures.

On this side Dr. Ambedkar in the Report already referred to while dealing with the case of his own class has made suggestions for the recasting of the electoral system (*vide* paragraphs 66 to 68 of the Report), and has wound up by saying that though he is for securing the special representation of certain classes, he is against their representation by separate electorates. "Territorial electorates and separate electorates", he goes on to say, "are the two extremes which must be avoided in any scheme of representation that may be devised for the introduction of a democratic form of Government in this most undemocratic country. The golden mean is the system of joint electorates with reserved seats. Less than that will be insufficient, more than that will defeat the ends of good Government". The whole discussion to which he has devoted no less than some 44 paragraphs will convert any advocate of separate electorates to the view of Joint electorates.

There are several castes among the Depressed occupying a low position in the scale of Hindu society. It is difficult to determine where

un-touchability ends and touchability begins. There are castes un-touchable in respect of each other and each regarding the other as inferior or superior and *vice versa*. Efforts have been made and are being made for the removing of un-touchability and coalescing the various sections into a homogeneous community. Un-touchability is a diminishing quantity which cannot be computed in fixed numbers and would vanish in course of time. Is it therefore wise to perpetuate it by conferring on it a separate inferiority complex ? Nothing can be more suicidal than such a false step. But it is said that you cannot force joint electorates on any community. Is there any guarantee, however, that there are not sections in the community who hold different views ? In any case, what about the other large community which does not want separate electorates ? Are you going to force them on such ? In short, not only out of a consideration for what is right but I think it is a moral obligation upon those who profess themselves to be trustees of the interests of others to do what is in the true interest of their CETE QUE TRUST, notwithstanding that the latter is unwilling to agree to it, for, after all, he does not understand what is for his real benefit and what is not.

In the motion welcoming the declaration made by the Prime Minister of England at the end of the 1st Round Table Conference, of the policy of the then Government (which was re-affirmed as the policy of the present Government), which was carried by the Bombay Legislative Council on 6th March 1931, it was stated that the future constitution for India should be such as will command a wide measure of general assent. Though a large section of the politically minded people is at present keeping out of the work of implementing the conclusions arrived at in the two Round Table Conferences, it cannot and ought not to be forgotten that on the shape which will be finally given to the structure of the constitution, will depend the future contentment of the people in general. It becomes therefore the more necessary for us to take count of the views and opinions expressed by this section. The view generally accepted by this class of people is that in any rational system of representation separate electorates must be discarded. It may be noted that the Ceylon Reforms Inquiry Committee very recently recommended the abolition of separate electorates throughout the island ; and the first general election, which took place on the basis of a common electorate, has dispelled the fears of the champions of separate electorates and is found to be working very well.

Experience has shown that separate electorates have but tended to emphasise the differences and increase the tension between the communities. The Government of Bombay have admitted in the Memorandum issued in 1928 that communal dissensions are worse now than they were in 1919. The Reforms Inquiry Committee of 1924 were entirely opposed to the extension of the principle of separate electorates any further. It cannot be denied that reservation of seats for communities is as bad in principle as communal electorates. But for various reasons of expediency reservation may be accepted for a time to serve as a transitional stage between separate electorates and general mixed electorates without any restrictions. The idea is that during the interval the dis-

trust of one community or the other would be very much lessened, if not altogether removed. This very idea was at the bottom of the Lucknow Pact, but it having failed to achieve the desired result by the experience of the last 14 years, should we not at least give a trial to another experiment calculated to pave the way to a better understanding between the communities. The true solution to secure representation for minorities is the system of proportional representation if it is practicable. In conclusion, reference may be made to the Nehru Report for reasons which weighed with them for not making any special provision for the representation of the Depressed Classes in the Legislature. "We are not prepared," so the Report says "to extend this (special electorates and reservation of seats) unsound and harmful principle, if we can help it, nor do we think that we will do any good to these classes by ensuring some seats for them in this way."

In order to give the feeling of security, some method of safeguarding the rights of the Depressed Classes ought to be provided. The clumsy and objectionable method of separate electorates is not calculated to do this, but on the contrary it may emphasise the differences. The creation of communal councils to protect the interests of a considerable community, say over 10 lacs, may be suggested. Members of the community representing it for certain purposes might help the cause of the community. The manner in which members of such councils can be elected by the respective communities may be determined by the Provincial Council. The functions of the Communal Council may be on some such lines as the supervision of Primary Education Schools, orphanages, public wells, temples, dharmashalas, etc., also recommendation of grants to institutions or for scholarships.

Second Chamber and Special Representation.

The Committee was at first of the opinion that there should be no Second Chamber in the Provincial Legislature, but on the last date of its sitting decided in favour of a Bi-Cameral Provincial legislature. The arguments used by several Members of the Committee advocating a second Chamber were that Members representing special interests would present to the House their various problems and act as a brake on the Lower House and in certain matters give a lead to it. These very arguments were put forward by them, when they supported the retention of special constituencies in the Provincial Legislature. Any special representation would have been perhaps justified in the absence of a second chamber. In view, however, of the Committee's final decision on the desirability of a second chamber constituted by an electorate with special qualifications, I think there is no need of continuing any separate or special representation since the special interests and minorities would be represented in the second chamber. The representation of special interests by separate constituencies is a relic of the system adopted in the past, when Government used to nominate Members belonging to different Bodies to the Legislature and it was continued when the legislature came to be partially elected. In the Dyarchical form of the constitution, when the Government was not yet fully and really made responsible,

the system was allowed to operate as before. However, now that we are having a full responsible Government, the separate representation of special interests cannot really fit in with the reformed constitution. I have already touched upon the genesis of these separate or special electorates in a previous part of this note and pointed out how they are inconsistent with the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India.

General.

Reservation of seats for Communities is as bad in principle as separate electorates. The Marathas form an overwhelming majority in the Bombay Presidency and they need no special protection in the matter of representation in the Legislature, as will be seen by a scrutiny of the election figures in the elections held in recent times. At the time of the Montford Reforms, it was feared that they might not get elected in adequate numbers and for reasons of expediency they were allowed reservation of seats in certain Districts as a transitional stage. After the experience of the last 12 years, however, in the elections to the different local bodies in the Presidency as also the Legislative Council, it is not at all necessary to make any reservation for the Marathas, who have proved themselves more than a match for their rivals and it is feared that they will with the extended franchise which will benefit them most, completely swamp the other sections of the Hindu Community. Reservation for a majority is absolutely indefensible. It is an artificial restriction on the growth both of the majority and the minority and must necessarily retard the national progress. It is injurious to the majority itself as it makes it rely on legislative protection to keep up its position and not on its own merit. The majority reservation of seats is inconsistent with real responsible Government and it unnecessarily interferes with the right of the electors to choose whom they like. It comes in the way of other small and natural minorities within the Hindu Community and will give a longer lease of life to communalism which must be expelled from the body politic.* The voting on this and some other questions partook of the nature of a pact-voting that proceeded upon communal lines. In fact, one Member expressly mentioned that they were there to support the minorities pact, which was brought about in London in November last. It is, therefore, submitted that the decisions carried by a majority of the Committee on certain matters, need to be taken with some reservation and a great deal of caution. In conclusion, I have deemed it necessary to record a separate note in regard to certain fundamental questions which vitally affect the soundness of the constitution which is to be built up for the Government of the country. A good deal of criticism has already been levelled at the scope of the work and the composition of the Committees set up to continue the work of the R. T. C. in India. It is said, among other things, in the current number of the Modern Review, whether the representatives of the separatist Moslems, Depressed Classes and other minority groups with which the

* *Vide* Memorandum of the Bombay Government submitted to the Statutory, Committee in 1928, pp. 419 and 420. Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, paragraph 69.

Committees are packed are going to evolve a constitution which will really be satisfactory even to those nationally-minded few, who are helping in framing the same, not to speak of that great politically-minded section which is keeping out at present.

(d) Note by Sardar V. N. Mutalik.

I am putting forth my views about the formation of the future Legislatures, both Provincial and Federal.

Conceding that it has been decided, that separate electorates are to continue for the Muslims, and fully agreeing with the views expressed by Rao Bahadur Kale with that portion in his note on this question, and with the views of Dr. Ambedkar expressed in his very able and lucid minute of dissent attached to the Report of the Provincial Committee, co-operating with the Simon Commission, I hold the view that a beginning should and ought to now be made to do away with the separate electorate of the Muslims. The best course to follow is to allow to the Muslim Community three-fourth the number of seats they are entitled to have on *population* basis to be filled by separate electorates, and allow them to stand for election in all the non-Mahomedan constituencies and capture any number of additional seats. I am totally opposed to allow any weightage to Muslims in the Provincial or Federal Legislatures. We have to evolve a form of Legislature for India which will be truly national and not be only a bee-hive of separate communities. The proportion of separate electorates mentioned above should be reduced every third or fourth election, in the light of the experience gained, *without any detriment to the representation of the Muslims on the Legislatures.*

I fully concur with the views of Rao Bahadur Kale about the representation of the Depressed Classes. It is in the interest of the Communities themselves and in the interest of the nation that this separatist tendency be checked. The temptation will be there, and cannot be ever overcome, once it is conceded. The evils of separate communal electorates have been put forth and discussed threadbare by abler hands.

The majority of the Committee have opposed an increase in the seats of the Landholders and the Millowners, on the Federal Lower House. It is not surprising in the present Committee and shows what treatment this special interest is going to have in future Councils. I have to draw special attention to the remarks in paragraph 29 of the Federal Structure Committee about the representation of these interests. If the Landholders and Mill industry are to be represented they must have *continuous representation.* By no stretch of imagination, I can see any justification for this day and night representation in the case of special interests recognised as fit for special representation. I had the honour to bring forward this point in 1925, as a member representing the Bombay Presidency Landholders in the Assembly by a special memorial to His Excellency the Viceroy. I was then apprised in a personal interview by His Excellency as well as by the Honourable the Home Member that the question will be fully considered at the next Inquiry Commission or Committee. I may quote the words of the late Sir Alexander Muddiman, the then Home Member:—"I fully understand and appreciate the

force of the argument of your claim, and I agree that if representation of the Landholders is to be kept up in future Legislatures, it should be a continuous one". He only said the question could not be reopened before the Inquiry Committee sits, as it required Parliamentary Act.

In this connection I have further to point out that the Assembly is to be a Federal Chamber. The peculiar landed tenures of this Presidency and the questions affecting the rights of Inams between Indian Government and Indian States and Inamdars involved on account of the vast territorial exchange with the Indian Princes, will be highly subtle and technical and there are weighty reasons which will lead any one to believe that the Provincial Government stands to gain substantially in reclaimed revenues, if the questions are raised in Federal Chambers in the light of the treaties. It is to be advantageous both to individual Inamdars concerned as well as to the Provincial Government if the questions are raised. For obvious reasons the questions could not be ventilated uptil now on the floor of any legislature. I am confident that their representative will fully explain the questions if he appears before the Committee. It is only a representative of Bombay who can speak on the question of the rights of a citizen in British India, who held property in Indian States with guarantees from British Government. I urge for seats to the Landholders as demanded in their memorandum.

As regards the representation of Millowners, I have to draw attention to the remarks in paragraph 23 of the Federal Structure Committee's Report. Bombay is conceded a representation over and above its population ratio only on account of its commercial and industrial importance and it is obviously illogical and unjust to deny the just right to the Millowners and absorb the seats for the general electorates, to which surely they are not entitled according to the formula of the Committee.

In conclusion I state my considered opinion that in any scheme of the formation of the Legislatures, the majority community should not be deprived of its claim to the representation proportionate to its population and turned into a minority in the Legislature. The special seats for Depressed Classes by whatever way they are given should be sliced out from the weightage at present given to Muslims in this Presidency.

The time has come when in the best interest of the nation, and in the interest of all communities and particularly of the Muslim and Depressed Class communities, we have to face the situation boldly and in the spirit of true statesmanship while keeping the mutual goodwill between all communities. I look personally to the British statesmanship to solve the problems and satisfy all.

(e) Note by Rao Bahadur S. N. Angadi, M.L.C.

(1) Group System.
(2) Second Chamber.
(3) Depressed Classes (separate electorate).
(4) Mixed or Separate Groups for Women.

(1) Group System.

In the questionnaire submitted to this Provincial Franchise Committee, we are asked to assume that communal electorates of some sort will be

retained and further we are asked to contrive such a franchise system as should give a voting strength proportionate to its numbers to each community. The assumption of communal electorate, particularly for one of the communities of the Hindus, *viz.*, the Depressed Classes, makes the question of framing the Franchise System very complicated. The further ideal of giving a community a voting strength proportionate to its numbers as far as may be practicable makes it still more baffling. Add to these, the women's suffrage, the representation of labour (organised, unorganised and also agricultural) it would be obvious that the task of devising the Franchise System so as to give adequate representation to all these separate and different interests is a stupendous task bristling with all kinds of difficulties. If property qualifications were adopted as has been done by us, it would be next to impossible to reach logical and harmonious conclusions. The reason is not far to seek. The economic condition and the social status, especially of the Depressed Classes, differs from that of rest of the Hindus so widely that by no conceivable method can we secure to the depressed classes a voting strength proportionate to its numbers except it be by Lord Zetland's "Group System". I am one of those who are very much enamoured of this group system despite the fact that it may lead to certain difficulties. If adult franchise were the goal to be reached (and we have agreed that it is the goal to be reached not immediately but by going from stage to stage), it is impossible to conceive any other device except the grouping of primary voters. This system, I take it, is the best solvent of the various difficult problems which confront one at every step in grappling with the question of franchise. No doubt, in the initial stages, it would give to all adults except spokesmen indirect voice. But that is a necessary evil not likely to be avoided in the beginning. Taking Bombay Presidency, we have a population of 220 lacs approximately (22,000,000). The adult population must be taken to be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 11,000,000. Out of this adult population, we can easily form groups of proper sizes, the moment we determine what percentage of the total population we want to enfranchise.

Supposing it is intended to enfranchise in the beginning 10 per cent. of the total population, that means we must have 2,250,000 of voters. This result could be arrived at by forming groups of five (5). Each community irrespective of its economic condition and irrespective of its political or social status would be getting a voting strength proportionate to its numbers. The goal of adult franchise could be reached within 20 years. And all that is required to bring it about, is to go on, reducing the size of the group of 5, by one (make it a group of 4, 3 and so on), at the end of every 5 years. This should not be difficult of attainment, if it were provided in the constitution, that the franchise would be liable to be broadened in the proportion mentioned. Most of the Collectors of the Presidency appear to favour this system. The difficulty pointed out by some of them is one of expense and extra staff. But, this certainly is not an insuperable difficulty. On the other hand the advantages of the system are obvious, we do not need to have bother our brains, as to how labour should be represented, how to enfranchise women and how to

remove the stigma of the depressed classes and how to give the last effective voice in the franchise.

(2) Second Chamber.

I am considering the question of a Second Chamber purely from the point view of our Presidency. I am opposed to our Presidency being burdened with a Second Chamber. I am fully aware of its advantages. Its advocates point out that it is dangerous to have the Government of a single omnipotent democratic Chamber ; that it is necessary in the work of legislation, to secure a due amount of caution, that the bicameral system is of almost universal prevalence, that it works as a break on the hasty legislation of a lower house and finally that it would be the best guardian of the interests of minorities. All this is granted. But I am afraid, it would be a body always out of harmony with public opinion. Apart from this, in view of the limited franchise, we are recommending, I do not see a ghost of chance for any member of communistic views to get an entry into the lower house. The House of Commons which we are going to have, in future, under the proposed franchise, would be a House of Commons, only in name. The poor man, the man of the communistic views, who would want reform root and branch, does not stand the smallest degree of a chance to get into the house. The demand for a Second Chamber, it seems to me, has its origin in the groundless fears of capitalists and landed aristocracy, who think that they will be swamped by those opposed to their interests. This is not going to happen at all. During the Mont-Ford reforms period, there was not one occasion on which, legislation opposed to the interests of these classes is said to have been attempted. But it is contended, that the official block has been a safety-valve ; I do not see how this agreement could be advanced, with a show of reason, inasmuch as all non-official members were opposed to nomination block. The extraordinary powers proposed to be vested in the Governor, would quite suffice, to safeguard the interests of the minorities. It is no use creating vested interests, free from Legislative interference.

The Second Chamber would be regarded as an un-democratic institution. Its creation might result in unnecessary friction between the two houses besides saddling the Presidency with enormous unnecessary expenditure.

(3) Depressed Classes.

It would be idle to deny that the treatment meted out to the depressed classes by the caste-Hindus is most inhuman. Even now their touch is pollution, and their shadow, unsacred to the orthodox Hindus. But it would be equally idle to controvert the fact that the educated caste-Hindus have begun to realise, that the depressed classes are an inseparable part of the Hindus and that they are as much human-beings as themselves. The sentiment of the latter would be irreparably wounded, if the depressed classes were segregated from them. The signs of a tendency to help the depressed classes to rise in the social and economic scale are not wanting, and it is my firm belief that with a sufficient spread of education among the masses, untouchability would be a thing of the past. Is it worth while then to concede to them a separate electorate ? Apart

from general objections to a separate electorate, there are special reasons, why a separate electorate should not be created for the depressed classes. Those who advocate separate electorates for them, do so on the ground, that the interests of the depressed classes would not be safe through joint electorates, without reservation of seats and also through joint electorates with reservation of seats, I personally recommend joint electorates, with reservation of seats. In the assignment of seats, I would not be guided by the economic, social or political status of a community. I would give representation on population basis. Any other basis of representation has no value or sense for me. Holding, as I do these views, I do not think the interests of the depressed classes would be in jeopardy in joint electorates with reservation of seats. What are the interests of the depressed classes, so far as the provincial council is concerned ? I think, education and service would fairly sum up their interests. Could it be contended that if adequate representation were accorded to them, those interests would not be safeguarded ? In my eight years' experience of the Provincial Council, no section of the House appeared to be opposed to granting special facilities and concessions in the matter of education and service, to the depressed classes. The danger of joint electorates, it is pointed out, is that the nominees of the caste-Hindus from among the depressed classes would come in, granting that it will be so held, would such nominees be opposed to the interests of their own community ? I do not think, any nominee could be so great a fool as to oppose the interests of his own community. Why then fight shy of joint electorates ? Mr. M. C. Raja, M.L.A., is in favour of joint electorates. He is further of opinion, that the depressed classes should not be called " the untouchables " but should change that name to " Adi-Dravids ". I would welcome this suggestion of his for the simple reason that it is not suggestive of any inherent inferiority.

(4) Mixed or Separate Groups for Women.

I would only point out that those who demand mixed groups for women, do so through ignorance of the conditions of women in the rural areas and also in small towns. If we do not have separate groups for women, no woman spokesman is likely to be elected. This apart, very many women, in the present condition of things, would not go with men, to elect a spokesman. This might sound strange and may not appeal to both men and women of cities like Bombay, Poona and Karachi. But I am stating a fact and not dogmatising.

(f) Joint Memorandum submitted by (1) Rao Bahadur R. S. Asavale, M.L.C., (2) Dr. P. G. Solanki, M.L.C., (3) Mr. Syed Munawar, M.L.C., and (4) Rao Bahadur S. N. Angadi, M.L.C., Members of the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee.

Extension of Franchise.

We think that it is essential to widen the franchise to such an extent as to enfranchise a fairly large proportion of the population and that the percentage to be enfranchised should not be less than 20 per cent.

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In order to secure enfranchisement of an adequate proportion of the population we suggest that the franchise in the city of Bombay should be lowered from its present Rs. 10 rental basis to Rs. 4 rental. As regards urban areas, excluding Bombay City, franchise under property qualification should be lowered to half of what it is at present. In the case of rural areas, franchise should be lowered to one-fourth of what it is now, and in addition the group-system of primary voters should be introduced in the proportion of 1 to 21 in the case of male adults and 1 to 11 in the case of female adults of 21 years of age. We suggest this as there is a great disparity in the voting strength, because a smaller percentage of the rural population has been enfranchised as compared to the urban population.

Representation of Special Interests.

As regards separate constituencies we are of the opinion that all special interests except Sardars, Inamdars and big landholders in the Presidency, should be retained, as they can easily secure adequate representation through the general constituency to safeguard their interests. Experience shows that during the last eleven years of constitutional progress they have secured more representation than they were entitled to.

Labour.

Organised manual labour should have a separate electorate in the form of Registered Trade Union Constituency similar to the one in vogue in the Bombay Municipal Corporation, but to have a sufficiently large electorate the ratio of delegate to membership should be 1 to 21.

As regards unorganised labour we think it necessary to enfranchise manual labour in industries, factories and docks by the group-system of one spokesman to every 21, and a separate roll of such spokesmen should be maintained and they should elect candidates to the seats that may be allocated for such labour. Seats for Labour should be allocated with due regard to the number of voters in organised and unorganised labour constituencies.

Reserved Seats.

We urge that Reserved Seats should be provided for the Marathas and Indian Christians. The Reserved Seats for Marathas with a right to contest additional seats should be continued in those constituencies where they are not likely to have a percentage of voting strength equal to the percentage of their population.

Women Suffrage.

We are in favour of enfranchising women on their property qualification like men in the urban areas ; and as regards women's franchise in rural areas we suggest that the group-system should be applied in addition to the property qualification. The method of the group-system for them should be to give one spokeswoman for every 11.

We are opposed to any other qualification than what we have suggested for both men and women. We are strongly opposed to the educational qualification as this will be tantamount to giving adult suffrage to advanced communities and will put the educationally backward communities at a very serious disadvantage ; and furthermore the disparity existing at present between the advanced and educationally backward communities will by this qualification be accentuated.

Depressed Classes.

The Depressed Classes be should given full, adequate representation in proportion to their population. Even by lowering of the franchise and enlargement of the electorate, as suggested by the Committee, we are afraid they will not be able to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates, until and unless they are given separate electorates like the Muhammadans at least for some years.

To enfranchise the Depressed Classes who have no qualifications the only possible method would be the one of the group-system, as we have mentioned above in the case of men and women.

Provincial Legislature.

We are not in favour of the bi-cameral system for the provincial legislature as it will only serve as a spoke in the wheel of smooth working and of the progress of the Legislature. Further it will entail unnecessary extra expenditure, labour and great delay. We think it also unnecessary because we assume that the Governor of the Province is to be invested with certain special powers in order to safeguard the interests and rights of the minorities and other interests. It will also enable him to remove deadlock, if any, in the working of the Provincial Council.

We are of opinion that the size of the Council should be enlarged and it is should not be less than 200.

Federal Legislature.

The franchise for the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be the one that at present exists for the Provincial Legislature.

We are in favour of single-seated constituencies with a view to minimize the trouble and expenditure of the candidates contesting elections.

Labour in the Federal Lower Chamber should be represented by members elected by the Registered Trade Unions in the Bombay Presidency.

Separate Note by Rao Bahadur S. N. Angadi, M.L.C.

I am glad to associate myself with all that has been said by my friends, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Munawar except with regard to the depressed classes about whom my detailed view will be found in the separate note submitted by me.

(g) Note of Mr. A. O. Koreishi, Member of the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee, on the proposal to group Municipal, Suburban, Cantonment, Notified and such other allied areas, and Towns with cities in future, instead of with rural areas as at present, in the rural Muslim Constituencies of the Presidency Proper.

It seems unnecessary for me to enter into the question of separate constituencies for urban and rural areas in general and for Muslims of the Presidency Proper in particular, as obviously the principle of separate representation for rural and even small municipal urban areas has been conceded and accepted by the Southborough Committee in their Report for many provinces in India such as the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab, Madras and even Assam.

Under that Committee's Report, 2 cities and a town in the adjoining Presidency of Madras with a total Muslim male population of 13,000 souls and 500 electors only, or on an average of 4,300 Muslims and 170 electors to each town have been given an urban representation of one seat. Out of these three, one includes the lowest Muslim population of 57 souls out of a total of 23,000 persons in Srirangam (according to the census of 1921). In Assam, one urban seat is given to a town with a total population of 17,000 persons of whom 1,000 are Muslims (according to the Southborough Report). In Bihar and Orissa where the percentage of Muslims is only about a couple of per cent. higher than the Muslims of the Bombay Presidency Proper, the Muslim municipal town-dwellers of three different Divisions comprising respectively 15, 14 and 12 towns of varying sizes have each been given an urban seat. Thus, according to the Southborough Report, this combination of 15 towns in the Patna Division have a total male Muslim population of 51,000 and an electorate of 6,000 only ; in other words, an average population of less than 3,500, with 400 electors to a town. It may be informing that in this Division, according to the census of 1921, 7 towns have a total population of less than 10,000 souls each and the smallest township is that of 4,800 souls, of whom only 1,000 are Muslims. In the Tirhoot Division, 14 towns with a total Muslim population of 35,000 persons and 3,500 electors have been given an urban seat ; or, in other words, an average of about 2,500 persons and 250 electors have been assigned an urban seat. Of these according to the census of 1921, 7 towns have so low a total population of less than 15,000 souls and 5 towns less than 2,000 Muslims each. Similarly, a total male Muslim population of 27,000 persons and 3,000 electors have, according to the Southborough Report, been separately constituted with 12 municipal towns and an exclusive urban seat in the Bhagalpur Division. This works out an average of 2,250 persons and 250 electors per town. These 12 municipal towns (according to the last census of 1921) comprise 5 townships of less than 10,000 souls of which one has less than 5,000.

Again, in the adjoining Province of the Central Provinces, each of the Divisions of Jubbulpore, Nerbudda and Nagpur and the Districts of Akola and Buldana jointly, have urban seats assigned to non-Mahomedan constituencies and in a good many of these townships the total population does not exceed 10,000 souls in each. It is very significant that the

town Muslims of the whole of Berar comprising about 14 municipal towns with a total male Muslim population of 21,000 souls and 2,000 electors (according to the Southborough Report, which works out at an average of 1,500 persons and about 100 electors to each municipal town) have an urban seat assigned to them. In the Punjab also most of the Divisional Muslims living in towns have been constituted into urban-seated areas. For instance, in the Multan Division, an urban seat is allocated to about 22 towns aggregating total male Muslim population of 78,000 (according to the Southborough Report). This figure works out at an average population of 3,500 males only per town. In this connection, it may be useful to mention that even according to the census report of 1921, most of the towns have a total population of less than 10,000 souls and some of the Municipal towns in this constituency have a total male Muslim population of less than 1,500 souls.

The figures in the above paragraphs have been either culled from the Southborough Report or the Census Reports of 1921 for the different Provinces, giving the names and populations of the town, cantonments and civil areas, in each Divisional constituencies. As I have not been able to get at the Electoral Rules and Regulations of the different Provinces, there may be slight differences one way or the other in the number of towns allocated in each constituency, but I presume they are substantially correct. After these facts, as elicited mainly from the Southborough Committee Report, I hardly think that it is necessary for me to quote any further figures from other Provinces to substantiate the impropriety of merging wholesale the small municipal areas of the Presidency Proper into rural areas, and especially so when the towns of the Presidency Proper are much larger in size than in some of the other Provinces. I may, therefore, pass to the facts, figures, and circumstances of the Muslims of the town areas of the Bombay Presidency Proper.

As against the arrangements indicated above in some of the other provinces, the town-dwellers of the three Divisions of the Presidency which are mostly municipal towns have been grouped in multiple-seated constituencies to vote with rural voters. This arrangement has been made in spite of the salient fact that nearly 52 per cent. of the total Muslim population of the Presidency Proper live in towns most of which are municipal areas, under the Bombay District Municipal Act III of 1904, and no less than about 20 of which are designated as City Municipalities under the Bombay City Municipalities Act XVIII of 1925. The total population affected in some of these City and Town municipalities generally ranges from (according to the census figures of 1931) over 5,000 souls to about 90,000 of which 25,000 are Muslims (such as Hubli in the Dharwar District). I give below, according to the census of 1931, the figures of Muslim dwellers in towns and villages separately in each of the Divisions of the Presidency Proper in round numbers :—

Division.	Muslim population in Cities and Towns.	Muslim population in Rural areas.	Total.
N. D.	213,000	190,000	403,000
C. D.	220,000	224,000	444,000
S. D.	146,000	360,000	505,600

Thus, roughly the urban identity of over 36 per cent. of the actual town-dwellers (after deducting the population of 2 urban constituencies) of the Presidency Proper is sunk in that of villages.

Such a proposal as I have indicated above was made by me before the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee, and was put forward as one affecting the interests and convenience of the Muslims of the Presidency Proper only, but I am sorry to say that owing, perhaps, to lack of adequate appreciation it was lost by a narrow majority of 1. I say lack of adequate appreciation as, some of the members who voted against it have subsequently mentioned this to me and have come round to the view, advocated. It is, however, gratifying to mention that a majority of the Non-Muslim members of the Bombay Franchise Committee very wisely remained neutral. Of the 4 Muslim members of the Committee, 3 who belonged to the Presidency Proper and who are, to a certain extent, conversant with the prevailing conditions were unanimous in supporting the proposal as conducive to the best interests of a large number of town-dwellers as well as the village people of the Presidency Proper. On the other hand, 3 non-Muslims whose interests were not at all affected by the proposal joined hands with the only Sind Muslim member and thus helped to defeat the proposal. I should have thought that as Sind was deliberately excluded from the operation of the proposal, the Muslim member from Sind would be found amenable to the proposal. But, I am afraid, he has perhaps failed to grasp the situation of the Presidency Proper Muslims in its true perspective. I can, to a certain extent, understand his point of view on this question so far as Sind is concerned, inasmuch as firstly, the Muslim population of Sind is essentially agricultural and a great Zemindar's interest naturally lies in the villages, to say nothing of the fact that only 10 per cent. of the Muslim population of Sind reside in cities and towns thus reversing the position *vis-à-vis* the Muslims of the Presidency Proper. Secondly, in the multiple-seated constituencies of limited areas in Sind, the problem of convenience, etc., does not at all become acute. In Sind, however, the position of Hindus with slight differences is nearly analogous to that of the Muslim town-dwellers of the Presidency Proper. I have advisedly said " nearly " as, after all, the Hindu Sowcar usually needs to reside in some cases in a village in proximity with his clientele. His money-lending profession has also turned him into a Zemindar who has to reside in the villages for the better cultivation of his lands and the prompt realisations of his income. In this connection, it would also be important to mention that no less than 7 out of 11 Muslim members of the present Legislative Council from the rural and urban areas of the Presidency Proper who have run elections and whom I have consulted are in full agreement and sympathy with the proposal.

It cannot be denied that the present arrangement of relegating Municipal cities and towns, some of which are so far advanced as to possess City Municipalities and others are subject to the Bombay District Municipal Act (Acts XVIII of 1925 and III of 1904) and grouping them with rural areas in the Presidency Proper is improper and unsatisfactory, since interests and problems of municipal towns, etc., differ widely from

rural ones, and especially so in the Muslim constituencies of the Presidency Proper. Under the Minto-Morley scheme even most of these Municipal towns were grouped with cities in the same Electoral Colleges. As has already been mentioned above, 52 per cent. of the Muslim population of the Presidency Proper are dwellers in cities and towns and generally follow avocations and pursuits which are essentially different from those pursued by village Muslims ; most of the towns-people are shopkeepers, small traders, contractors, private and Government servants, etc., where as the rural Muslims are essentially agriculturists. To relegate this high percentage of town Muslims to the position of rural Muslims is hardly correct and fair, and especially so, when under the Southborough scheme their confreres in some other Indian provinces, in some cases with lesser population, are differently treated and are separately grouped with urban constituencies by the formation of single-seated constituencies comprising areas even as large as Divisions which means a group of 4 or 6 Districts. The town-dwellers mostly speak Urdu, are better educated and can better understand the value of a vote than a villager. Immediately affected as the former is by the Municipal laws and regulations, his interests and problems differ from those of the villages whose immediate concern is that of land and the Local Board Act which affect him.

From the fact that even in the present rural areas it is the dweller of the city mostly who gets elected, I would not be surprised if the present candidates for these nominal rural areas largely concentrate their energies and attentions on the towns, and try and muster strong the votes of the electors of the smaller urban areas to the possible neglect of the real rural elector as such. I may also definitely mention that by this separation of rural and urban seats, it is not intended to take away any representation which the rural areas proper as such enjoy at present, or would be entitled to on the population basis in the separate Muslim urban and rural electorates of the future. Complaints have repeatedly been made in the past in various addresses presented to Governors that the sizes of the multiple-seated Divisional Muslim electorates of the Presidency Proper comprising urban and rural areas were far too big and unmanageable and a breaking up of them to single-seated ones of manageable sizes was an urgent and crying necessity. Even with the present number of limited seats in each Division of the Presidency Proper, it is possible to distribute the seats more or less equitably between the rural and urban areas. With enlarged councils and increased number of seats, this should be much more possible. I, therefore, beg to suggest that like other provinces the smaller urban areas of the Presidency Proper be grouped separately from rural ones with enlarged councils. This grouping of small towns, even if they are spread over 2 or 3 Districts, would afford a better, more correct and more effective representation of Muslim rural as well as urban interests.

Bombay, 3rd March 1932.

III

Supplementary questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Government of Bombay and the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee, dated 12th March 1932.

1. The Franchise Committee would be glad of the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to the qualifications for the franchise. They would be glad if, in reaching their decision, the Local Government/Provincial Committee would consider—

(*i*) To what extent the criticism that a large section of the agricultural population and of the poorer classes will be excluded under the proposals originally put forward to the Franchise Committee by the local Government could be met by reduction of the qualifying minimum revenue assessment for the franchise to Rs. 4 ?

(*ii*) Whether a more truly representative electorate results would be likely to be secured by the adoption in preference to the scheme originally put forward either—

(*a*) of the scheme suggested in the note of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque *, or

(*b*) of the suggestion of the Chamber of Commerce that payment of any form of tax to Government or a local body should qualify for a vote ;

(*c*) that assessment of land revenue or land revenue cess of any amount, however small, should qualify for a vote ?

Statistics should be given as far as possible in each case.

(*iii*) The percentage of the population which it is desirable or administratively practical to enfranchise.

2. Could an analysis be furnished showing the distribution of voting power between the various classes and categories of the population under the proposals finally adopted by the Local Government/Provincial Committee and indicating how the unenfranchised residuum is composed ? In the event of the Mukhi system being adopted for the unenfranchised elements, would you wish to modify your proposals for direct electorates ?

In this connection the Franchise Committee would be glad to be informed, if possible—

(*i*) How many joint families will secure representation and to what extent under the Local Government's/Provincial Committee's proposals ?

(*ii*) The extent to which the marked disproportion between the number of Agricultural tenant and of landholder voters evidenced by the statements on pages 3 and 75 of the volume of statistics would be remedied by the Local Government's/Provincial Committee's proposals.

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*Printed on page 113.

(*iii*) The extent to which sub-tenants (*i.e.*, lodgers, etc., in towns) would be enfranchised under the Local Government's/Provincial Committee's proposals.

3. (*a*) What is the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the Province, using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible—

(*i*) if the election is spread over—

(*a*) two days,

(*b*) four days;

(*ii*) taking 750 as the number of voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day—

(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women,

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women?

(*b*) What percentage would this number represent of—

(*i*) the total, and

(*ii*) the adult population?

(*c*) Do you consider that a longer polling period than that suggested above would be practicable or desirable? If so, what would you suggest?

(*d*) In answering the above, please state—

(*i*) Whether you propose to use the coloured boxes system, and also whether your existing polling machinery can be simplified, and if so, in what respects?

(*ii*) Whether you consider it feasible and advisable for polling clerks in twos to issue ballot papers to voters under the general supervision of the presiding officer, or whether the ballot papers should be issued by the presiding officer himself?

(*iii*) Whether on the average you consider that 1,000 voters can be polled per day by each polling unit?

(*iv*) What polling hours you propose?

Polling Machinery.

4. What is the maximum personnel which could be used as presiding or polling officers? The Committee would be glad to have this information under the following heads:—

(*i*) Total number of Government officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial,

(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government officers;

(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards Officers (superior and ministerial);

(*iv*) Total number of members of local bodies (Municipal Commissioners), Members of District and Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed. To what extent could these figures be supplemented by the use of non-officials (schoolmasters, etc.)? Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose?

(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for—

(*a*) separate polling booths for women, and for women presiding officers and clerks;

(*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters?

5. What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise the maximum number of voters you consider administratively possible in reply to question 3 above? What proportion of women would be enfranchised under those qualifications?

6. Do you recommend such a maximum extension or such franchise qualifications, and if not, why not?

7. What is the approximate cost (including preparation of the electoral roll) of a general election on the present basis? What would be approximately its probable cost on the basis of the franchise finally recommended by the local Government?

8. Are the local Government still of opinion that (*a*) the universal indirect system or (*b*) a combination of direct voting and a group system for the unenfranchised residuum of the population is undesirable in Bombay?

8-A. Do you propose to retain multi-member constituencies, and if so, how many and with what system of voting and for what communities (other than Moslems and depressed classes)?

Women.

9. How many will be enfranchised under the franchise finally recommended by the Local Government/Provincial Committee?

10. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the local Government would reconsider the arguments for the introduction of a literacy qualification for women (ability to read and write in any language, a certificate of such ability signed by a responsible person to be accepted as proof).

11. *Methods for securing the presence of women in the Legislatures.*—A memorandum containing various alternative suggestions which have been put forward (together with the views thereon of the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee)* is attached for consideration. The Franchise Committee would be glad of the final views of the local Government as to the method by which a small number of women should be specially elected to the Council.

Depressed Classes.

12. Please give an estimate of the number of depressed class voters who will be enfranchised under the local Government's final proposals.

13. * * * * * * * *

* Pages 114-115.

14. The Government of Madras proposed to deal with the problem of the depressed classes in the following way :—

> Under the franchise recommended by them the number of depressed class voters in Madras will be increased from approximately 58,000 to approximately 300,000 (out of a total depressed classes population of 7·1 millions). As however the local Government and the Provincial Committee are satisfied that it will not be possible even with this enlarged electorate for the depressed classes to secure a representative of their own choice in the Legislatures it is proposed to give them separate electorates (the local Government recommend 18 seats in a total House of 210 and the Provincial Committee 25 seats in a total House of 220). In addition, they propose to give the depressed class electors a second vote in the general non-Mahommedan constituencies with the object firstly of giving further weightage to the depressed classes to compensate for the smallness of their electorate as compared with their population, and secondly of accustoming them to vote in the general electorate so that as the present disabilities of the depressed classes disappear their special representation may be reduced and eventually disappear altogether. What are the views of the Government of Bombay/Provincial Committee as to the desirability and practicability of such a system in the case of Bombay ?

15. What are the views of the Government of Bombay/Provincial Committee on the suggestion that male adult franchise should be introduced in the event of separate electorates being created for the depressed classes in Bombay ?

Disparity between Rural and Urban Electorates.

16. The disparity between rural and urban voting strength which under the existing enfranchisement is very great will still be substantial under the franchise proposals originally put forward by the Local Government/Provincial Committee. The Franchise Committee would be grateful if this point could be considered further with a view to some further reduction in the disparity.

17. Do you propose that the same electoral system should be applied to town and country ? Do the Provincial Committee/Local Government consider that universal direct adult suffrage would be desirable and administratively feasible in—

(*a*) Bombay City,

(*b*) Other towns of the Presidency ?

If so, how many days would it take to poll the adult population, and could any approximate estimate be given of the expenditure involved ?

18. Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or do you consider

that the towns should have some weightage ; and if so, to what extent ? Would you advise the grouping of municipalities and urban areas into constituencies apart from the rural areas, as has been suggested in another Province ?

Labour.

19. *Representation of agricultural labour.*—The suggestion has been made that seats should be reserved for representatives of agricultural labour in certain multi-member constituencies in rural areas containing more than a fixed minimum percentage of landless labourers. What are the views of the Government of Bombay/Provincial Committee as to the practicability and desirability of such a proposal ?

19-A. Do you consider that the representation of labour as a special interest corresponding to capital should be secured (*a*) by making the Trades Unions the electing bodies, or (*b*) by creating a special labour electorate of the factory population receiving wages above a certain minimum ?

Provincial Legislature.

20. What are the final views of the Government of Bombay/Provincial Committee as to the size of the Provincial Legislature and the number of seats to be reserved in it for each of the special interests they consider should be represented in it ?

Second Chamber.

21. Are the Local Government/Provincial Committee in favour of a Second Chamber in the Provincial Legislature ? If so, what should be its numbers, and on what basis should it be constituted ?

22. Would you modify your proposals about the franchise, or the representation of special interests, in the Lower House if there were a Second Chamber ? If so, in what respects ?

Federal Legislature.

23. What are the final views of the Provincial Committee as to the basis of the franchise for the Federal Assembly and the extent to which it should be enlarged ?

24. In paragraph 24 of the local Government's reply to the Franchise Committee's questionnaire the Government of Bombay state that they agree with the Provincial Committee that in view of the commercial and industrial importance of the Presidency the number of seats allotted to it in the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should be increased by 4. They subsequently state, however, that they also agree with the Provincial Committee that the number of seats at present assigned in the Legislative Assembly to special interests excluding labour should not be increased. The Franchise Committee, having regard to the reasons given by the local Government for pressing for an increase in the number of seats allotted to Bombay in the Federal Assembly, would be glad to know whether their views as to an increase in the number of seats to be reserved for special interests are to be regarded as final.

25. The Committee would be glad of an analysis of the distribution of seats desired by the local Government in the Lower House of the Federal Legislature—how much will go to commercial and other special interests and how much to general constituencies ?

26. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the local Government would further consider and express their final view on the representation of women in the Federal Assembly.

27. Would you require a literacy qualification for members of (*a*) the Provincial Council, (*b*) the Federal Assembly ?

28. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the local Government would state any other respects, not covered by the above questions, in which they would modify their original proposals.

Note by Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque on the proposal of the Government of Bombay for extending the franchise.

The Bombay proposal takes up the minimum of the Prime Minister's quota of enfranchisement as the maximum and it enfranchises only those who are comparatively in comfortable conditions of life. It leaves out agricultural labourers and agricultural tenants and landless labourers. The depressed classes, though represented, are not adequately enfranchised. To obviate all these difficulties and to get representation of all sections and grades of society the following scheme is suggested.

For urban areas.—The house-rent qualifications to be halved in urban constituencies as per the Bombay proposal and qualifications in other urban areas may be so reduced that the total strength of the voters in urban areas may be 20 per cent. of the population. This is very easy to work out on getting the total number of rate-payers and tax-payers in the municipalities and urban areas of the Presidency. The total number on the 20 per cent. basis of the entire urban areas will be 876,749 out of a population of 4,383,748.

For rural areas.—Every family may be taken as a unit group and every family may be given a vote. " Family ", according to the census, means a number of persons living together and eating together in a common mess together with their dependents and is known as commensal family in the census and is shortly called occupied house.

It shall be open to every family to elect its own representative voter if it chooses, but in the absence of any such indication of its wishes the registering officer shall put in the name of the house-owner, tax-payer or the head of the family, often combined in the same person.

The number of such houses being 3,815,076, the total number of voters will be 3,815,076 and this will actually be the group system with representation for everybody.

The present voting qualifications may also be retained as additional qualification so that nobody enfranchised to-day may be disenfranchised.

To introduce the literate elements in the voting strength, a degree of literary qualifications may be prescribed for purposes of enfranchising a voter, higher for males and lower for females.

The total number of voters will thus be 876,749 in urban areas, 3,815,076 in rural area, and to this may be added a further number of 308,175—total 5 million of voters, the last number to be brought in primarily by the literary qualifications.

It is estimated that every presiding officer ought to be able to poll 1,000 votes a day and on this basis 900 to 1,000 officers will be necessary for the urban areas in this Presidency and about 4,000 for rural areas. There are 27 districts in this Presidency and an average district will thus require about 150 Presiding Officers for its rural areas. This is not a very high figure as the classes from which the Presiding Officers are recruited in the Presidency are not merely officers of high rank but also school teachers and Local Board employees.

Note for consideration in connection with Question 3 of Franchise Committee's Questionnaire.

There are two questions to be considered in regard to women :—

(*a*) franchise,

(*b*) representation.

(*a*) On the present basis of the franchise the number of women electors in Bombay Presidency is less than ½ per cent. of the population while the number of men is 5 per cent. It is important that the disparity should be reduced because so long as the women's voting strength is negligible in comparison with that of men the candidate need not trouble to pay any attention to their needs.

(*b*) Even though women's voting strength may be increased, it is not improbable that no woman candidate will be returned to the Council contesting general constituencies with a mixed electorate of men and women.

In this case the following methods have been suggested to secure a small percentage of women in the Council for the first two or three periods :—

(1) Co-option by the elected members of the Council.

(2) Election by a special electorate of educated women voting by post.

(3) That a few (say 8 or 10 or less) of the unsuccessful women candidates who, not having forfeited their deposits, had polled the highest proportion of votes should be declared elected *in addition* to any who had been elected in the ordinary way.

(4) That seats should be set apart for women in certain selected urban areas, the electorate for the purpose in each such area being the electors—men and women—belonging to that area on the rolls of all the general constituencies, who would have two votes, one of which must be cast for the woman candidate.

It should be clearly understood that all these suggestions are only temporary methods of securing representation of women during the time when it may be anticipated that they are unlikely to be successful in open competition. They would none of them preclude women from making the attempt and No. 3 obliges them to make it.

Would your Committee consider these alternative suggestions, as 2, 3 and 4 are free from some of the objections which are raised against co-option ?

Resolution of the Provincial Franchise Committee arrived at on 9th March 1932 on the additional questions put by the All-India Franchise Committee in connection with Question 3 of the Questionnaire.

1. The Committee does not approve of the proposed method of election by a special electorate of educated women voting by post, because firstly it appears undesirable to create a special electorate for women, and secondly because the proposal would enfranchise in that electorate only a very small proportion of women to the exclusion of the rest.

2. The Committee feels that reservation of seats or special representation for women is not desirable, if it is possible to enfranchise a sufficient number of women to afford them an effective voice in the election. But if this is impossible, the Committee considers that the 4th proposal suggested is the best. It suggests that it be re-worded as follows :—

> " In selected areas, from the allotted seats, seats should be set apart for women, the electorate for the purpose in each such area being the electors—men and women—belonging to that area on the rolls of all the general constituencies."

IV

Memorandum by the Government of Bombay.

Final memorandum by the Government of Bombay in reply to the original and supplementary questionnaires of the Indian Franchise Committee.

LETTER FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 117, DATED BOMBAY CASTLE, THE 21ST MARCH 1932.

SUBJECT :—*Questionnaire issued by the Franchise Committee.*

With reference to the Questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee, I am directed to forward herewith the views of the Government of Bombay for the consideration of the Committee except as regards the size of the Legislative Council and the creation of a Second Chamber on which Government have not yet come to a final decision. The decisions of Government on matters contained in the supplementary questionnaire* issued by you have been embodied, wherever practicable, among the remarks made with reference to cognate questions in the main questionnaire.

Extension of the Franchise.

2. *Franchise qualifications.*—The population of this Presidency according to the census of 1931 is 21,803,388 ; the number of electors on the electoral roll for the present Provincial Legislative Council in the general constituencies (Muhammadan and Non-Muhammadan) is 869,566 ; in other words, about 3·9 per cent. of the population is enfranchised on the existing franchise qualifications. The total number of electors in all the constituencies is 888,801, of whom about 820,000 persons are qualified as electors by virtue of the property qualification ; the rest are qualified either as income-tax assessees or under the military service qualification or the qualification prescribed for the European or special constituencies. Of the total electorate of 869,566 in Muhammadan and Non-Muhammadan constituencies, about 275,863 voters are in urban constituencies and 593,703 are in rural constituencies. The Provincial Franchise Committee has suggested that in order to include 10 per cent. of the total population in the electoral roll the property qualification should be reduced. Briefly stated, the existing property qualification is the holding of land assessed at or of the assessable value of not less than Rs. 32 (or in certain areas Rs. 16) land revenue, or occupation of a house or building of the annual rental of Rs. 120 in Bombay City, of Rs. 60 in Karachi and of Rs. 36 in other urban areas. It has been roughly calculated that if the land assessment qualification is reduced from Rs. 32 to Rs. 8 (or, as the case may be, from Rs. 16 to Rs. 4) and the house rental qualification is reduced from Rs. 120 to Rs. 60 in Bombay City, from Rs. 60 to Rs. 30 in Karachi and from Rs. 36 to Rs. 18 in other urban areas, the number of voters would increase to 1,348,373 in rural areas and the electorate in urban areas would be about 895,309. The total electorate would thus be about 2,243,682, which gives an electorate

* Page 108.

of about 10·23 per cent. of the population. It would, therefore, appear that as a means of securing an enfranchisement of 10 per cent. of the total population of this Presidency the existing property qualification should be reduced in the manner and to the extent explained above. The Government of Bombay realise that an electorate so secured would not be as representative as might be desirable but they do not consider that any of the alternative schemes put forward, such as the suggestion in the note of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque that all heads of families should be enfranchised,* or the one suggested by the Chamber of Commerce that payment of any form of tax to Government or a local body should qualify for a vote, or that assessment of land revenue or land revenue cess of any amount, however small, should qualify for a vote is feasible or desirable or would give a more representative electorate. The Government of Bombay, therefore, recommend that the existing franchise should be extended as follows :—

(*i*) the land revenue qualification should be holding in one's own right or as a tenant or a lessee from Government of land assessed at or of the assessable value of not less than Rs. 8 land revenue in the case of men, and of Rs. 4 land revenue in the case of women ;

(*ii*) the house rental qualification should be occupation as an owner or a tenant or sub-tenant of a house or building of the annual rental value of Rs. 60 in Bombay City, of Rs. 30 in Karachi and of Rs. 18 in other urban areas ;

(*iii*) the Sind Haris should be enfranchised by the omission of the word " permanent " from rule 3 (*a*) (*i*) of Schedule II to the Bombay Electoral Rules ;

(*iv*) the existing income-tax qualification should be retained ; and

(*v*) the military service qualification should be extended as hereinbelow mentioned.

It is believed that an electorate secured by thus extending the franchise would include a larger percentage of representation than at present of the classes and communities which are not adequately represented in the existing electorate. A statement showing the distribution of voting power under the proposals of the Local Government is appended (*vide* Appendix A).†

It is regretted that it is not possible to furnish, without undertaking a house to house inquiry at an enormous cost, information regarding—

(*i*) the number of joint families which will secure representation and the extent of such representation under the recommendations made in this report, and

(*ii*) the extent to which sub-tenants (*i.e.*, lodgers, etc., in towns) would be enfranchised thereby.

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* Page 113. † Pages 142-143.

Electorate.—The Government of Bombay accept the view of the Provincial Franchise Committee—a view which is also shared by the Returning Officers for the constituencies of the Provincial Legislative Council who are in charge of the preparation of the electoral rolls and of the conduct of elections—that an electorate enfranchised in the manner and to the extent recommended by them would be as capable of casting an intelligent vote as the present electorate. It will largely be drawn from the same classes of people as the present electorate and will already have had some training in the exercise of the vote in the taluka local board and municipal elections.

Manageability of the electorate.—They are also of the opinion that such an electorate would be administratively manageable. Under the existing Electoral Regulations, the Collectors are charged with the duty of preparing, maintaining and revising the electoral rolls for general constituencies and of conducting the elections. The work is done by the revenue officers with the co-operation, where necessary, of the local bodies. The statistics required in accordance with the existing franchise qualifications are available in revenue, municipal and income-tax records. All the Collectors who were consulted on this point are of the opinion that, though the proposed increase in the electorate would involve the employment of additional staff and entail considerable additional expenditure, it would not be unmanageable. Preparation of the roll would not be more difficult than the preparation of the existing taluka local board and municipal election rolls. This view is shared by the Provincial Franchise Committee also.

Enlargement of the electorate.—Having regard to the economic condition and low educational standard of the bulk of the population, the Government of Bombay are not in favour of any further lowering of the franchise. Prior to the report of the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference no recognised body except the Nehru Committee had seriously suggested an extension of the franchise so as to extend the vote to more than 10 per cent. of the population. Even the Franchise Sub-Committee recommended an extension of franchise to between 10 and 25 per cent. " if that was found practicable and desirable". The Indian Central Committee which was appointed to co-operate with the Indian Statutory Commission recommended that the electorate should be doubled immediately; this would enfranchise only about 8 to 9 per cent. of the population; the Bombay Provincial Committee appointed to co-operate with the Indian Statutory Commission reported that steps should be taken to widen the electorate and recommended that the existing franchise qualifications should remain except that the land revenue qualification for the rural constituencies should be reduced to half. They estimated that as a result of this recommendation the electorate would be 1,141,000, *i.e.*, that about 6 per cent. of the total population would be enfranchised. The Indian Statutory Commission recommended enlargement of the electorate to the extent of 10 per cent. of the total population—a recommendation which was adopted as the minimum by the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference and this proposal still holds the field.

Another point against any further lowering of the franchise is that even in local bodies which are charged with the administration of less complex affairs and of smaller areas than those of the province the extent of enfranchisement is still very limited. In Bombay City the number of voters for the Municipality is about 10 per cent. of the total population of the City. The percentage of voters to the total population in all other Municipalities is about 18, while in the local boards the franchise has been extended to only about 8 per cent. of the population subject to the jurisdiction of the local boards. That it is undesirable to extend the vote to more than the percentage of population recommended by the Local Goverment is further evidenced by the fact that even in Bombay City which claims nearly 15 per cent. of the total electorate of the Presidency and in which owing to the higher literacy, higher intelligence, better economic condition and wider political experience of the people, the conditions for broadening the franchise are more favourable than in other places, a motion for further reduction of the municipal franchise was recently rejected by the Municipal Corporation and a Bill to the same effect introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council met with the same fate. But there is also another and a much stronger objection which indicates the risk attaching to any sudden lowering of the franchise beyond that proposed. Enlargement of the electorate by any further lowering of the property qualification for franchise, or other methods in the same direction, would only result in enfranchising persons most of whom would be wholly illiterate and wholly ignorant of the elementary principles of democracy. The Returning Officers for the various constituencies of the Provincial Legislative Council who were consulted in the matter are almost unanimous in their opinion that any extensive lowering of the existing franchise is undesirable. On these grounds, among others, the Government of Bombay have come to the conclusion that it is not desirable at present to enlarge the electorate beyond 13·25 per cent. of the total population by further lowering of the existing property qualification.

Group System.—The Local Government have given the most careful consideration to the proposed system of grouping together in primary groups of suitable size all adults not entitled to a direct vote under property qualification. In a country like India, where illiteracy and ignorance about the working of representative institutions are widespread, the system has two obvious advantages, *viz.*, (*i*) it gives a place in the electoral system to all those who are not directly enfranchised and who though forming a substantial portion of the population, could not get the privilege of a vote except under adult franchise ; and (*ii*) it has an educative effect of considerable value in the matter of exercise of the vote. These advantages are, however, heavily counterbalanced by serious practical difficulties. The principal difficulty is the formation of groups and the maintenance of a register of such groups. The population in the villages is often migratory and generally not homogeneous in caste or customs. Under the group system, having regard to local conditions, the only rational way of proceeding would be to group together contiguous houses containing 3 or 4 families. It would be difficult to form

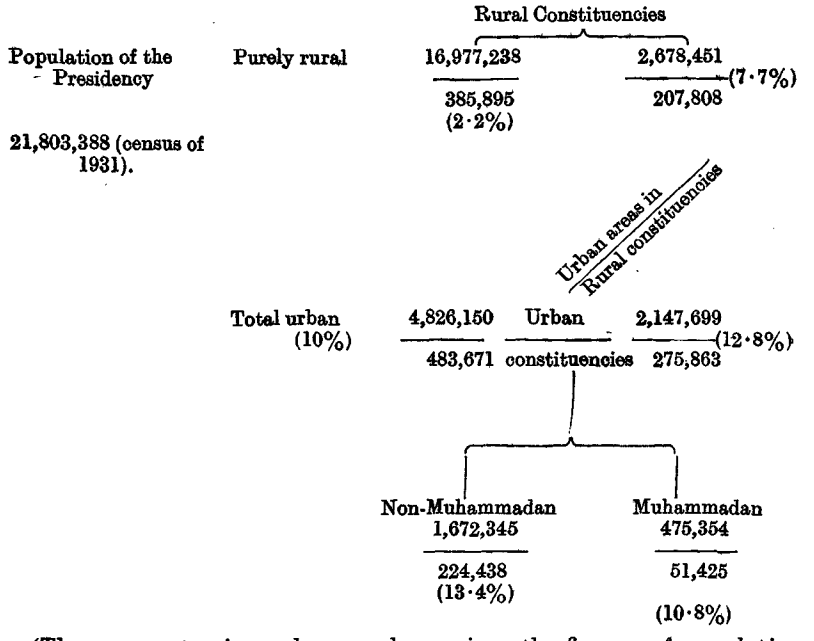
exact groups of 20. One or two families going away or some persons coming to live in the village would upset the group and it would have to be reformed. It would be a difficult, troublesome and expensive task to keep the electoral roll of such groups up to date by constant revision. It will be necessary to devise some special machinery suited to the requirements of wholly ignorant and illiterate masses for holding the election of representative members. If, instead of forming groups, the whole adult unenfranchised male population is asked to choose electors on the basis of one for every 20, there would be difficulty of holding an election even in a large village, say, of 800. This difficulty would be still greater in cities and towns which have a large and shifting population and it would be indefensible in principle to introduce the group system in villages and not in towns. These difficulties will be further accentuated by the existence of separate electorates. If the principle of separate electorates is extended to elections by groups, separate group elections will have to be held for different communities. A group of electors elected on joint suffrage could not be added either to the Muhammadan or to the Non-Muhammadan rolls of directly enfranchised voters; these would have to form part of separate constitutencies. On these grounds, therefore, the Government of Bombay consider that the group system would be unworkable in practice.

Indirect Election.—I am also to observe that the Local Government do not consider it desirable to abolish all existing qualifications for voters and to extend the group system of election to all adult voters, confining the electorate for all constituencies to secondaries chosen by groups of primary voters. A system of indirect election for the Provincial Council has never been seriously suggested before either by the Local Government or by any responsible political party in this Presidency. An indirect system of a different type (namely, election through district local boards and municipalities) existed in this Presidency prior to the inauguration of the Montford Reforms but was strongly condemned by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and was rejected by them as being the "main cause of the unreality that characterizes the existing Councils, because it effectively prevents the representative from feeling that he stands in any genuine relation to the original voter". Any such system of indirect election is not likely to command support from the public and would, in all probability, be rejected by them as a retrograde step.

Franchise Qualifications.

3. *Urban and rural areas.*—The existing urban qualification (*i.e.*, qualification for urban constitutencies and for urban areas in rural constituencies) is occupation, as owner or tenant, of a house or building of the annual rental value of not less than Rs. 120 in Bombay City, of not less than Rs. 60 in Karachi City and of the annual rental value of not less than Rs. 36 or of the capital value of not less than Rs. 1,500 in other urban areas in rural constituencies (or, in certain districts, of the annual rental value of not less than Rs. 24 or of the capital value of not less than Rs. 1,000). The existing rural qualification is holding of land

assessed at or of the assessable value of not less than Rs. 32 either as occupant or as tenant. The following diagram indicates the operation of these franchise qualifications in urban and rural areas :—



(The numerator in each case above gives the figures of population and the denominator the electorate.)

It will be seen that, taking the Presidency as a whole, these qualifications have enfranchised 2·2 per cent. of the rural population and 10 per cent. of the urban population. In the urban constituencies, the qualifications have resulted in the enfranchisement of 13·4 per cent. in non-Muhammadan constituencies, 10·8 per cent. in Muhammadan constituencies, and 12·8 per cent., as a whole, in both Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan constituencies. In the rural constituencies, the population in the urban areas included within them is enfranchised to the extent of 7·7 per cent. and, in the real rural areas, to the extent of 2·2 per cent. Under the existing franchise qualifications 68·3 per cent. of the electors in rural constituencies are enfranchised under the rural franchise and 31·7 per cent. are enfranchised under the urban franchise.

The Southborough (Franchise) Committee were aware of what would probably be the result of the franchise they recommended (*vide* paragraph 10 of their report) but they considered that it was justified by the higher standard of wealth and intelligence in the towns. In view, however, of the low proportion of genuine rural voters in the total electorate the Government of Bombay consider that the disparity should be reduced as far as possible. They consider that the proposals made in paragraph 2 of this report for lowering the existing property qualification and for extending it to the Haris in Sind will tend to rectify this disparity to some

extent. If the abovementioned proposals are adopted they would result in the enfranchisement of about 2,888,948 persons in the non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan constituencies. The total electorate would approximately be 13·25 per cent. of the total population. The Government of Bombay have carefully considered the proposal that the land revenue qualification should be reduced to Rs. 4 in all districts, for both men and women, with a view further to remove the disparity in the voting power of the urban and rural areas but have come to the conclusion—one Honourable Member dissenting—that it is not desirable at present except in regard to women. The Honourable Member, who dissents, is in favour of adopting the Rs. 4 qualification for both men and women.

In this connection it may also be observed that the disparity in the voting strength between the holders of land and agricultural tenants in rural areas is not in fact so great as it appears and is, to some extent, explained by the fact that in many rural areas agricultural tenants who own small pieces of land paying the prescribed land revenue are classed, not as tenants but as land-owners and are registered on the electoral roll accordingly.

Giving each community a voting strength proportionate to its numbers.—The Provincial Committee has stated that (*i*) assuming separate electorates, the Committee does not consider that the principle that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers is of any importance; (*ii*) assuming joint electorates with reservation of seats, the Committee considers that the principle is not practicable in the case of all communities; and (*iii*) assuming joint electorates without reservation of seats, the Committee considers that the principle is essential, but cannot possibly be attained except either by adult suffrage or by adoption of the group system exclusive of all other qualifications. The Government of Bombay agree with the views of the Provincial Franchise Committee.

Property qualification.—Possession of property may not be the best test of a person's ability to exercise the vote, but, in the absence of adult suffrage, it appears to be the qualification which is least open to objection. Intelligence, knowledge and a sense of civic duty are the qualities required but no system of enfranchisement could measure them accurately as no line of discrimination can justifiably be drawn between those who possess these merits and the rest of the community. Though the possession of property is not necessarily evidence of merit it does give the possessor a real stake in the country. It has also the merits of simplicity and capability of natural expansion and produces comparatively less inequalities than any other qualification. An educational qualification, though admirable in principle, would result in a very limited enfranchisement in this country and would only operate to produce greater inequalities in enfranchisement between the various communities than already exist. The Provincial Franchise Committee has recommended that a property qualification should be retained and made the chief basis of the franchise. The Government of Bombay accept this view. They further agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that the suggestion that

wages or incomes below the limit of income-tax assessment should be made a basis of the franchise qualification is unworkable.

Educational qualification.—As regards the suggestion for the introduction of an educational qualification, it may be observed that the Indian Statutory Commission recommended that the Franchise Committee should consider whether it is not practicable and desirable to introduce an additional qualification based on education, independently of property, such as the attainment of the fifth class before leaving school. The Provincial Franchise Committee has recommended that it is desirable that there should be an educational franchise qualification and that it should be the possession of a certificate of having passed the promotion examination from the 4th vernacular standard in vernacular schools or from the equivalent standard in English or English-teaching schools. The Government of Bombay have examined the feasibility of these suggestions and have come to the conclusion that, though good in principle, they are unworkable in practice. It does not necessarily follow that persons who produce certificates from their schools are better fitted to exercise the vote than those who have received their education at home—and this is especially true of women in India owing to social customs—and consequently are unable to comply with the requirements of the electoral law; nor would it be possible in all cases for persons who may have left school, say forty or fifty years ago, to produce the required certificates. Under such conditions, it would be extremely difficult to prepare a correct electoral roll on the basis of any such qualification. Having regard to these practical difficulties, the Government of Bombay are not in favour of introducing a qualification based on education.

Military service qualification.—As regards the military service qualification, all the Returning Officers for the constituencies of the Bombay Legislative Council and the Provincial Franchise Committee have recommended that the existing military service qualification should be retained and should be extended so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. The Government of Bombay agree with them and recommend that the present military service qualification should be retained and that it should be extended to all persons who, at the time of the preparation of the electoral roll, are able to produce a certificate that their names are borne on the strength of the Auxiliary Force or the Indian Territorial Force, and to those members of the University Training Corps who are able to produce a certificate that they have completed two years' approved training, and to those ex-members of both forces who hold the Long Service Medal or the Volunteer Decoration.

Women's Suffrage.

4. *Franchise qualifications for women.*—According to the population of the 1921 census the proportion of male electors to the adult male population is 13·4 per cent. and that of the female electors to the adult female population is ·8 per cent. There is thus a marked disparity in the enfranchisement of the two sexes and it is desirable that some means should

be devised to enfranchise women to a greater extent. General lowering of the property qualification will enfranchise men in larger numbers than women and will only increase the disparity. Similarly, an educational qualification would help men more than women inasmuch as the percentage of literacy among men is 14, whereas among women it is only 2·4. The leading women's associations have demanded adult suffrage for both men and women on the ground, *inter alia*, that the elementary rights of women as human beings should not be based on an extraneous consideration like marriage; this suggestion does not call for any remarks for the simple reason that the Bombay Government do not consider it desirable to adopt adult suffrage at present even for men. The Indian Statutory Commission has recommended that to the existing qualification for women, should be added two others, *viz.*, (1) being the wife, over 25 years of age, of a man who has a property qualification to vote; and (2) being a widow, over that age, whose husband at the time of his death was so qualified. The Government of Bombay are of the opinion that the first of the Commission's recommendations is open to several practical objections. In the first place, it is estimated that over a million wives would be entitled to a vote if this qualification was adopted and these, added to the total male electorate enfranchised under the proposed qualifications, would make up a total electorate of over 3 millions,—a result which the Government of Bombay are not prepared to recommend. Social custom in many castes allows men to have more than one wife and the precise effect of the proposed qualifications cannot be appreciated with any accuracy. Nor is the suggestion to enfranchise widows of persons who were qualified as holders or property suitable. The Government of Bombay have given their best consideration to the various proposals for the enfranchisement of women and have come to the conclusion that any rapid and extensive enfranchisement is both impracticable and undesirable at present. They agree, however, that the existing disparity in the voting strength of the two sexes should be reduced and that women should be further enfranchised as far as is practicable. They would, therefore, recommend that the land revenue qualification should be reduced to Rs. 4 for women only (as against Rs. 8 for men). It is estimated that this would bring about 117,321 women on to the electoral roll in addition to those enfranchised under the other qualifications. The total electorate for women under the qualifications proposed by the Local Government is estimated at about 150,000.

Educational qualification for women.—The Government of Bombay accept the arguments for the introduction of a literacy qualification for women in theory, but do not recommend the introduction of any such qualification as it would upset the balance between urban and rural areas and between the various classes and communities.

Representation of women in the Legislature.—As regards the method of representation of women in the legislature, I am to state that the Local Government by a majority of 4 to 3 favour the suggestion that three of the unsuccessful women candidates who, not having forfeited their deposits, had polled the highest proportion of votes should be declared elected in addition to any who have been elected in the ordinary

way, and, if less than three such candidates were available, women members should be nominated so as to make up a total of three women members in addition to any elected in the ordinary way. The minority consider that this method should not be adopted unless the number of women elected in the ordinary way is less than three. I am to add that the Government of Bombay agree with the Provincial Committee that the age limit for enrolment in the electoral roll for both men and women should be 21.

Representation of the Depressed Classes.

5. The population of the Depressed Classes (Untouchables) is 1,750,424 ; the number of electors belonging to the Depressed Classes is 29,928 approximately ; the percentage of electors to the population of the Depressed Classes is 1·7 ; the percentage of the population of the Depressed Classes to the total population of the Presidency is 8·02 and the percentage of electors from the Depressed Classes to the total electorate of the Presidency is 3·36. It will thus be seen that the Depressed Classes are much under-represented at present in proportion to their population. They form a substantial minority of the population and have special problems of their own which it will be impossible for them to voice through the general electorate. The total number of Depressed Class voters who would be enfranchised under the qualifications proposed by the Local Government is estimated at 65,000. This would mean about 4 per cent. of their total population. Even with the lowering of the franchise suggested it seems fairly clear that the Depressed Classes electorate will not be able to return a person for that class on the strength of its own vote. Candidates from the Depressed Classes would, therefore, have to rely on the votes of members of other communities and, having regard to the disabilities under which they are labouring at present, and to social customs, it seems unlikely that they would be able to secure any considerable number of votes from those communities. The Local Government, therefore, agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that even with the extension of the franchise as proposed, the Depressed Classes will not be able to secure candidates of their own choice in the general electorate.

Putting aside the group system which, for reasons already given, the Government of Bombay consider to be unworkable, two proposals to secure a fair representation of the Depressed Classes have been put forward, namely, (1) separate electorates, and (2) joint electorates with reservation of seats in those areas where the Depressed Classes are numerically the strongest. The Government of Bombay have given their most careful consideration to this question and have come to the conclusion that a system of joint electorates with reservation of seats will not be a satisfactory arrangement. It will not ensure the return of candidates who will be genuinely representative of the Depressed Class interests ; nor is any such scheme likely to be acceptable to the community. The Government of Bombay, therefore, recommend that the Depressed Classes should be provided with separate electorates of their own. They agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that the expression "Depressed Classes" should be interpreted to mean the untouchable

classes only. This definition has been accepted by Dr. Ambedkar and many other representatives of the Depressed Classes and has also been recommended by the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes Committee appointed by the Local Government.

Representation of Labour.

6. The population of the labouring classes is 6,910,976 and the number of electors from those classes is 69,923 approximately; the percentage of electors to the population is thus ·99. They form 31·7 per cent. of the total population of the Presidency and claim 7·99 per cent. of the existing total electorate. They are represented at present in the local Council by 3 seats filled by nomination. The proposed lowering of the franchise will probably enfranchise an appreciable number of the labouring classes but it is doubtful whether labour will be represented in proportion to its population. The question then arises what measures can be adopted for representation of labour (*a*) where it is or can be organised as in industrial areas and (*b*) where it is unorganised as in the case of agricultural labour. The case of unorganised agricultural labour present several practical difficulties. It would be extremely difficult to constitute an electorate. It has been suggested that the vote should be given to those who earn wages above a certain minimum but it would difficult to ascertain the exact income of such earners. To enfranchise owners of houses (above a certain capital value) in the rural areas might bring in some wage earners but not all. The difficulty would be enhanced by the fact that the labourers are frequently migrating from one place to another. Nor do the Local Government consider that the suggestion that seats should be reserved for representatives of agricultural labour in certain multi-member constituencies in rural areas containing more than a fixed minimum percentage of landless labourers is practicable or desirable. The Government of Bombay have examined all possibilities of drawing up a workable scheme for the representation of unorganised labour and have come to the conclusion—a conclusion which is also reached by the Provincial Committee—that there is no practicable method of enfranchising it in the rural areas and Government are, therefore, of opinion that the only way in which the representation for such labour can be provided is by nomination. They, therefore, recommend that unorganised labour should be represented by nomination if the system of nomination is retained in the new constitution. As regards organised industrial labour the Local Government consider that labour should be represented as a special interest corresponding to capital by making the trade unions the electing bodies. They are not in favour of the suggestion to create a special labour electorate of the factory population receiving wages above a certain minimum. The Provincial Franchise Committee has recommended that labour should be represented through registered trade unions. A scheme of representation of labour by delegates elected by registered trade unions has been tried for the Bombay Municipal Corporation but has not been a pronounced success and the chances of any such scheme being successful in other places are more problematical. It presupposes the existence of trade unions of standing and influence and, on the information available, it is difficult to say how far the existing trade unions

can be relied upon as a suitable basis for the recruitment of labour candidates. However, the Government of Bombay agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that, under the existing circumstances, representation of labour through registered trade unions is the only practicable method. They, therefore, recommend that labour should be represented by members elected by an electoral college which shall be formed by registered trade unions composed of manual workers throughout the Presidency electing delegates in the proportion of one for every 20 members of such trade unions. A candidate must be an ordinary or honorary member of not less than one year's standing of a registered trade union which is itself of not less than one year's standing. Provision should be made in the electoral rules that trade unions which send delegates to the electoral college shall require adequate standards of paying membership. The Registrar of Trade Unions should be given adequate powers of scrutiny for this purpose.

Representation of Anglo-Indians.

7. The population of the Anglo-Indians is 16,016 and the number of electors from that community is 1,883. The percentage of electors to the population of the community is 11·69. The percentage of the population of the community to the total population of the Presidency is ·07 and the percentage of electors to the total electorate of the Presidency is ·21. At present the Anglo-Indians are represented by election through the separate electorate provided for Europeans and one seat to be filled by nomination is also allotted to them. The community now claims a separate electorate on the ground that it is inadequately represented and has special problems of its own. It is suggested that the Anglo-Indians should be amalgamated with the domiciled Europeans and that there should be a separate electorate for the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community. The domiciled European population of the Presidency is estimated at 10,000 ; the total strength of the community amalgamted as proposed would thus be 26,000. The special problems of the community referred to are service (namely, service under the Government of India—Railway—Post and Telegraphs—Customs, etc.), and education. The latter is a Provincial subject and the community, therefore, desires that it should be given special representation on the Provincial Council. The Reforms Inquiry Committee appointed in 1924 did not recommend separate electorates for the Anglo-Indian community but the Indian Statutory Commission, recommended that they should be provided for it. On the statistics available the Government of Bombay are of the opinion that it is not possible for the Anglo-Indians to return a member of their own choice if they are merged in the general electorate. They, therefore, agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that the Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans should be provided with a separate electorate of their own. The electoral roll for this amalgamated community should include all persons of European descent in the male line who, being British subjects resident in British India, are domiciled in British India or were born of parents habitually resident in British India.

Representation of the Indian Christians.

8. The population of the Indian Christians is 274,087 and the number of electors of the community is 16,840 ; the percentage of electors to the population of the Presidency is 6·14. The percentage of the population to the total population of the Presidency is 1·25 and the percentage of electors of the community to the total electorate is 1·88. At present they are merged in the general Non-Muhammadan electorate and have a special seat filled by nomination allotted to them. One Indian Christian was elected through the general constituencies in 1920, one in 1923 and two were elected in 1930. None was returned in 1926. It would thus appear that they have been, on the whole, maintaining the representation to which they would be entitled on the basis of their own population through the general constituencies without any reservation of seats. It appears, however, that the members of the community so far elected have always been from the Bombay City and that the Indian Christian community in the districts has not been represented. It cannot, however, be definitely said that they would be able to return any appreciable number of members of their own choice or to maintain the representation to which they are entitled on the basis of their population. The Government of Bombay, therefore, recommend that the Indian Christians should be represented in the Provincial Legislature by reserved seats in the general Non-Muhammadan electorate.

Reservation of Seats for Mahrattas.

9. In the present Legislative Council seven seats are reserved for the Mahrattas in the following constituencies, namely, Bombay City North, Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts, Ahmednagar District, Nasik District, Poona District, Ratnagiri District and Sholapur, Kolaba and West Khandesh Districts by rotation. Separate representation by means of reservation of seats was provided for the Mahrattas on the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament as a means of protection against the alleged ascendancy of the Brahmans.

The Government of Bombay are of the opinion that as the principle of special protection underlying this question is the same as that governing the cases of the special representation of the Anglo-Indians and the Indian Christians, the reservation of seats at present provided for the Mahrattas should be continued.

Representation of Special Interests.

10. The special interests at present represented on the Provincial Legislative Council are :—

By election—

(1) University ;

(2) Commerce and Industry (European and Indian) ;

(3) Landholders ;

By nomination—

(1) Labouring Classes; and

(2) Cotton trade.

Other special representation is not given to special interests as such, but to minorities such as Europeans (by election), Anglo-Indians, Depressed Classes and Indian Christians (by nomination).

This scheme of representation, in so far as it is by election, has worked satisfactorily, and the Government of Bombay are not, therefore, in favour of any change. They agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that all the special interests at present represented by election or nomination should continue to be represented in the Provincial Legislative Council in the manner suggested by them.

Polling arrangements, method of election, etc.

11. With reference to the supplementary questionnaire No. E. Bom.-309 issued by you I am to forward the following decisions of the Government of Bombay and to inform you that the necessary statistics regarding the questions not dealt with in this report are being collected and a further communication* will be sent to you as soon as the information called for is available :—

(i) It is not desirable to spread the election over a number of days. It would possibly lead to excitement, factions, intrigue and increased personation. Nor is it practicable to prescribe a longer polling period than one day.

(ii) The Government of Bombay do not recommend that the existing method of election should be replaced by what is known as the Coloured Boxes System. The latter system was tried in this Presidency at the election to the Provincial Legislative Council held in 1920 but was discontinued at subsequent elections because it was found unsuitable. The only colours which would be certainly recognised by illiterate voters are black, white, yellow, red and green ; and when the number of candidates in a constituency exceeds 5, such voters find it difficult to decide into which particular box the ballot paper should be dropped. The great practical objection to the system is that it requires an enormous number of ballot boxes because at all the numerous polling stations throughout a constituency there has to be a separate box for each candidate and the transportation of these boxes about the country, especially during the monsoon towards the close of which the elections are usually held in this Presidency, is both risky and expensive. Also, in a country in which the majority of the voters is illiterate, the possibility of the secrecy of the ballot being lost under a system in which the boxes are painted with known colours and are kept within view of the Presiding and polling officers and the candidates and their agents, though

* Page 146.

apparently screened from observation, should not be altogether left out of account. The existing method of election known as the Cross and Symbol system has worked well in practice and is considered more suitable than any other system so far suggested. It has been simplified, from time to time, as a result of experience gained at each election and it is hoped that, with further experience, it will come to be further simplified so as to meet the requirements of a largely illiterate electorate.

(iii) It is feasible and advisable for polling clerks in twos to issue the ballot paper to voters under the general supervision of the presiding officer ; this is, more or less, the present practice.

(iv) The Local Government do not consider that, on the average, 1,000 voters can be polled per day by each polling unit. They are of the opinion that, on the average not more than 750 voters can be polled per day by each polling unit ; but the exact number depends on how the voters come to vote. The above estimate may not stand if, for instance, the polling staff at a polling station is not sufficiently trained, or if there are many women voters or if there are many cases of personation or if there is any disorder at the polling station or if the voters do not come to vote in regular batches or fairly continuously.

(v) The present polling hours, namely, 8 A. M. to 12 NOON and 1 P. M. to 6 P. M. are suitable.

(vi) The number of voters which Government consider administratively possible and the franchise qualifications under which such number would be enfranchised are stated in paragraph 2 and Appendix A of this report.

(vii) For the reasons stated in paragraph 2 of this report the Government of Bombay do not recommend an extension of the franchise so as to enfranchise the maximum number of voters which may be administratively possible.

(viii) The approximate cost (including preparation of the electoral roll) of a general election was Rs. 5,00,000 in 1920, and Rs. 1,50,000 on the average, at subsequent elections. It is estimated that the probable cost of a general election on the basis of the franchise qualifications recommended by Government in this report would be ten lakhs of rupees.

(ix) As explained in paragraph 2, the Government of Bombay are not in favour of the universal indirect system of election or of a combination of direct voting and a group system for the unenfranchised residuum of the population in Bombay.

(x) The Government of Bombay recommend that multi-member constituencies with the method of cumulative voting should be retained. They propose that seats should be reserved in multi-member constituencies for the Mahrattas and the Indian

Christians. The exact number of such constituencies can be determined when the question of formation of constituencies is decided.

(xi) The same electoral system should be applied to town and country.

(xii) Government do not consider that universal direct adult suffrage would be desirable and administratively feasible in Bombay City or in other towns of the Presidency.

(xiii) The Government of Bombay are not in favour of the suggestion that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers; nor do they think it necessary that the towns should be given some weightage. They do not recommend that municipalities and urban areas should be grouped into constituencies, apart from the rural areas.

Size and nature of the Provincial Legislature.

12. The questions of the strength of the future Provincial Legislature and whether it should be unicameral, as at present, or should be bicameral are still under the consideration of Government. The decisions of the Local Government will be communicated to you as soon as they are reached.*

Qualification of candidates.

13. The existing qualifications and disqualifications of candidates for election to the Provincial Legislative Council are contained in rules 5 and 6 of the Bombay Electoral Rules. Under the existing rules the following persons are not eligible to stand as candidates :—

(1) non-British subjects.—The Local Government, however, have power to declare that, subject to prescribed conditions, the Ruler of any State in India or the Rulers of any such States or a subject of any such State shall not be ineligible for election by reason only of not being a British subject or British subjects;

(2) any person who is already a member of any legislative body constituted under the Government of India Act, and has made the oath or affirmation as such member;

(3) any person, being a legal practitioner, who has been dismissed or is under suspension from practising by order of a competent court;

(4) any person who has been adjudged of unsound mind by a competent court;

(5) any person who is under the age of 25;

(6) any person who is an undischarged insolvent;

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(7) any person who, being a discharged insolvent, had not obtained a certificate from a competent court that his insolvency was caused by misfortune without his own misconduct;

(8) any person against whom a conviction by a criminal court involving a sentence of transportation or imprisonment for a period of more than one year is subsisting, is not eligible for election for five years from the date of the expiration of the sentence, unless the offence of which he was convicted has been pardoned. The Local Government have, on the application of the person disqualified and with the previous approval of the Governor-General in Council, power to remove the disqualification by order in this behalf;

(9) any person convicted of an offence in connection with elections punishable with imprisonment for a term exceeding six months or found by election commissioners to be guilty of certain corrupt practices is ineligible for election for five years from the date of such conviction or of the finding of the commissioners and for three years in the case of certain other corrupt practices;

(10) any person who fails to file a correct return of election expenses is ineligible for election for five years.

The Local Government have power to remove any disqualification incurred under items (3), (9) or (10);

(11) no person is eligible for election for any other than a special constituency unless his name is entered on the elctoral roll of the constituency or of any other constituency in the Province and unless he has resided for six months immediately preceding the last date fixed for the nomination of candidates in the constituency or in a division, any part of which is included in the constituency, and, in the case of a Non-Muhammadan, Muhammadan or European constituency, he is himself a Non-Muhammadan, Muhammadan or European, as the case may be. The residential qualification does not apply to candidates for European constituencies. In the case of special constituencies (that is to say, a Landholders', University, or Commerce and Industry constituency), a person is not eligible for election as a member of the Council unless his name is registered on the electoral roll of the constituency.

As regards Non-British subjects, I am to observe that the existing elastic provision which gives power to the Local Government to relax the rule against Non-British subjects should be maintained. As a matter of fact, as early as 3rd August 1920, a notification was issued by the Local Government directing that a Ruler of any State in India or a subject of any such State shall not be disqualified for registration on the electoral roll of a constituency of the local Legislative Council on the ground of his not being a British subject. It would thus appear to be desirable not to shut the door against the subjects of Indian States,

particularly in view of the possibility of the States entering into Federation with British India in the near future. The Government of Bombay, are, however, inclined to favour the recommendation of the Provincial Franchise Committee that only subjects of those States should be qualified to stand as candidates for election to the local Legislative Council in which British subjects are eligible as members of the State's legislature, if any.

As regards the second of the disqualifications enumerated above, the Government of Bombay also agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that members of other legislative bodies should not be disqualified from standing as candidates for the Provincial Legislative Council, provided that, if elected, they resign their seats in that other body before taking their seats in the Provincial Council.

As regards persons against whom a conviction by a criminal court is subsisting, the local Government agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that the disqualification in the present form should be removed as recommended by the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference. They are of the opinion that a person should not be eligible for election unless he is out of prison on the date of nomination.

The Government of Bombay agree with the recommendation of the Provincial Franchise Committee that the residential qualification should be abolished. The Southborough Franchise Committee was divided on this recommendation and by a majority suggested that it should be prescribed for the Provinces of Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces only, a suggestion which was accepted by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. It has now been abolished in the Punjab, and in the Central Provinces it exists in a mild form only.

The Government of Bombay also agree with the Committee that persons holding contracts from the Provincial Government should be debarred from standing as candidates for election to the Provincial Council. Such a provision seems to exist in other countries and has been made in Local Acts relating to municipalities. Notice of a resolution recommending insertion of such a provision in the Bombay Electoral Rules has also been given in the past by non-official members of the local Legislative Council.

Subject to these remarks, the Government of Bombay are of the opinion that the existing qualifications and disqualifications of candidates as prescribed in the Electoral Rules are suitable and should be retained.

Federal Legislature.

14. *Federal Upper Chamber.*—Under the existing arrangement the Upper Chamber of the Central Legislature, namely, the Council of State, consists of representatives elected directly by voters in territorial and non-territorial constituencies. Owing to the small number of constituencies, their size is very large. There are three territorial constituencies

of the Council of State in this Presidency, namely, the Bombay Non-Muhammadan, the Bombay Presidency Muhammadan and the Sind Muhammadan. Of these, the first extends over the whole Presidency excluding Aden ; the second extends over the Presidency proper ; and the third is co-extensive with the Province of Sind. It will thus be seen that the size of the constituencies is enormous and contact between the candidates and voters cannot, therefore, be real. Even the Nehru Committee recommended that the Upper House, namely, the Senate, should be elected by the Provincial Councils by the method of proportional representation by the single transferable vote. The question of the method of election to the Council of State was examined by the Indian Statutory Commission and they thought that theoretically there was no justification for direct election for the Upper House. With Presidency constituencies there is little contact between the voters and their representatives and the vote cannot be regarded as having any educative value as the qualification must be fixed high. The Indian Statutory Commission, therefore, recommended indirect election through Provincial Second Chambers—if any—or otherwise through the Provincial Councils by means of proportional representation. It may be observed that in Federal constitutions the object aimed at in constituting a second chamber is to provide means of giving to the constituent units of the federation an equal voice in deciding questions of policy affecting the federation as a whole. The Lower House is generally composed of representatives elected by constituencies formed on some basis such as population, whereas the Upper House may contain an equal number of representatives from each of the constituent units without reference to the size. This representation of units, apart from that of the people, can come appropriately through the Provincial Councils. On these grounds, the Government of Bombay agree with the recommendation of the Provincial Franchise Committee that the proposal of the Federal Structure Committee that the representatives of this Presidency on the Federal Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislature by the single transferable vote should be accepted.

Federal Lower Chamber. Franchise qualifications.—As regards the franchise for the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature, the Government of Bombay recommend that the existing franchise qualifications for the Provincial Legislative Council should be prescribed for the Federal Assembly. They would be given an electorate of about 880,000. In their proposals on the methods of representation of the Legislative Assembly the Southborough Franchise Committee reported that to enfranchise a large number of persons in the elections of the Provincial Legislative Council and at the same time to confine representation in the All-India Assembly to a small upper class appears not only illogical but politically undesirable. In spite of this expression of opinion, in providing for direct election for the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State the Joint Select Committee of Parliament recommended different qualifications for the Provincial Councils, the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. It is true that in some federal constitutions the franchise qualification for the Provincial and Federal Legislatures is the same.

But in view of the very distinct nature of the work to be performed by the two legislative bodies in India the Government of Bombay do not think that it would be unjustifiable to insist on a more enlightened electorate for the Central Legislature. This would appear to be all the more necessary as it is proposed to lower the franchise for the Provincial Legislative Council. It is feared that with three-district constituencies the electorate for the Central Legislature would probably be unmanageable if the franchise for both the Central and Provincial Legislatures was the same. A restricted franchise assumes a more intelligent and a smaller electorate with considerable stake in the country.

Direct election in territorial constituencies.—In their proposals for the constitution of the Lower House of the Central Legislature the Southborough Franchise Committee recommended a system of indirect election for the Lower House in pursuance of the recommendation made in paragraph 273 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Though the decided preference of the authors of the report was for a system of direct elections, in view of the enormous size of the possible constituencies and of the difficulties for forming suitable electoral districts for the various communities, they suggested that the question should be investigated by a special Franchise Committee. The Nehru Committee recommended a system of direct election by territorial constituencies for the Lower House of the Federal Legislature ; the Indian Statutory Commission recommended a system of indirect election to the Lower House by the Provincial Legislative Councils but in their report on the recommendations of the Commission the Government of Bombay expressed themselves in favour of a system of direct election. It is true that the size of the existing constituencies of the Legislative Assembly is very large but it is believed that, with the increase in the number of seats, the size of the future constituencies would not exceed two or three districts each and consequently they would be much more manageable than at present. It has also to be borne in mind that the public has come to realise and appreciate the advantages of direct elections and any proposal to go back to indirect elections would be regarded as a retrogade step. It may also be observed in this connection that in almost all federal constitutions the Lower House is directly elected. The Government of Bombay, therefore, agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that the election to the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would cast their votes directly for the candidates of their choice.

Representation of Labour.—The method by which representation should be provided for labour on the Provincial Legislative Council has been discussed in detail in paragraph 6 and the reasons stated therein apply *proprio vigore* to representation on the Federal Legislature also. The Government of Bombay agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that, as on the Provincial Legislative Council, so on the Federal Legislature, labour should be represented by registered trade unions of the Bombay Presidency.

Representation of women.—As regards representation of women on the Federal Legislature, the Government of Bombay do not think that the method of co-option suggested by the Provincial Franchise Committee would be found suitable in practice. They have no special methods to suggest for the representation of women in the Federal Legislature.

Representation of commercial interests.—The Government of Bombay agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that, in view of the commercial and industrial importance of this Presidency, the number of seats allotted to this Presidency in the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should be increased by four. They would further recommend that these four additional seats should be allotted to commercial interests. It has been proposed that organised labour should be provided with additional representation in the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature through registered trade unions. Commercial legislation affecting the commercial community generally who have a large stake in the country will probably be subject to central legislation under the reformed constitution. Tariffs, customs, labour legislation, etc., are some of the questions in which this Presidency, in view of its commercial and industrial importance, may legitimately claim to be most vitally interested as compared with the other provinces of India. It is, therefore, but fair that commercial interests should be provided with increased representation in the enlarged Lower House of the Federal Legislature.

Depressed classes.—As regards representation of the Depressed Classes, the Government of Bombay agree that special representation should be provided for them in the Federal Legislature. They are of the opinion that representatives of the Depressed Classes should be elected to the Federal Lower House by their representatives in the Provincial Legislative Council.

Special interests.—As regards representation of special interests, Government are of the opinion that the number of seats at present assigned in the Legislative Assembly to special interests (excluding Labour and Commercial interests) should not be increased.

I am to add in this connection that the Local Government are not in favour of requiring a literacy qualification for members of the Federal Assembly or of the Provincial Council owing to the difficulty of enforcing any practical tests.

General.

15. The Government of Bombay have the following general observations to make on the working of the existing franchise and the electoral rules :—

Most of the points which arise in this connection have been already dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs and in the replies of the Provincial Franchise Committee.

Duration of the Council.—The duration of the Legislative Council is fixed by section 72-B of the Government of India Act at three years

from the date of its first meeting. The section provides that it may be sooner dissolved by the Governor, but this power of dissolution has never been used and each of the three councils elected under the new Constitution has lasted for the full period.

General elections.—The Council has been generally dissolved in August or September of the third year of its life and the elections for the new Council held in October or November. Preparations for the election begin in April when the work of revising the electoral rolls is taken in hand. The duty of preparing and maintaining the electoral rolls is laid by the Electoral Regulations (Part II, 1) on the Collector of the District who gets the work done by his Revenue subordinates. A certain amount of help is given by the Local Board and Municipal authorities but the brunt of the work falls on the Revenue Department of Government. If, as has been proposed by the Local Government, the electorate is more than trebled, it is likely that arrangements may have to be made for transferring some of the cost and responsibility for the preparation and maintenance of the rolls and for the conduct of elections to the local bodies. When the Reforms were introduced Government contemplated placing the duty of preparing and maintaining the rolls on local bodies as soon as possible. The development of the non-co-operation movement, however, made it unsafe to take any steps in this direction.

Revision of electoral rolls.—At present the work of revising the electoral rolls is taken up at the end of each triennium just before the general election. With the increase of the electorate, and the probable increase in the duration of the Council from three to five years, this work will become unmanageable within a short time, and it will become necessary to devise some machinery for continuously revising and maintaining the rolls up-to-date.

Disposal of claims and objections.—The hearing of claims and objections to the electoral roll after its first publication is at present done by the Small Cause Court Judges in Bombay and other large cities and by Subordinate Judges elsewhere. Rule 5 of Part II of the Regulations gives the Judges the power to appoint practising lawyers to do this work if the judges are unable to dispose of the claims and objections within a certain period. Up to now, the Judges have not found it necessary to delegate this work to practising lawyers ; with the increased electorate it will probably be necessary to entrust this work to them. The question may have to be considered whether it is advisable to impose a statutory obligation to furnish information which may be required by the Returning Officer. At present the Returning Officer has to collect the information necessary for the preparation of the roll in the best way he can by making house to house enquiries. He does not get much assistance from the public.

Interest taken by electors.—One of the principal difficulties experienced in the preparation and maintenance of the electoral rolls is the insufficient interest taken by the voters in getting themselves enrolled. The position, however, in this respect has improved gradually with every succeeding election, and it is probable that as the value of the vote comes to be better

understood, and party organisations improve in efficiency, the authorities responsible for preparing and maintaining the electoral rolls will receive greater help from the public and from political parties than they have in the past. The extent of illiteracy existing in India and the social conditions of the country make it impossible to provide penalties for failure to enrol and to vote.

Cost of elections.—The cost of preparing, maintaining and revising the rolls is borne entirely by Government. With the present small electorate the cost has not been very heavy. The election of 1920 cost Government a little over Rs. 5,00,000. The whole procedure was then new, a good deal of extra staff was employed, and a house to house inspection was carried out for preparing the roll. In subsequent elections the cost was much less, as the roll of 1920 was taken as the basis, no general house to house inspection was made, and very little extra staff was employed. The cost was Rs. 1,45,000 in 1923, Rs. 1,60,000 in 1926 and Rs. 1,29,000 in 1930.

Time taken for elections.—When the electorate is increased as proposed by Government the question of the time that will be required for carrying through general elections will become of greater importance than it is at present. Even with the present small electorate the time required for carrying out general elections, from the dissolution of the Council till the publication of the results of the elections is generally three months. This long period is necessitated by the difficulty of getting the ballot papers with the names and symbols of the candidates printed and distributed over all the twenty-seven districts of the Presidency in many of which the communications are not good. Facilities for printing the ballot papers are not available except in Bombay and Karachi with the result that the ballot papers for the whole Presidency have to be printed at these two centres. The large size and the difficulty of communications in many districts make it necessary to allow a fairly long interval between the date fixed for polling and that fixed for the counting of votes. Owing to the long time required for a general election the third (October) session of the Legislative Council has had to be dropped in each year in which general elections have been held, and the life of each Council instead of being three years, has actually been two and a half years or a little more.

Illiteracy of electorate.—More than half even of the existing electorate is illiterate. In the rural constituencies the proportion of illiterate voters is much higher. The proportion of illiterate voters to literate is bound to increase very much when the electorate is more than trebled and the difficulty of recording the votes of such enormous masses of illiterate voters will be considerably enhanced. The system of voting employed at present, namely, the cross and symbol system, has up to now worked well even with illiterate voters. Occasionally complaints have been received that a polling officer had favoured a particular candidate on the pretext of assisting illiterate voters to fill in the ballot papers ; but such complaints have been very rare, and on the whole it may safely be said that the cross and symbol system has worked well. Although such a large

proportion of the voters (52·5 per cent.) is illiterate, cases of personation have been very few.

Separate polling booths for women.—The number of women enfranchised at present is very small being only about 47,700 out of a total electorate of 869,566. Up to now, no necessity has been felt for providing separate polling booths for women. When women are enfranchised in much larger numbers separate polling booths with women presiding and polling officers will have to be provided for them, though it is doubtful whether even under these conditions any large percentage of women will turn up to vote. Except in the larger towns it will be extremely difficult to find a sufficient number of women to act as presiding and polling officers.

Return of election expenses.—Rule 19 of Part IV of the Bombay Electoral Rules requires each candidate to submit a return of his election expenses in a prescribed form within thirty-five days from the date of the publication of the result of the election, and rule 5, Part II of the Electoral Rules provides that both the candidate and his election agent should be declared ineligible for election for five years if the return of expenses is not lodged as required by rule 19. After each election a certain number of persons have had to be disqualified under this rule, but the disqualifications have, in most cases, been removed at the request of the candidates if it has been found that the failure to furnish the returns was not deliberate or was due to no dishonest motives. Although Rule 20 gives the Governor-General the power to fix maximum scales of election expenses the power has not up to now been exercised in this Presidency, partly because it was felt that there was not sufficient data available for the fixing of a general scale of expenses, and partly because of the difficulty of prescribing a uniform scale of expenses for constituencies and districts which varied so much in the matter of size, means of communication and in other respects.

Single and plural member constituencies.—The Southborough Committee said in paragraph 13 of their Report that they contemplated as a general rule single member constituencies, but that their detailed proposals left a latitude to the local Governments in cases where a rigid insistence on this rule was unsuited to the local conditions, especially in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, where special circumstances may make it desirable to form plural member constituencies. Of the fifty-four constituencies for the Bombay Legislative Council, eight are three-member constituencies, sixteen are two-member constituencies, and thirty are single-member constituencies. The existence of a large number of minorities, many of them, like the Depressed Classes, the Maharattas, the Lingayats, the Indian Christians and the Parsis, sharply divided politically and socially from the majority communities, makes the retention of plural member constituencies a necessity in this Presidency. They give some chance of success in elections to those classes and communities which either on account of their backward condition, or lack of organisation, or numerical weakness would otherwise find it impossible to make their voice effective in the elections. No demand has been received for the splitting up of the plural member constituencies, except in the

case of the three Muhammadan constituencies of the Northern, Central and Southern Divisions. The grievance with regard to those three constituencies is not that they are plural member constituencies, but that they are unwieldy in size, and that the grouping of districts and cities within those constituencies results in unfairness to some of them. As the question of the allocation of seats and the formation of constituencies is not included in the questionnaire, the Government of Bombay do not, at present, propose to go into the question of the grievances of the three Divisional constituencies. They wish to refer here only to the principle of plural member constituencies, and consider that the retention of such constituencies coupled with the right of cumulative voting is necessary in this Presidency as a safeguard for the minorities. A system of proportional representation if it could be adopted would also serve as a safeguard for some of the minorities, but such a system requires an electorate much more educated and intelligent than that which exists in this Presidency. Although the electoral rules [Part IV, 15 (2)] give the local Government the power to introduce the method of election by means of the single transferable vote in plural member constituencies, if a resolution in favour of the introduction of such a system is passed by the Council, no such resolution has ever been passed or even brought forward in the local Council, nor has any desire been expressed by any section of the public for the introduction of the system.

Voting in general and special constituencies.—Constituencies are at present divided into general and special. Rule 10 of the Electoral Rules provides that no person shall vote at any general election in more than one general constituency. There is, therefore, nothing at present to prevent a man from voting in a general constituency and also in two or three special constituencies ; for instance, a man may vote in the University Constituency as a graduate, in the Landholders' constituency as an Inamdar, and in the general constituency as a payer of income-tax or holder of land. The Government of Bombay think that this system should be continued. No complaints have ever been received against it.

16. I am lastly to add that the questionnaire and the recommendations of the Provincial Franchise Committee have been considered by His Excellency the Governor with his Executive Council and Ministers sitting together and that the views expressed in this letter are the views of the Government of Bombay as a whole.

17. Twenty-five copies of each of the papers noted below have already been supplied to you.* A copy of this Report has also been supplied to the Provincial Franchise Committee :—

1. Provisional decisions of the Provincial Franchise Committee on the questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee.
2. Summary of views of the Returning Officers of the Bombay Legislative Council on the manageability of elections if franchise is extended to 10 per cent. of population.

* Not Printed.

3. Statement showing the present franchise in local bodies.
4. Reforms Office and General Department notes regarding views of local bodies on their franchise.
5. Notes of the Municipal Commissioner for the City of Bombay regarding the working of the Trade Unions constituency and of the group system of election in the City.
6. Statistical Tables.
7. Written statements on the questionnaire received from private bodies and individuals.
8. Note on the procedure at election.

APPENDIX A.

Statement showing the distribution of voting power under the proposals of the Government of Bombay for extension of the franchise.

I—Figures of possible voters.

Proposed franchise qualifications.	Muhammadans.			Depressed Classes.			Non-Muhammadans (excluding Depressed Classes).			Total.		
	Population. (a)	No. of voters. (b)	Percentage of (b) to (a).	Population. (a)	No. of voters. (b)	Percentage of (b) to (a).	Population. (a)	No. of voters. (b)	Percentage of (b) to (a).	Population. (a)	No. of voters. (b)	Percentage of (b) to (a)
*(i) Number of possible voters if Land Revenue assessment qualification is reduced to Rs. 8.	3,315,259 (Rural).	169,220	5·10	Rural and Urban not available separately.	39,399	..	Rural and Urban not available separately.	1,139,754	..	16,977,238	1,348,373	7·94
*(ii) Do. and if house rent qualification is halved in urban areas.	1,098,800 (Urban)	138,829	12·63	Do.	3,065	..	Do.	495,654	..	4,826,150	895,309	18·55
Total of (i) and (ii) ..	4,414,059	308,049†	6·97	1,750,424	62,464†	3·56	15,638,905	1,635,408†	10·45	21,803,388	2,243,682‡	10·29
(ii-A) Number of women who would be enfranchised if the Land Revenue assessment qualification is reduced to Rs. 4.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,222,896 for 25 districts only.	117,321	1·27
(iii) Number of Haris in Sind who would be enfranchised.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	400,000	..
(iv) Number of Income-tax assessees who would be enfranchised.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	44,798 73,000§	..
(v) Number of voters in virtue of military service qualification.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,147	..
									Total of	(i) to (v)	2,888,948	or 13·25 per cent. of total population.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*

II—Figures of unenfranchised residuum.

Muhammadans.			Depressed Classes.			Non-Muhammadans (excluding Depressed Classes).			Total.			Women.		
Population. (*a*)	Unenfranchised residuum. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*)	Population. (*a*)	Unenfranchised residuum. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*)	Population. (*a*)	Unenfranchised residuum. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*).	Population. (*a*)	Unenfranchised residuum. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*).	Population. (*a*)	Unenfranchised residuum. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*).
4,414,059	2,018,337	45·72	1,750,424	622,520‖	35·56	15,638,905	7,197,117	46·02	21,803,388	9,600,213	44·02	10,330,504	5,483,622	53·08

NOTES.—

*The difference in the figures of voters under (*i*) and (*ii*) above and corresponding figures in Table No. VIII at page 5 of our Statistics Volume is due to the fact that in rural areas the figures of actual payers of land revenue assessment of Rs. 8 have now been obtained instead of Taluka Local Board voters on which the previous figures were based, while the Urban voters now include figures of payers of assessment of Rs. 8 in urban areas in addition to voters if rental qualification is halved.

† Excluding Bombay City and Larkana for which figures are not available.

‡ Excluding Larkana for which figures are not available.

§ This is the estimated number of assessees with incomes between Rs. 1,000 and 2,000 but it is possible that many of these may be voters under other qualifications.

‖ Excluding Bombay City and Sind for which figures are not available.

V

Supplementary memorandum by the Government of Bombay.

LETTER FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 117, DATED BOMBAY CASTLE, THE 29TH MARCH 1932.

SUBJECT :—*Questionnaire issued by the Franchise Committee.*

With reference to paragraph 12 of my letter No. 117-Confl., dated the 21st March 1932, I am directed to forward herewith the views of the Government of Bombay on the questions of the size of the Provincial Legislature and the creation of a Second Chamber for the Province for the consideration of the Indian Franchise Committee.

Size of the Provincial Lower Chamber.

2. The present Provincial Legislative Council consists of 114 members of whom 86 are elected and the rest excluding the members of His Excellency's Executive Council are nominated. The members of the Executive Council are members of the Legislative Council *ex-officio*. (Rule 3 of the Bombay Electoral Rules.) The elected members are elected mostly in territorial constituencies specified in Schedule I to the Bombay Electoral Rules and the extent of each constituency and the number of members to be elected by each are as stated in that schedule. The proposed increase in the number of voters will involve a reduction in the size and an increase in the number of constituencies and a consequent increase in the size of the Provincial Legislature. The Government of Bombay have examined the question in all its bearings and have come to the conclusion that the size of the Provincial Legislature should be increased in order that all communities and interests may be adequately represented in it. . They are of the opinion that if an Upper Chamber is created for the Province and if Sind is separated from the rest of the Bombay Presidency the number of seats in the Provincial Lower Chamber should be 180. This decision was reached by a majority of 5 to 2, the minority being in favour of 150 seats only. If, on the other hand, there is to be no Upper Chamber and Sind is included in the Presidency as at present, the number of seats for the single Chamber of the Province should be 220.

Representation of special interests in the Provincial Lower Chamber.— In this connection I am also to state, in partial modification of paragraph 10 of my letter No. 117-Confl., dated the 21st March 1932, that by a majority of 4 to 3 the Government of Bombay consider that the special interests in the Provincial Lower Chamber should be represented as at present. The minority consider that the representation of each special constituency should be increased in proportion to the increase in the total number of seats except that of the landholders for whom an increase of one seat has already been recommended in the Report of the Government of Bombay

on the Simon Commission's recommendations, and the Bombay University. Government are unanimously of opinion that the one seat by nomination allotted to the cotton trade should be abolished.

Creation of a Provincial Second Chamber.

3. The question of establishing a bicameral system in the Provinces was examined by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. After weighing the pros and cons of the question the authors of the report decided against a bicameral system for the provinces on the ground, among others, that " in many provinces, it would be impossible to secure a sufficient number of suitable members for two houses. . . . . A second Chamber representing mainly landed and moneyed interests might prove too effective a barrier against legislation which affected such interests. Again, the presence of large landed proprietors in the second Chamber might have the unfortunate result of discouraging other members of the same class from seeking the votes of the electorate ". The Government of Bombay admit that there is considerable force in these arguments against a second Chamber stated by the authors of the report. While, however, realising the necessity for a carefully thought-out and broad basis for a second Chamber if constituted and the difficulty of ensuring that such a basis is secured, the Local Government, by a majority of 4 to 3, have decided in favour of having a second Chamber for the province in the reformed Constitution.

Strength of Provincial Second Chamber.—As regards the strength of the provincial second Chamber I am to observe that if Sind is included in the Presidency as at present the number of seats in the Upper Chamber should be forty ; and if Sind is separated the number of seats should be thirty. In the latter case the seats should be allotted as follows :—

By nomination (including officials) ..	10 seats.
Sardars and Landholders	3 „
Commerce and Industry	5 „
General	12 „

If Sind is included, the total number of seats should be distributed in the same proportion as above, *viz.*, 13, 4, 7 and 16 respectively.

Franchise qualifications and term.—As regards the franchise qualifications for the elected members of the second Chamber, the Government of Bombay consider that they should be the same as those prescribed for the present Council of State. The term of the Upper Chamber should be six years for the first Chamber, and thereafter, nine years with one-third of the House retiring every three years.

VI

Further memorandum by the Government of Bombay with reference to paragraph 11 of their final Memorandum*.

LETTER No. 117, DATED THE 9TH APRIL 1932, FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, BOMBAY.

SUBJECT.—*Supplementary Questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.*

With reference to paragraph 11 of the report of the Government of Bombay on the questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee, I am directed to forward herewith 5 typed statements† containing the statistics referred to in the supplementary questionnaire issued by the Committee together with a summary of the views of the Returning Officers for the constituencies of the Bombay Legislative Council on the various points mentioned in that questionnaire and to make the following observations :—

(1) The maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the 17 districts for which figures are available using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible and taking 750 as the number of voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day is estimated as follows :—

(*i*) If election is spread over two days	1,977,000
(*ii*) If election is spread over four days	3,780,000
(*iii*) If 40 per cent. of the voters are women (if election is spread over 2 days)	1,696,000
(*iv*) If 10 per cent. of the voters are women (if election is spread over 2 days)	1,887,000

(2) The percentage of (*i*), (*ii*), (*iii*), and (*iv*) above to the total population of the 17 districts is 14·9, 28·6, 12·8 and 14·3 respectively, and to the adult population is 27·5, 52·6, 23·6 and 26·2 respectively.

(3) The maximum personnel which could be used as presiding and polling officers for the 24 districts for which the figures are available is 32,926 as will be seen from statements IV and V forwarded herewith.

(4) Though most of the Returning Officers do not anticipate any objection to the use of non-officials (school-masters, etc.), as Presiding or Polling Officers some of them do not consider it desirable on the ground that non-officials are sometimes interested in one candidate or another for the election and cannot, therefore, be entrusted with the duties of Presiding or Polling Officers.

(5) It is possible to arrange separate polling booths for women but, except in certain urban areas, it will be almost impossible to find women Presiding or Polling Officers. Provision can be made for separate entrances and compartments for women voters.

(6) The Government of Bombay do not consider that the suggestion that the Depressed Classes should be given some weightage in their voting power is practicable and desirable nor do they recommend that

* Page 129. † Not printed.

male adult franchise should be introduced in the event of separate electorates being created for the Depressed Classes in Bombay.

(7) The views of the Government of Bombay on the constitution of a second Chamber in the Province have been communicated to you in my letter No. 117-Confidential, dated the 29th March 1932.* The Government of Bombay do not propose to modify their proposals about the franchise, or the representation of special interests in the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature in consequence of their recommendation for an Upper Chamber in the Province.

* Page 145.

VII

Supplementary memorandum by the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee.

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN, PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, BOMBAY, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, NO. 25, DATED BOMBAY, THE 21ST MARCH 1932.

SUBJECT.—*Report of the Provincial Franchise Committee.*

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee's final proposals, made after considering the second questionnaire received from you. The Committee's answers to that questionnaire†† have been incorporated in the present report, which also includes such of their previous resolutions as have not been rescinded or modified when dealing with the second questionnaire.

2. The Committee is not in a position to deal with those of the questions which refer to, or are necessarily based on, new statistics. The Reforms Office has been collecting the statistics desired, and the answers will no doubt be supplied to you by Government, but owing to the extremely short time available, they could not be reduced to form and communicated to the Provincial Franchise Committee in time for incorporation in their resolutions.

3. Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh thinks that the whole question of the franchise is essentially different for Sind from the Presidency, and that so far as Sind is concerned, it should have been dealt with by a separate report, and indeed by a separate Committee. Since in fact no separate Committee has been appointed for Sind, the Bombay Committee could not deal with the case of Sind separately, nor prepare a separate report. As, however, he desires to bring this point of view to the notice of the All-India Franchise Committee, his note* on the subject is attached. His view that the Committee's proposal would enfranchise 25 per cent. of the population does not agree with the figures shown in the statement† appended to the report.

4. I append a note‡ summarising remarks of the officers concerned on the practical working of the elections under adult suffrage in the cities. The replies came too late to be laid before the Provincial Franchise Committee.

5. A statement§ is also attached showing by districts the number of voters who would be enfranchised under the Chamber of Commerce Scheme, and also the proposal to enfranchise all payers of land revenue however small. But the Committee has no figures available to show how many of each different class or community of the population would be enfranchised under these schemes.

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* Appendix V, p. 177. † Appendix IV, p. 176. ‡ Appendix II, p. 172.

§ Appendix III, p. 174.

Appendix I is Rao Bahadur Kale's Note—*vide* page 3 of the Report.

†† Page 108.

[The actual resolutions of the Committee are printed in Italics.]

PART I.

GENERAL QUESTIONS *RE.* PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE.

1. Possible Extension of the Franchise.

RESOLUTION 1.—"*The existing franchise for the Provincial Legislatures can be extended to 10 per cent. by reducing the property qualifications as proposed in Resolution 16 below apart from other extensions of the franchise.*"

Carried *nem con.*

RESOLUTION 2.—"*The Committee is agreed that the suggestion of the Chamber of Commerce that all payers of direct tax to the Local Government and Local Bodies should be enfranchised is unworkable.*"

Note.—If this proposal were combined with the qualification derived from the payment of rent for agricultural land however small, it would give more than 4,700,000 voters or over 21 per cent. of the population. To this perhaps would have further to be added a considerable number of tenants of houses in urban areas who do not pay the house tax; and the Committee think that the electorate so produced would be unmanageably large. On the other hand if the proposed qualification is to be in lieu of all other qualifications existing or proposed then the tenants of agricultural land and the tenants of houses in urban areas would alike be shut out from the vote which many of them already enjoy.

It does not seem possible to arrive on *a priori* grounds at a particular percentage as being the maximum possible percentage which would be practicable, and then work up to this by finding qualifications which might produce that maximum. The Committee would rather prefer to consider the various suggestions for qualifications on their merits, since a particular percentage of enfranchisement which might be quite manageable on one basis of qualification might be quite impossible on another owing to the difficulty of preparing, maintaining or revising the roll, if it were adopted. However, the Committee has been able to come to the following definite resolution on this matter.

RESOLUTION 3.—"*The Committee considers that the percentage of the population which it is desirable and administratively practicable to enfranchise is between 13 and 15 per cent. of the population.*"

Carried by 8 to 2.

The alternative proposal of Rao Bahadur Asavale that the percentage should be 20 per cent. was lost by 8 votes to 4. Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Syed Munawar alone supporting it.

(Khan Bahadur Allabaksh in a note subsequently given expresses the view that in Sind the franchise should extend for the first five years only to 10 per cent. of the population, an extra 10 per cent. being added after another five years.)

Note.—The methods by which the franchise would be thus extended would be the educational qualification, the military qualification, the special literacy qualification proposed for women and the household vote system for the Depressed Classes in addition to the reduction in the property qualification. The effect of the military qualification is negligible. It might bring in some 10,000 voters at most but probably much less. That of the educational qualification cannot be estimated, however roughly, as no figures of the numbers of adults who have passed the 4th standard are available, and even if they were, it would be impossible, to guess how many of these would be able to prove their claim to the franchise on this ground and how many of these who could prove it would be enfranchised in other ways. Probably in towns most of those who possess this qualification would be otherwise qualified under the property qualification. There might be a fair number of voters added under this head in purely rural areas but no estimate can be made of it. Taking into consideration only the assessment and house rental qualification, the women's vote and the military vote and the income-tax qualification the percentage would come to slightly over 13 per cent.

RESOLUTION 4.—"*Such an electorate would be as capable of casting an intelligent vote as the present electorate.*"

RESOLUTION 5.—"*Such an electorate would be administratively possible.*"

2. Group System.

RESOLUTION 6.—The final decision of the Committee on this point by a majority is as follows :—

"*The Committee is not in favour of a combination of the group system with any method of direct voting.*"

Carried by 8 to 5. The supporters of the resolution were Dr. D'Souza, Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Haji, Sardar Mutalik, Messrs. Petit, Winterbotham and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh. The minority who favoured the group system combined with direct voting were Rao Bahadurs Angadi Asavale, Kale, Mr. Syed Munawar and Dr. Solanki ; but all of these except Rao Bahadur Kale now prefer to abandon the group system in favour of the household vote system of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque referred to in Resolution No. 11. Mr. Jadhav who was absent when the final decision was taken and who prefers an exclusive group system, would doubtless accept the combined system if an exclusively indirect system cannot be introduced.

The majority hold that in Bombay and Karachi cities the group system is patently unworkable and impossible, and even in rural areas it would cause far more trouble and expense than it would be worth.

RESOLUTION 7.—"*The Committee adheres to its previous opinion that a universal indirect group system to the exclusion of other qualifications is undesirable.*"

Mr. Jadhav dissents.

The Committee thought that such a system would be almost as difficult to work as adult suffrage, and in any case it is not politically feasible or desirable to deprive of the direct vote those who possess it already.

RESOLUTION 8.—The majority of the Committee is of opinion that "*if there be groups at all, the spokesmen voters should vote in the same general constituency as the direct voters and not in a separate constituency composed of group voters only.*"

Only Rao Bahadur Kale favours the proposal that groups spokesmen voters should vote in a separate electorate of their own composed of all communities.

Note.—Since most of the Committee no longer favour the group system it is unnecessary for them to consider which particular method of working should be adopted. A note* by Rao Bahadur Kale showing how he would work the group system in detail is attached.

RESOLUTION 9.—The question whether any special qualifications is required for the spokesmen of the groups hardly now arises, but the Committee's unanimous opinion is that "*if groups be found, no special qualification would be needed for the spokesmen.*"

RESOLUTION 10.—"*Even if the group system be adopted for the unenfranchised residuum, yet the Committee sees no reason to modify on this account its proposals for the direct electorate, once it had already taken the group system into consideration when framing its proposals for the direct franchise.*"

3. Household vote System of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque.

RESOLUTION 11.—"*While admitting that the scheme of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Haque would give a more truly representative electorate than the Committee's proposals, the Committee does not favour the general adoption of that scheme, since among other grounds it tends to enfranchise over 25 per cent. of the total population and about 70 per cent. of the male adult population as against a very small percentage of women. This the Committee does not consider desirable at this stage. Moreover, it would enfranchise a large mass of people who have had no previous experience of the vote.*"

Carried by 5 to 2, Rao Bahadur Kale and Mrs. Maneklal Premchand opposing, while Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki, Messrs. Syed Munawar and Haji remained neutral.

(The Committee also considered and rejected two rival proposals, one of Rao Bahadur Asavale that the household vote system should be accepted both for urban and rural areas without the addition of the extra literacy qualification suggested by Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque; and the

* *Vide* Appendix I, p. 171.

other of Rao Bahadur Kale that the household vote scheme of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Haque be accepted as it stands for both urban and rural areas including the literacy qualification. The latter proposal was preferred to the former by 7 votes to 5, Rao Bahadurs Asavale and Angadi, Dr. Solanki, Messrs. Syed Munawar and Haji supporting the first while Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Petit, Sardar Mutalik, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Rao Bahadur Kale and Mrs. Maneklal preferred the latter; but it was lost against the resolution rejecting the scheme as shown above.)

4. Disparity in Franchise between Town and Country.

RESOLUTION 12.—"*The Committee agrees that the same electoral system should prevail in town and country except that the house rental qualification can be applied only in towns*".

The proposal that adult suffrage should be introduced into Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Karachi cities was rejected by 9 to 5. Rao Bahadurs Asavale and Angadi, Mr. Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Haji supported it but Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Mr. Prater, Dr. D'Souza, Mr. Petit and Mr. Winterbotham opposed it.

(See also the Committee's remarks in Resolution 29.)

RESOLUTION 13.—The Committee by a majority holds that "*though the disparity in the voting strength of urban and rural areas will still exist under their proposals, the point has no special weight since the interests of small towns and of purely rural areas do not appreciably differ; while the larger cities are already formed into separate urban constituencies. It is therefore unable to make any proposals for further reducing that disparity, as this could only be achieved by lowering the rural qualification below the point which they think desirable*".

Carried by 10 to 2, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Mr. Koreishi opposed and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Mr. Syed Munawar and Mrs. Maneklal Premchand were neutral. Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh contends that in the towns of Sind, at any rate apart from Karachi, there is no appreciable disparity.

A counter-proposal to remove the disparity by reducing the assessment to Rs. 4 met with no support except from Rao Bahadur Asavale, as the Committee had already considered and rejected Rs. 4 assessment qualification.

Note.—Questions regarding representation of town and country are dealt with lower down in Resolutions Nos. 42 and 43.

5. Should each Community be given a Voting Strength proportionate to its Numbers.

RESOLUTION 14.—"*Assuming separate electorates, the Committee does not consider that the principle that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its number is of any practical importance. Assuming joint electorates with reservation of seats, the Committee considers*

the principle is not practicable in the case of all communities. Assuming joint electorates without reservation, the principle would be essential, but cannot be attained except by adult suffrage or by the adoption of the group system to the exclusion of all other qualifications (both solutions which the Committee as a whole is not prepared to accept)."

6. Property Qualification.

RESOLUTION 15.—"*The Committee considers that the possession of property of some kind is a suitable qualification for franchise. Property includes occupation as tenant as well as ownership of land or houses, but the suggestion that wages or income below the limit of income-tax assessment should be made the basis of the franchise qualification is unworkable.*"

RESOLUTION 16.—"*The Committee considers that in addition to the income-tax qualification there should be a qualification derived from the occupation as owner or tenant of land assessed or assessable at at least Rs. 8, and in urban areas of houses with a limit of rental value half that which is now fixed for the franchise. The reduction in the limit of assessment is intended to bring it down to the present Taluka Local Board qualification.*"

RESOLUTION 17.—"*In Sind the 'haris' should be enfranchised by the omission of the word 'permanent' from Rule 3 (a) (i) of Rule 2 of the Bombay Electoral Rules.*"

RESOLUTION 18.—"*The Committee does not think that any very important section of the agricultural population or of the poorer classes in rural areas will remain unenfranchised on the Rs. 8 assessment qualification. On this basis nearly one adult male out of every four will be enfranchised. Some male adult members of joint families will remain unenfranchised but they will be of the same class as and would have the same interest as those who will be enfranchised. There is no difference in interest between the man paying Rs. 8 assessment and the man paying Rs. 4 assessment. Both are small holders, both must largely resort to agricultural or other labour to supplement their income. Nor is there any marked difference or conflict of interest between the landless agricultural labourer on the one side, who would be the largest class excluded, and the small landholder or tenant on the other. For these reasons the Committee sees no necessity to reduce the limit of franchise derived from land below Rs. 8 assessment, especially as no reduction could benefit the landless agricultural labourer if he is not himself a tenant. The Committee's main objection to going below Rs. 8 is that there would thus be included in the electorate a mass of electors who have never yet exercised any franchise in the past even for local bodies. It is very undesirable to increase the difficulties of the new Councils and Government by including at the outset large masses of hitherto unenfranchised and illiterate voters. If the Council franchise is lowered to Rs. 8, it may be anticipated that the Local Board franchise would be lowered to Rs. 4, or perhaps to the payment of any assessment; and those who are not enfranchised for the Council on the Rs. 8 basis will thus receive a training in the exercise of the vote, which will fit them for inclusion in the Council electorate at a later date, say 10 or 15 years hence.*"

Carried by 6 to 3, Dr. Solanki, Mr. Syed Munawar and Rao Bahadur Asavale, being the dissentients. Those three favoured the counter-proposal to the following effect :—

"The criticism that a large section of the agricultural population and the poorer classes will be excluded under the Committee's proposals is just, and should be met by a reduction of the assessment qualification to Rs. 4." They urged that there is a large number of persons who are not at present on the Taluka Local Board electoral roll, and therefore will not get the Council vote under the Rs. 8 franchise. But their proposal was defeated as above.

Note.—If the assessment qualification were reduced to Rs. 4 and combined with the house rental and other qualifications proposed by the Committee and the special qualifications for women and the depressed classes suggested by the Committee, the result would be to enfranchise between 18 and 19 per cent. of the population. This percentage is higher than that which the Committee has fixed in Resolution No. 3 as the maximum percentage which would be practicable and desirable. But the Committee's main objection to this reduction in the land assessment qualification is not based so much on the ground that it is unmanageable, as on the ground stated above, namely, that the franchise would be extended to a large number of voters who have hitherto had no experience in the use of the vote.

The above decision also disposes of the suggestion that payment of any land revenue or local fund cess, however small, should qualify.

The proposal of Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh that in Sind all holders of land other than tenants paying Rs. 4 assessment and every tenant cultivating 5 acres or more of land should be enfranchised, found no supporters except himself.

RESOLUTION 19.—"*On the proposals made by the Committee for reducing the assessment qualification to Rs. 8, it is anticipated that probably a larger proportion of tenants will thus acquire the vote for the first time than of landowners. The enfranchisement of haris in Sind proposed by the Committee is alone expected to add about 400,000 to the roll, and this would remove the disparity between landowners and tenants in the Presidency taken as a whole. It seems probable that in the Presidency proper even now a much larger number of tenants could claim to be on the electoral roll than are actually now enrolled, and that through lack of interest they have not got their names put on the roll in many areas. It may be expected that under the new regime the rolls will be more carefully prepared and candidates and voters will be more particular to see that names are not wrongly omitted.*"

Note.—It may be noted that in this Presidency a person who holds land on the rayatwari tenure from Government is called a landowner and not a tenant. The term landholder includes everyone who holds land from Government, however small, as well as Inamdars, and even (in Inam villages where a survey and settlement has been introduced), the occupants of land holding from the Inamdars, whose names appear as permanent occupants. The holdings being often very small are not

always let to tenants, but may be cultivated by the landholder himself. The term "tenant" on the other hand includes both a lessee for a term of years, and also an annual tenant at will holding from the occupant. Many such tenants may be themselves the occupants of a separate small piece of land of their own. It cannot therefore be reasonably held that in this Presidency the interests of landholders, *i.e.*, of Kahatedars, and of tenants are in general directly opposed, so that it becomes a matter of urgent importance that each class should be equally represented.

7. Literacy Qualification.

RESOLUTION 20.—"*The Committee by a majority of 9 to 5 is in favour of introducing a qualification based on education. It should be the possession of a certificate of having passed the promotion examination from the 4th vernacular standard in approved vernacular schools or from the equivalent standard in approved English or English-teaching schools.*"

Messrs. Syed Munawar, Haji, Dr. Solanki, Rao Bahadur Asavale, and Rao Bahadur Angadi oppose the proposal on the ground that it will accentuate the disparity in voting strength and political power between the educationally advanced and educationally backward classes. They think that no such educational standard should be introduced till compulsory primary education is generally in force. Messrs. Winterbotham and Jadhav who were absent agreed with the minority.

RESOLUTION 21.—"*Taking 'literate' as implying bare ability to read and write, the Committee thinks that its proposals will leave a large number of the literate population unenfranchised; but the majority does not think that anything more can or should be done to remedy this.*"

Mr. Jadhav notes that he believes that only a small and not a large proportion of the literate adult population would remain unenfranchised. Since it is quite impossible to discover what numbers will be enfranchised by the Committee's educational qualification, it is not possible to say that Mr. Jadhav's view is wrong.

8. Military Qualification.

RESOLUTION 22.—"*The Military service qualification should be retained, and should be extended to all persons who at the time of the preparation of the electoral roll are borne on the strength of the A. F. I. or the I. T. F., and to those members of the U. T. C. who produce a certificate that they have completed 2 years' approved training, and to those ex-Members of both forces who hold the Long Service Medal or the Volunteer Decoration.*"

RESOLUTION 23.—"*The Committee does not consider that its proposals for the franchise need be modified if there is a second Chamber.*"

9. Women's Suffrage and Representation in Provincial Councils.

(*a*) *Special Franchise Qualification for Women.*

RESOLUTION 24.—"*The Committee by a majority recommend the adoption as a special franchise qualification for women the ability to read and write*

in any language; the voter's name to be enrolled on production of a certificate of such ability signed by a responsible person, to be prescribed by the rules." Carried by 8 to 7 : the supporters of this proposal were Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha, Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Mr. Prater, Dr. D'Souza, Rao Bahdur Kale and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh ; the dissentients were Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, and Dr. Solanki, and Messrs. Haji, Petit, Syed Munawar, and Winterbotham. Mr. Jadhav who was absent left a note which seems to imply disapproval of the proposal; if his vote be taken as " against " thereby producing equality, the Chairman would give his vote for the proposal, so carrying it.

RESOLUTION 25.—" *The age limit should be 21 for both men and women*". (Mr. Jadhav however thinks the limit should be 20.)

(*b*) *Women and the Group System.*

(The majority of the Committee has finally decided against the group system, but should it be adopted, then the original resolution of the Committee would apply, *i.e.*, that)

RESOLUTION 26.—" *There should be common mixed groups for men and women.*" Carried by 6 to 5. *For*: Mrs. Maneklal, Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Messrs. Prater and Petit. *Against* (and in favour of separate groups for women) ; Messrs. Koreishi, Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Rao Bahadur Angadi. Mr. Jadhav who was absent agrees with the majority.

(*c*) *Representation of Women in the Council.*

RESOLUTION 27.—Out of the four expedients mentioned below, *i.e.*,

(*i*) *Co-option by the elected members of the Council,*

(*ii*) *Election by special electorate of educated women voting by post,*

(*iii*) *That a few of the unsuccessful women candidates not having forfeited their deposits who had polled the highest proportion of votes should be declared elected in addition to any who had been elected in the ordinary way.*

(*iv*) *That seats should be set apart for women in certain selected urban areas, the electorate for the purpose in each such area being the electors, men and women, belonging to that area on the rolls of all the general constituencies, who would have two votes, one of which must be cast for the women candidate,*

the Committee does not approve of the proposed method of election by educated women voting by post because it appears undesirable to create a special electorate for women.

" *It feels that reservation of seats or special representation for women is not desirable, if it is possible to enfranchise a sufficient number of women to afford them an effective voice in the election. But if this is impossible, the Committee considers that the 4th proposal is the best. It considers that it should be re-worded as follows :—*

In selected areas, from the allotted seats, seats should be set apart for women, the electorate for the purpose in each such area being the electors,

men and women belonging to that area on the rolls of all the general constituencies."

Note.—The Committee had at one time favoured the co-option proposal, but abandoned it, firstly because it appeared that the suggestion did not find favour with women generally in this Presidency; secondly because it would result in the women's representatives being chosen solely by men, while women would have no voice in the selection; and lastly because the system might make women less inclined to take the trouble of standing as candidates in the ordinary elections, if they thought that whatever happened they would be able to find a seat by the easier method of co-option.

10. Depressed Classes.

(*a*) *Franchise.*

RESOLUTION 28.—"*The term 'Depressed Classes' should be confined for the present purpose to the Untouchable Classes shown in Schedule I of Appendix II of the Starte Committee's Report.*"

RESOLUTION 29.—"*The Committee does not consider that male adult suffrage should be applied to the Depressed Classes, since it is undesirable to extend such a system to one particular class alone, if it is not to be applied universally. Adult suffrage has been rejected for the population as a whole, because it would enfranchise a vast mass of voters with no previous experience of the vote; and it would be illogical therefore to apply the system to that community alone which has the least training and experience.*"

(Mr. Jadhav alone seems to favour adult suffrage for the Depressed Classes, but he was absent when the matter was finally discussed.)

"*The Committee is not in favour of applying the Group System to the Depressed Classes alone, because it thinks that even in rural areas, the group system, if applied to the Depressed Classes, would be more complicated and difficult to work than the Household Unit Scheme of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque would be, and it appears to be unworkable in the towns even for the Depressed Classes alone.*

The Committee thinks, however, that, assuming separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, then in addition to qualifications which the Depressed Classes would share with other communities, the Household Unit Scheme should be applied specially to them, and the proposal which the Committee had previously favoured, of enfranchising village servants useful to Government, should be dropped. But it should be provided that if a member of a household already has a vote on other grounds, its representative should not be entered on the roll under this system, i.e., *there should not be more than one voter per family.*"

Carried by 7 to 5; Mr. Haji, Rao Bahdur Asavale, Mr. Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki, Khan Bahdur Allahbaksh and Mr. Winterbotham supporting and Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahdur Kale and Mr. Petit opposing.

Note.—The Household Vote system referred to is as follows: Every family or household to be taken as a unit group and every family to be given a vote. "Family" or "Household" to be taken as a number of persons living together in a common house within the meaning of the Census Code and eating together in a common mess, together with their dependants. Every family or household to be allowed to select its own representative voter from among its number, provided he is adult, if it chooses to do so, but in the absence of any indication of its wishes, the registering officer should enter the name of the principal occupant or the head of the family.

This proposal may be expected to give nearly 300,000 voters, taking the population of the Depressed classes at 1,750,000, and the average number of members as 6, which is the general ratio indicated by the total number of houses according to the 1921 census and the total population. Thus the Depressed class voters would form about 16 per cent. of their total population.

(*b*) *Representation.*

"*A majority of the Committee were of the opinion that the Depressed Classes should be given separate electorates for 20 years.*"

(*N. B.*—This was the original recommendation of the Committee but it was not again considered at the time of the final revision, in view of the ruling that no recommendations on the subject of joint or separate electorates are relevant, since the matter is not within the terms of reference of the Franchise Committee.) That majority consisted of Rao Bahadur Asavale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Messrs. Syed Munawar, Haji, Prater, Koreishi, Winterbotham and Dr. Solanki. The minority consisted of Rao Bahadurs Angadi and Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Mrs. Manek-lal, Messrs. Wadia and Rajadhyaksha, most of whom were understood to favour reserved seats in the general electorate.

The Committee also considered the suggestion put forward in Madras that in addition to separate electorates, the Depressed classes electors should be given a second vote in the general Non-Mohamedan constituencies, to accustom them to vote in the general electorate. But all proposals for its adoption, with or without modification, were rejected. Dr. Solanki, the representative on the Committee of the Depressed classes, declined to give his approval to the scheme in any form, and the rest of the Committee could not agree on any form of the proposal. Mr. Winterbotham proposed that 'the Madras scheme should be accepted, provided that the number of Depressed class voters enfranchised is sufficient to justify their having a separate electorate and to make it worth while for the candidates, in the general constituencies to canvass the Depressed class vote. But this was rejected by 8 to 3, Messrs. Wadia and Winterbotham and Rao Bahadur Angadi alone favouring it.

Mr. Petit proposed that the Madras scheme should be approved, provided that it does not secure to the Depressed classes a larger number of seats than would be otherwise allotted to the Depressed classes in their

separate electorate, but this met with no support at all. A proposal to accept the scheme as it stands without any qualification was lost by 6 votes to 3, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Mr. Wadia and Rao Bahadur Angadi alone supporting it. Rao Bahadur Kale's proposal that the Madras scheme should be accepted provided that out of the seats allotted to the Depressed classes some should be filled by a separate electorate, and some kept as reserved seats for the Depressed classes in the general electorate, was lost by 7 to 4, Rao Bahadurs Kale and Angadi, Sardar Mutalik and Mr. Petit alone supporting it. The opponents of the scheme (other than Dr. Solanki) thought it unreasonable that the Depressed classes should get a second vote in the general electorate in addition to their separate electorates, while Dr. Solanki feared that the Depressed classes would be subject to violent pressure in order to influence their vote in the joint electorate, and also that the possession of that vote would be made a ground for the speedy withdrawal of the separate electorate.

11. Labour.

(*a*) *Representation of Organised Labour.*

RESOLUTION 30.—"*The Committee recommends that organised labour interests should be represented by members elected by an electoral college, which shall be formed by registered Trades Unions composed of manual workers throughout the Presidency, electing delegates in the proportion of 1 for every 20 members of such unions; the candidate must be an ordinary or honorary member of at least 1 year's standing of a registered Trades Union which is itself of 1 year's standing. The electoral rules should require from the Trade Unions which will send delegates to the electoral college adequate standards of paying membership; the Committee considers that the Registrar of Trade Unions should be given adequate powers of scrutiny for this purpose.*"

And on reconsideration it decided to adhere to this opinion in preference to the creation of a special labour electorate of the industrial workers in factories and docks, this latter being favoured by Rao Bahadur Asavale alone. The Committee was of opinion that representation through the Trade Unions is likely to produce a better class of representative with a more expert knowledge of labour problems and conditions than the alternative proposal.

The other suggestion that 'seats should be reserved for labour in general constituencies, a labour candidate being defined as a manual worker or member or office bearer of a registered Trade Union', was also rejected, Mr. Haji and Rao Bahadur Asavale alone supporting it.

(*b*) *Unorganised Labour in Towns.*

RESOLUTION 31.—A proposal of Rao Bahadur Asavale that 'in addition to the representation of organised labour through the Trade Unions, to provide for unorganised labour there should be a separate electorate consisting of all industrial workers in factories, docks, etc., who are not members of Trades Unions; and that this electorate should have some

of the seats assigned to labour, was *rejected* by 6 to 4, its supporters being Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Syed Munawar. The majority of the Committee thought that this arrangement would be difficult to work in practice, and being based on an entirely different system from that adopted for organised labour, could not well be combined with it; and moreover it would cut across the lines of communal representation.

Note.—The Committee has thus made no special proposal as regards unorganised labour in towns, but it seems likely in the opinion of most of its members that such labour would be strongly represented in the ordinary electoral roll of the general constituencies in the big towns.

(*c*) *Agricultural Labour and Unorganised Labour in Rural Areas.*

As regards the question of the landless agricultural labourer, etc., the opinion of the Committee has been shewn in resolution No. 18 above. The Committee could find no practical way of enfranching agricultural labour, save by adult suffrage, or by the group system, or by the general application to rural areas of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Haque's Household unit method, all of which expedients have been rejected by the Committee or by a majority of the Committee.

RESOLUTION 32.—The Committee by a majority *rejected* the proposal to reserve seats for representatives of landless agricultural labourers in certain multi-member constituencies in rural areas where the landless labourers exceed a certain proportion of the population. The proposal was lost by 9 to 4, being supported only by Messrs. Haji, Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki and Rao Bahadur Asavale. Mr. Jadhav who was absent is also opposed to it.

Note.—The majority found one difficulty in the fact that the landless agricultural labourers are neither organised nor educated, and therefore it would be exceedingly difficult for them to find any one to represent them suitably in the reserved seats, especially if they would have only a small number of voters. And if they formed any considerable body of electors, it would not be necessary to make any special provision for them. Moreover these landless agricultural labourers in the opinion of the majority of the Committee do not differ greatly in interest from the small land holders or tenant, and for the most part belong to very much the same class.

12. Special Interests.

RESOLUTION 33.—It was agreed that "*special interests should continue to receive representation in the Council.*"

RESOLUTION 34.—"*A majority of the Committee consider that all the special interests at present represented by election or nomination should continue to receive representation.*"

Rao Bahadur Angadi thinks that there should be no special representation for the University, but no other members agree with this view. A

minority consisting of Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Syed Munawar strongly urge that there should be no special representation for the great landholders, and contend that the landholders are certain to be effectively and even excessively represented in the ordinary electorate, and that as regards the Inamdars, it is seldom that their interests are opposed to those of the other landholders. But the majority doubt both these propositions, and the proposal to exclude the special landholders constituencies was lost by 8 to 4.

RESOLUTION 35.—"*The Committee considers that the number of seats reserved for each special interest should bear the same proportion to the numbers of the enlarged Council, as their present number does to that of the present Council.*"

Carried by 7 to 6, Messrs. Wadia, Haji, Sardar Mutalik, Mr. Prater, Dr. D'Souza, Messrs. Petit and Winterbotham supporting.

(The minority who held that the number of seats for special interests in the Council should not be increased above their present number was formed as follows:—Rao Bahadur Angadi, Mr. Syed Munawar, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, and Mr. Koreishi. In addition to their objection to the Inamdars constituencies they consider that any increase to the special Commercial constituencies must involve an injustice to the claims of rural interests and argue that even if each special interest be admitted to need a voice in the Council that is no reason why it should have more than one seat.)

RESOLUTION 36.—"*A majority of the Committee consider that there should be no change in the method of electing to the Sardars and Inamdars constituencies of the Deccan and Gujarat and to the Sind Jahagirdars and Zamindars constituencies.*" Carried by 6 to 3, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Dr. Solanki being the minority.

A proposal to include all officiating watandar patils and kulkarnis in the Deccan and Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars constituencies was rejected by 5 to 3.

RESOLUTION 37.—"*No change should be made in the method of election to the Commerce and Industries constituencies.*"

RESOLUTION 38.—"*One seat should be filled by election from the cotton trade in place of the nominated seat by which the trade is now represented, but the Committee has not sufficient material before it to enable it to propose the exact method of election. It considers that the representation of the cotton trade should include both cotton growers and dealers.*"

RESOLUTION 39.—"*The Committee does not consider that its proposals about special interests should be modified, if there is a second Chamber.*" (Rao Bahadur Kale dissents, *vide* Resolution 55.)

13. Qualification of Candidates for the Provincial Council.

RESOLUTION 40.—"*The Committee is of opinion that no literacy qualification should be required of candidates for the Provincial Council.*" Carried *nem con.* The Committee considered that a qualification which merely

requires ability to read and write in a vernacular would serve no useful purpose at any rate in a province where various vernaculars are spoken. Any higher qualification might unduly affect the interests of the more backward classes.

RESOLUTION 41.— "*The Committee agrees that the present rules regarding the qualification of candidates for the Provincial Council should be retained, subject to the following modifications*:—

(i) *Only subjects of such States should be qualified to stand as candidates in which British subjects are eligible as members of the State Legislature, if any.*

(ii) *Members of other legislative bodies should not be disqualified from standing as candidates, provided that if elected they resign their seats on that other body before taking their seats on the Council.*

(iii) *The residential qualification for a candidate for the Council should be abolished.*

(iv) *Persons holding contracts from the Provincial Government should be debarred from standing as candidates for Council by a rule framed on the general lines of those contained in the Bombay Municipal Acts.*

(v) *There should be no disqualification of a candidate on the ground that he has been convicted of a criminal offence, provided that he is not undergoing a sentence of imprisonment at the time, and that if elected he will be able to take his seat within 3 months from the date of election or at the first session of the Legislative Council, whichever is later.*

(vi) *The word 'permanent' in rule 3 (a) (i) of Schedule II of the Bombay Electoral Rules should be omitted before the word 'tenant'.*"

14. Nature of the Constituencies for the Provincial Legislature.

RESOLUTION 42.—"*The majority of the Committee are in favour of multi-member constituencies, for the Provincial Council, both in urban and rural constituencies, provided that they are not obtained by combining different districts in more than one constituency. The number of seats in any constituency should not be more than 4.*

Voting should be cumulative.

Such constituencies are necessary if reserved seats are provided for Marathas, and Indian Christians; and are desirable also in the interests of minorities and sections of all kinds, other than those which will receive separate electorates. It is quite impossible to enumerate all these various sections and interests, as they differ in every district."

Carried by 10 to 4, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Koreishi being the dissentients.

(A counter proposal made by Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh that voting should be by single non-transferable vote found no supporters. A proposal that there should be multi-member constituencies in urban areas

and wherever there are reserved seats, but that other rural constituencies should be single member constituencies, was defeated by 8 to 6, its supporters being Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Messrs. Haji, Koreishi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Syed Munawar.)

15. Representation of Cities.

RESOLUTION 43.— "*The Committee considers that the 3 great cities of Bombay, Karachi and Ahmedabad should have special weightage in the Council, apart from the seats given to special interests, but that otherwise town and country should have representation proportionate to their population. The Committee cannot indicate precisely what weightage should be given to the 3 cities above without working out the exact allocation of all the seats in the Council, which they are not in a position to do.*" Carried by 10 to 2, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Rao Bahadur Angadi dissenting.

RESOLUTION 44.— "*The majority of the Committee do not favour the idea of grouping minor municipalities and urban areas into urban constituencies apart from strictly rural areas and consider that the present practice should be retained.*"

Carried by 7 to 4. Messrs. Koreishi, Haji, Syed Munawar and Rao Bahadur Asavale alone support the idea of combining municipalities into joint urban constituencies. The majority hold that the interests of the residents in the smaller municipalities do not differ greatly from those who live in the strictly rural areas.

16. Polling Arrangements.

RESOLUTION 45.— "*The Committee considered the question of extending the polling period beyond one day. If this means that the polling should last for more than one day in any given polling station area, then in the Committee's opinion great inconvenience both to candidates and voters and great confusion would result; for it would be difficult for any given voter to know on which day he should appear. If the proposal be that in one polling station area the voting should be on one day and in another within the same constituency it should be on a different day, this arrangement might reduce expense for Government but the Committee considers that it would entail greater cost and strain on the candidates and it would be better therefore that one and the same day should be fixed throughout the constituency.*"

Note.—Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh dissents and Mr. Jadhav, who was absent also favours a two days' polling period.

RESOLUTION 46.— "*The hours of polling should be from one hour after sunrise to sunset with an hour's recess at midday.*"

RESOLUTION 47.— "*The Committee considers that not more than 500 voters in towns and 300 in rural areas can be polled per day by each polling officer.*"

RESOLUTION 48.— "*In view of the opinion of the majority of the Committee given in favour of multi-member constituencies, the Committee considers that the present cross and symbol system with one common ballot box for all communities should be retained, instead of the multiple box system*

whether of coloured box or of box marked with symbols; for otherwise the number of boxes to be dealt with in each polling station and transmitted for counting to headquarters would be most inconveniently large."

RESOLUTION 49.—*" The Committee considers that as at present the ballot paper should be issued by the polling officers and not by the presiding officer."*

17. Life or Provincial Legislatures.

RESOLUTION 50.—*" The Committee is of opinion that the life of the Provincial Legislatures should be 5 years instead of 3 as at present."*

18. Representation of Minorities.

RESOLUTION 51.—*" The Committee thinks that the Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans should be formed into a separate electorate,* i.e., *separate from the Europeans. Their electoral roll should include all persons of European descent in the male line who being British subjects resident in British India are domiciled in British India or were born of parents habitually resident in British India and not established here for temporary purposes."*

RESOLUTION 52.—*" The Indian Christians should be represented in the Council by reserved seats in the general Non-Mahommedan electorate for a period of 20 years."*

RESOLUTION 53.—*" A small majority of the Committee hold that reserved seats for Mahrattas with the right to contest additional seats should be continued in those constituencies where they will not have a percentage of voting strength equal to the percentage of their population."*

Carried by 5 to 4. Those who favoured this proposal are Rao Bahadurs Asavale, Angadi, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Koreishi. Mr. Jadhav, who was absent, also favours this proposal. The minority consisting of Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Messrs. Wadia and Petit are of opinion that no seats should be reserved for Maharattas anywhere.

19. Size of the Provincial Council.

RESOLUTION 54.—*" The Committee considers that the seats on the Provincial Council should be not less than 150 and not more than 200."*

Carried by 7 to 4. The minority consisted of Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Prater.

Note.—Rao Bahadurs Angadi, Asavale and Dr. Solanki consider that there should be one seat for every one hundred thousand of the population.

20. Bicameral Legislature.

RESOLUTION 55.—*" The Committee by a majority of 8 to 4 considers that for the first few years at least a second Chamber will be necessary for the Provincial Legislature, the powers of that Chamber being broadly those of the present Council of State."*

The majority consisting of Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Dr. D'Souza, Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Prater and Petit think that a second Chamber is needed to act as a brake on the Lower House and to relieve the Governor of the necessity of constantly falling back on his emergency powers with reference to ill-considered legislation and to supply the lack of the Official bloc as a moderating influence. Rao Bahadur Kale supports the proposal subject to the opinion that if a second Chamber be established there would be no need for representation of special interests in the Lower Chamber. On this latter point, however, the opinion of the Committee is given in Resolution No. 38 above.

The minority consisting of Rao Bahadurs Asavale, Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Haji argued that the House elected by the people ought to be the final House and that any Upper House would be undemocratic and almost certainly would be unduly conservative and that its constitution would entail a heavy and useless expense out of all proportion to its utility. Also an Upper House would weaken the sense of responsibility of the Lower House. Mr. Jadhav, who was absent, agrees with the minority, and Mr. Winterbotham with the majority.

RESOLUTION 56.—"*The majority of the Committee consider that the Second Chamber should be elected on a basis of higher qualifications than the Lower Chamber and those qualifications should be based on property and education. A certain proportion of the seats should be filled by nomination by the Governor to represent special interest and minorities.*"

Carried by 8 to 3. The majority consists of Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Sardar Mutalik, Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Petit, Prater and Winterbotham. Mr. Winterbotham agrees with the majority on the first part of the resolution but is opposed to nomination to the Second Chammer, considering that special interests and minorities should secure representation through special constituencies.

The minority consists of Rao Bahadur Angadi, Asavale and Dr. Solanki.

The following rival proposals were considered and rejected :—

(1) That half the House should be composed of elected members and half of nominated. Five favoured this and 5 were against and the Chairman gave his casting vote against the proposal.

(2) The second Chamber should be elected by the members of the Lower House from among themselves by a single transferable vote.

This was supported only by Rao Bahadur Asavale.

(3) That the second Chamber should be a body elected by the same electorate as the Lower House.

This failed by the adoption of the proposal given above. The majority considered that such a Lower House would not be sufficiently different in composition from the Upper House.

RESOLUTION 57.—"*The Committee agrees that in the event of a difference of opinion between the two Chambers the matter should be referred to a joint session.*"

RESOLUTION 58.—"*The Committee agrees that the life of the second Chamber should be 7 years, half the members vacating their seats after 3½ years.*"

Note.—A Statement* is appended showing what is the expected effect of the various proposals of the Committee regarding the franchise for the Provincial Legislature.

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* *Vide* Appendix IV, page 176.

PART II.

FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

21. Allocation of Seats to British Indian Provinces.

RESOLUTION 59.—"*Having regard to the commercial and industrial importance of the Bombay Presidency and to the fact that Bombay City is the main port of India and that there is a second important port in the Presidency, viz., Karachi, the Committee holds that the weightage allowed to the Bombay Presidency in the allocation of seats for the Assembly should be increased by 4 more seats.*"

Notes.—Rao Bahadur Angadi alone dissents. See also Resolution 69 below.

22. Federal Upper Chamber.

RESOLUTION 60.—"*The Committee agrees that representatives of the British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected in the Provincial Legislature by a single transferable vote.*"

[*Notes.*—(*i*) Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh would add the following proviso :—

> "Provided that the proportion of Mussalman representation in the Federal Upper House which may be laid down in the future Indian constitution is secured."

(*ii*) Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Sardar Mutalik favoured direct election to the Upper House and proposed that the existing method of election to the Council of State be retained for the Federal Upper House. But this suggestion was rejected by 9 to 2. Mr. Winterbotham who was absent also favours direct election for the Upper House.]

23. Franchise Qualification for the Assembly.

RESOLUTION 61.—"*The Committee propose that the franchise for the Federal Lower House should be the same as is now in force for the Provincial Council, that is, the payment of income-tax, ownership or occupation as tenant of land assessed at or of the assessable value of not less than Rs. 32 or in the Panch Mahals, Ratnagiri and Upper Sind Frontier Rs. 16, and the occupation as owner or tenant in any municipal district, cantonment or notified area of a house of the annual rental value of Rs. 120 in Bombay City, Rs. 60 in Karachi City, Rs. 24 in any Municipality in the Punch Mahals or Ratnagiri and Rs. 36 in other districts, retired soldiers of the regular Army to be included in the franchise.*" This would have the effect of enlarging the electoral roll from 170,000 to about 870,000 or 3·9 per cent. of the population.

Carried by 9 to 4. Supported by Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Haji, Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki, Messrs. Prater, Winterbotham, Rao Bahadurs Angadi and Asavale. Mr. Jadhav who was absent agrees with the majority.

The minority, namely, Sardar Mutalik, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. D'Souza and Mr. Petit prefer the Committee's original proposal that the present qualification for the Assembly should be retained unchanged except for the addition of holders of a University degree.

Another suggestion that the franchise for the Assembly should be the payment of income-tax or the occupation of land assessed or assessable at Rs. 36 was supported only by Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Rao Bahadur Angadi. The majority consider that such a franchise would be most unfair to the urban areas.

RESOLUTION 62.—"*Election to the Lower Federal House should be by territorial constituencies of direct qualified voters and not by any indirect method.*"

Note.—Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Winterbotham favoured indirect election.

RESOLUTION 63.—A narrow majority of the Committee consider that "*there should be single seated constituencies for election to the Lower Federal House; and in combining districts where necessary, regard should be had to convenience and as far as possible to language.*"

Rao Bahadurs Angadi, Asavale, Dr. Solanki, Mr. Syed Munawar, Mr. Koreishi and Mr. Haji favour this proposal on the ground that single-seated constituencies would be smaller in size and more manageable and convenient for candidates and for election purposes.

The alternative proposal that constituencies should be as far as possible multiple-seated with cumulative voting was supported by Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha, Petit, Rao Bahadur Kale and Sardar Mutalik on the ground that such constituencies give minorities of all kinds a better chance of securing a candidate of their own choice.

24. Representation of Women in the Assembly.

RESOLUTION 64.—"*If the total number of seats on the Assembly assigned to this Presidency be raised to 30, then in Bombay City 1 seat should be reserved for women in the Non-Mohammedan general constituency and 1 in the Mohammedan constituency; but if not, the Committee adheres to its original recommendation that the Assembly as a whole should co-opt 3 women representatives provided the minimum of 3 be not elected in the ordinary course.*"

Carried *nem con.*

25. Representation of Depressed Classes in the Assembly.

RESOLUTION 65.—"*A majority of the Committee consider that the Depressed Classes should have special representation in the Federal Assembly. The representative or representatives of the Depressed Classes should be elected to the Federal Lower House from among the members of the Depressed Classes by the vote of all the members of the local bodies and the members of the Provincial Legislative Council.*"

Carried by 6 to 2, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Haji opposing it. Dr. Solanki did not vote.

The Committee considered and rejected 3 other proposals as follows :—

(1) Dr. Solanki's proposal :—The representatives of the Depressed Classes in the Lower Federal House should be chosen by direct election from the Depressed Classes themselves. Their qualification as voters should be the same as the present franchise qualification for the Provincial Councils.

Rejected by 6 to 4. Rao Bahadur Asavale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Syed Munawar supported it.

(2) A proposal providing for a special franchise qualification for the Depressed Classes for the Assembly similar to that approved for all classes for future Provincial Councils was favoured by Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh alone.

(3) The proposal of Mr. Haji that the representatives of the Depressed Classes in the Assembly should be elected by the Depressed Class members of the local bodies and Legislative Council was rejected by 7 to 3, Messrs. Haji, Koreishi and Dr. Solanki alone favouring it. The majority considered that it would give much too small a number of electors.

RESOLUTION 66.—"*The Committee considers that its proposal for the method of electing Depressed Class representatives for the Assembly is preferable to the other suggestion that separate Depressed Class constituencies should be formed only in certain urban areas like Bombay, Poona, Sholapur, etc.; because the latter proposal gives the vote only to the Depressed Class voters of a very few urban areas and leaves those in the rural areas entirely unprovided for; whereas the social questions which might arise in the Assembly regarding Depressed Classes would certainly affect rural areas not less acutely than urban areas.*"

Mr. Jadhav alone appears to favour the latter proposal.

26. Representation of Labour in the Assembly.

RESOLUTION 67.—"*Labour should be represented in the Federal Lower House by a member or members elected by registered Trade Unions of the Bombay Presidency.*"

27. Representation of Special Interests in the Assembly.

RESOLUTION 68.—"*The majority of the Committee consider that the number of seats at present assigned in the Assembly to special interests excluding labour should not be increased.*"

Carried by 5 to 2. Rao Bahadurs Asavale, Angadi, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Koreishi voting for and Sardar Mutalik and Mr. Petit voting against it. Mr. Winterbotham who was absent agrees with the minority.

Sardar Mutalik's proposal that the Landholders and Millowners constituencies should have two continuous seats each in the Assembly was rejected by 5 to 3, Sardar Mutalik, Mr. Petit and Rao Bahadur Kale being in the minority.

RESOLUTION 69.—" *The Committee's views on the subject of the distribution of seats in the Lower House of the Federal Legislature are as follows :—*

The following basis has been suggested for allocating the 26 seats proposed by the Federal Structure Sub-Committee for the Bombay Presidency :—

General constituencies including Europeans	22
Labour	1
Indian Commerce	2
Landholders	1
	26

This distribution does not, however, provide for the following interests, (a) those interests which are at present provided for by nomination on an All-India basis, namely, the Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and European Commerce, (b) the interests of the millowners of Ahmedabad and Bombay who at present share by rotation one of the seats allotted to Indian Commerce to the satisfaction of neither, (c) the interests of the Sardars and Inamdars of the Presidency and the Jahagirdars and Zamindars of Sind who at present share one seat by rotation to the satisfaction of neither, and (d) it is doubtful whether one seat will satisfy labour demands. The Committee is unanimously of opinion that these considerations make out an overwhelming case for the increase in the allotment of seats to 30 at least to provide for these interests."

28. Qualification for Candidates for the Assembly.

RESOLUTION 70.—" *A majority of the Committee consider that a member of the Assembly should be required to be able to understand and express himself in English.*"

Carried by 7 to 3. The minority consisting of Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Mr. Syed Munawar and Rao Bahadur Asavale hold that this condition would prejudice the interests of the backward classes and unduly restrict their choice of candidate and would shut out from the Assembly some candidates who, in spite of inability to speak English, would nevertheless be very useful members.

A rival proposal of Rao Bahadur Asavale that the qualification for the Assembly candidate should be ability to follow the proceedings in English and to address the Assembly in any vernacular language fell through when the above resolution was carried.

S. H. COVERNTON,

Chairman, Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee.

APPENDIX I.

HOW THE GROUP SYSTEM SHOULD BE CONDUCTED.

Note by Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M.L.C., and Member, Provincial Franchise Committee, Bombay.

I have already indicated in my Memorandum submitted to the Provincial Franchise Commitee and published at pages 129-130 of the Blue Book (accompaniment No. 7 to the Bombay Government's Report on the Questionnaire of the Franchise Committee) the general outline of the working of the group system. As to how the group voting should be conducted I should like to supplement my statement by making the following observations :—

Lists of all unenfranchised voters should be prepared by the Village Officers about two months prior to the General election with the assistance of Village School Masters and checked by Revenue Officers as also by Officers of the Co-operative and Agricultural and Health Departments. On the day fixed for the election of the Secondary Voters, which should be a month before the general election, persons included in every Unit of the Village, which will have contained about one hundred primary Voters according to my suggested division of the village, should be gathered in front of a temple or Chavadi ; and they should be asked to elect five Spokesmen—a quorum for the meeting being fixed at a certain minimum and voting done by show of hands ; the election should be conducted by the Mamlatdar or other Revenue Officer not lower in rank than the Head Karkun, who generally is also a Magistrate. This method is at present in vogue in the elections in the Village Panchayat and was lately adopted by the Bombay Government when the Village Sanitation Act of 1931 was passed for the election of the Sanitary Committees in Villages. The elections should be held early in the morning before the people of the village go out into the fields for the day's work or at night when they have returned to their homes. When the spokesmen are thus elected, a separate register should be formed in which these should be shown as qualified voters for the Legislative Council.

COUNCIL HALL, BOMBAY.

Dated 18th March 1932.

R. R. KALE, M.L.C.,

Member, Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee.

APPENDIX II.

Summary of replies of Returning Officers of the big cities to the question regarding the enfranchisement of sub-tenants in cities with reference to the questions asked verbally at the Joint Sessions.

In Bombay.—Sub-tenants are enfranchised if they pay the qualifying rent and desire to get themselves enrolled. Lodgers, occupying house or room jointly in a chummery are not enrolled.

If the rental franchise were halved the number of sub-tenants enfranchised might be 50,000 to 60,000.

Sholapur.—They are not at present enfranchised.

Poona City.—Yes, if they pay the qualifying rent. No figures of the number who would be enfranchised if the house-rental qualification were halved are available.

Ahmedabad.—There is no subletting.

Surat.—There is no subletting.

Karachi.—Yes, if they pay qualifying rent. No figures available of the number who would be enfranchised if the house-rental qualification be halved.

2. Replies regarding the working of Election in the big cities under adult Suffrage.

Bombay.—The whole electorate could be polled in one day, if there were no separate electorates, but with separate electorates 2 days would be necessary.

Twenty-four polling stations, 24 Presiding Officers, and 5,000 clerks would be needed for the actual elections.

Staff is said to be available from municipal and Government permanent establishment.

Special temporary staff of 800 would be required from 4 to 9 months for the preparation of the roll.

Expected total cost of an election would be Rs. 6,75,000 as against Rs. 1,25,000 at present under the present franchise.

Spreading the election over two days would not materially reduce the cost.

Karachi.—It would be possible to hold the election in one day with 10 polling stations and 10 supervisors. In each polling station there would be 10 booths, with in all 125 Presiding Officers and 125 Polling Officers. (It seems as though the term " presiding officer " is used in a different sense at Karachi.)

Staff is available from the ranks of Government and municipal employees. Temporary staff would be required for the preparation of the roll, at a cost of about Rs. 10,000.

Approximate total cost including preparation of roll and actual election would be about Rs. 25,000 as against Rs. 5,000 at present.

Surat.—At least 2 or 3 days would be required to poll the entire electorate. 15 polling stations each divided into separate booths, and 15 presiding officers, 75 assistant presiding officers, 300 polling officers and assistants, and 120 peons would be required.

At present the Municipality with only 25,000 voters take 2 days for their own elections using their own staff.

Permanent staff of Government and the Municipality would not suffice and temporary staff would be needed for the preparation of the roll. Cost of preparing roll would be about Rs. 12,000 as against Rs. 6,000 in 1920.

Collector can make no estimate of the total cost of the election.

Ahmedabad.—The whole electorate could not be polled in one day: 3 days would be required. Special staff would be required for the preparation of the roll, *i.e.*, 50 clerks and 15 supervisors for 9 months. If the election be spread over 3 days no special staff would be needed for the actual election.

Total cost of the election would be Rs. 44,000 as against Rs. 7,994 in 1930.

The permanent staff would not suffice for polling all the electors in one day.

Sholapur.—Adult population could be polled in one day if polling stations were doubled, *i.e.*, 32 as against 16 at present, and if the presiding officers were also 32 and polling officers were 168, *i.e.*, double the present number. In addition to the permanent staff, extra temporary staff would be needed for preparation of the roll. They would have to be paid. So also extra temporary staff would be needed in addition to the permanent Government and Municipal staff for the conduct of the election. But Collector cannot estimate what would be the cost of the election in all. He sees no objection to spreading the election over 2 days. Suggests different days should be fixed for Non-Muhammadans, Muhammadans and women respectively; he does not explain why he proposes to give women a separate day.

Poona.—The adult population in Poona Urban Constituency could be polled in one day if 44 polling stations and 44 presiding officers were appointed, and 250 to 300 polling officers employed, as against 22 polling stations and presiding officers and 77 polling officers at present. The adult population of the urban constituency is 126,000. Special temporary additional staff would be needed for the preparation of the roll, but the election could be held with the help of Government and Municipal staff alone. The election could be spread over 2 days if desired. Can give no estimate of the cost of the election, but the temporary staff would have to be paid, and the permanent staff would have to be paid actual expenses at about Rs. 5 per day for presiding officers and Rs. 2 for polling officers. Cost of the election under existing franchise in 1930 was Rs. 5,650.

APPENDIX III.

Statement showing the effects of the Chamber of Commerce Scheme.

District.	Total number of payers of direct taxes to Sanitary Committee, Sanitary Board or Village Panchayat.	Total number of payers of direct municipal, cantonment or notified area tax including Sanitary Cess but excluding wheel tax.	Total number of payers of land revenue assessment however small, including holders of Inam lands.	Total number of tenants of agricultural land, however small.
1	2	3	4	5
Bombay City	*Nil.*	29,000	4,902	*Nil.*
Ahmedabad	660	100,636	103,979	67,489
Broach	6,560	13,545	48,082	26,790
Kaira	16,000	25,000	168,000	109,000
Panch Mahals	3,545	6,700	41,445	15,957
Surat	5,075	32,414	90,089	20,550
Thana	8,524	7,955	103,969	117,589
Ahmednagar	11,513	8,382	190,634	16,939
Khandesh, East	18,190	29,147	167,847	29,405
Khandesh, West	5,337	18,059	125,706	42,419
Nasik	7,837	19,787	163,851	15,098
Poona	6,863	26,185	206,438	7,321
Satara	8,167	23,600	253,920	43,341
Sholapur	4,177	19,419	107,818	28,787
Bombay Suburban District ..	50	8,957	13,371	2,257
Belgaum	17,884	18,732	184,036	77,501
Bijapur	2,300	14,675	44,855	85,840
Dharwar	32,400	46,750	156,000	45,200
Kanara	250	7,214	43,350	63,050
Kolaba	3,911	6,104	122,462	114,209

District.	Total number of payers of direct taxes to Sanitary Committee, Sanitary Board or Village Panchayat.	Total number of payers of direct municipal, canton-ment or notified area tax including Sanitary Cess but excluding wheel tax.	Total number of payers of land revenue assessment however small, including holders of Inam lands.	Total number of tenants of agricultural land, however small.
1	2	3	4	5
Ratnagiri	970	9,500	152,000	99,000
Hyderabad	..	8,832	34,890	61,684
Karachi	*Nil*	16,011	27,399	230
Larkana	21,000	..	14,309	114,892
Nawabshah	..	3,887	24,750	21,666
Sukkur	12,737	20,395	51,536	79,768
Thar and Parkar	..	344	49,454	1,702
Upper Sind Frontier ..	100	2,700	8,300	50,000
Total ..	191,050	523,930	2,703,392	1,357,684

The results of the Chamber of Commerce Scheme are obtained by adding columns 2 and 3. The total figure thus obtained would give 3·3 per cent. of the total population if this were the sole basis of enfranchisement.

APPENDIX IV.

Statement showing probable effects of the Committee's Proposals.

	Presidency proper.	Sind.	Total.
Voters by house rental qualification if halved.	691,970	107,388	799,358
Voters from Rs. 8 assessment franchise	1,087,723	115,875	1,203,598
Voters by Military qualification ..	9,000	1,000	10,000
Haris	..	400,000‡	400,000‡
Women literates (according to 1931 census).	144,255	18,905	163,160
Depressed classes..	283,000*	17,000*	300,000*
Income-tax assessees (say) ..	45,000†	5,000†	50,000†
Total ..	2,260,948	665,168	2,926,116

Percentage of voters to the total population (including Sind)	13·4
Percentage of voters in the Presidency proper	12·6
Percentage of voters in Sind	17·1

* A rough estimate derived from the depressed class population by allowing a rough average of 6 persons per house.

† A rough estimate allowing for the probability that many of the Income-tax assessees would possess other qualifications. The actual number of Income-tax payers is about 118,000.

‡ A rough estimate based on figures given in the 1921 census, of Cultivating tenants, male actual workers for Sind.

APPENDIX V.

Note by Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh.

1. It is to be regretted that the specific question of the franchise for Sind was merged in the general question of the franchise for the Bombay Presidency as a whole. A province of such importance as to be considered fit for constitution into a separate unit requires special consideration of its peculiar problems. The franchise question in Sind is essentially different from that in the Presidency. It would, indeed, have been better if that question had been considered by a separate Committee. Many of the points raised by me with regard to the special problems of Sind were ruled out on the ground that the Franchise Committee had to consider franchise problems for the Presidency as a whole. Being the only member from Sind, I was unable to do anything in the matter.

However, I would be failing in my duty if I allowed the question of the franchise in Sind to go by default, and I have therefore considered it necessary for me to record my views on at least a few of the more important points.

The Government of Bombay and the Provincial Franchise Committee are of opinion that it is not desirable that the franchise should be extended beyond 14 per cent. of the population for the present. But the franchise proposed for Sind extends to about 25 per cent. of the population of that province. It is this high franchise percentage in Sind which has helped to raise the total franchise percentage in the whole Presidency to 14 per cent. In other words, the 14 per cent. franchise limit for the Presidency has been obtained by raising the franchise in Sind to 25 per cent. This proposal cannot, therefore, be reconciled with the idea of the Committee and of Government to limit the franchise to 14 per cent. of the population, since the limit has been extended much further in the case of Sind and since the limit is only 12 per cent. for the Presidency proper by itself.

Sind, far from being an advanced division of the Bombay Presidency, is one of its comparatively backward parts. Besides, there are no minority problems in Sind to necessitate such a big jump in the franchise. It is my considered view that it is much better that advance in this most important direction should be gradual in a matter which is at the very root of constitutional progress. I am, therefore, of opinion that the franchise in Sind should embrace only 10 per cent. of the population, for the first 5 years, then a further 10 per cent. after another 5 years, till it has reached the goal in 20 years. The 10 per cent. franchise can be obtained by lowering the property qualification so as to secure that proportion. The number of big landholders is only 2,251 who hold 32 per cent. of the total holding in Sind and this is only ·05 per cent. of the total population. The number of holders who are not tenants, *i.e.*, who do not cultivate land for others would be roughly 25 per cent. of the total landholders in Sind, the remaining 75 per cent. landholders though they come under the category of landholders are mostly agricultural tenants, who, in addition to their holdings, cultivate the lands of other landholders and also work as labourers. This class of landholders will have sufficient representation under the franchise proposed by me.

2. Another point which I should like to make is the following : At present the Jahagirdars and Zamindars in Sind between them are allotted one seat on the Provincial Council. Experience has, however, shown that this seat is invariably captured by the Zamindars. On the other hand in the Presidency proper, the Inamdars alone have a separate seat allotted to them. The Inamdars in the Presidency are analogous to the Jahagirdars in Sind, and therefore the Jahagirdars in Sind should also have a separate seat allowed to them for themselves alone. They have a large stake in the country, and need such representation very badly. Otherwise their interests will go by default.

3. The Provincial Committee have recommended that weightage should be given to the Bombay Presidency in the Federal Lower House. I qualified my assent to that proposal by the *proviso* that the weightage given to Bombay does not reduce the proportion of Mahomedan representation in that House. This was, however,

ruled out by the Chairman, as he considered that it raised a communal issue. I am, therefore, constrained to record this very definite and emphatic opinion on this matter.

4. I also expressed the view that whatever proportion may be allotted to the Mahomedans in the Provincial Legislature should be distributed between Sind and the Presidency proper according to their respective population. The total Mahomedan population of the Presidency is 1,583,359 and that of the Mahomedan in Sind is 2,830,000. The Mahomedan population in the Presidency is therefore 56 per cent. of the total Mahomedan population of the whole Presidency and the Mahomedan population in Sind is 64 per cent. of the total Mahomedan population in the Presidency. The Provincial Committee appointed to co-operate with the Simon Commission recommended 50 per cent. for the Presidency Mahomedans despite the fact that their proportion to the total Mahomedan population of the Presidency was only 36 per cent. No doubt, there were 9 prominent Muslim representatives of Sind on that Committee, but when I asked them whether they had any reason for this recommendation, they merely replied that the concession made by them was prompted by a spirit of generosity which was not at all justified by the circumstances of the case, and which was clearly unfair to the Mahomedan population in Sind.

With all its conditions, problems and difficulties peculiar to itself, it is essential that Sind should have sufficient representation in the Provincial Legislature to be able to safeguard its special interests. In sheer justice and fairness, it is necessary that Sind should have its due voice in the Legislature of the Presidency.

ALLAHBAKSH.

Miscellaneous correspondence with the Local Government on matters arising out of replies to questionnaire.

APPENDIX.

I.—Enfranchisement of wives of electors with double minimum property qualifications.

COPY OF A TELEGRAM FROM THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, TO REFORMS OFFICER, BOMBAY, No. N-431 (BOM.), DATED THE 25TH MARCH 1932.

Suggestion has been made in certain provinces that problem of women should be dealt with by enfranchising wives of electors with double minimum property qualification. Committee would be grateful if you would telegraph your views as to desirability and practicability of such a scheme in Bombay and approximate number of women who would be enfranchised on basis of (*a*) present property qualification (*b*) property qualification recommended by you.

COPY OF A TELEGRAM FROM REFORMS BOMBAY, TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP, INDIA, No. 122, DATED THE 30TH MARCH 1932.

Your telegram N-431-Bom. March 25th. If wives of electors with double minimum property qualification were enfranchised possible women electors on basis of property qualification recommended by Bombay Government estimated at eight lakhs thirty two thousand.

LETTER FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, BOMBAY, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 122, DATED THE 31ST MARCH 1932.

With reference to your telegram No. 431-Bom., dated the 25th March 1932, I am directed to state that the Government of Bombay do not consider that the suggestion to enfranchise wives of electors with double minimum property qualification is desirable and practicable. In the absence of available statistics it is difficult to estimate the number of women who would be enfranchised if the suggestion was adopted, but it is thought that the number would be large and this, added to the total male electorate enfranchised under the qualifications proposed by the Local Government, would make up a total electorate which the Local Government would not consider manageable. Social custom in many castes allows a man to have more than one wife and the precise effect of the proposed qualification, which is higher than that proposed by the Indian Statutory Commission, cannot be appreciated with any accuracy. Possibly, it may result in giving an advantage to the propertied classes over the other classes. A separate qualification for women may also involve the preparation and maintenance of a separate electoral roll for women with consequent increase of cost and labour. The Government of Bombay, therefore, adhere to the recommendation already made by them regarding the enfranchisement of women.

2. The number of women who would be enfranchised on the basis of the existing property qualification if the suggestion above referred to was adopted, is not available. It is regretted that it cannot be supplied without an inquiry which will take time and involve considerable labour and cost.

3. I am to invite attention to my telegram No. 122, dated the 30th March 1932, in which you have been informed that it is estimated that about 832,000 women would be enfranchised if the suggestion was adopted.

Replies

of the

Government of Bengal

and the

Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee

to the

Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.

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BENGAL.

I

Memorandum by the Government of Bengal.

Q. 1—

(*a*) This can be done by a suitable reduction of the qualifications required in respect of the payment of rates, taxes, cesses, etc. Government suggest the adoption of the Union Board franchise for rural areas, and a similar level of franchise in municipal areas. They are opposed to any further lowering of the franchise.

(*b*) In Bengal at present elections are not decided on matters of policy, about which an intelligent opinion is desired. Generally they are decided on personal grounds (though of course there have been exceptions) and an electorate raised to 10 per cent. of the total population will generally be swayed by the same influences as the present electorate, as to the intelligence of which opinions differ widely. In any case in Bengal it must not be taken that literacy and intelligence are interchangeable terms.

(*c*) Even with a system of direct election, the necessary arrangements could be made, but they would be cumbrous, slow, and probably expensive, and might break down under their own weight.

(*d*) Needs no reply.

(*e*) Subject to Government's remarks below on the group system Government do not consider it desirable to go beyond an electorate in the neighbourhood of 10 per cent. of the adult population, until further experience of the working of the system has been gained.

(*f*), (*h*), (*i*) and (*j*). Government are interested in the scheme for group electors but apprehend considerable administrative difficulties. They propose to examine the scheme in consultation with official and non-official opinion, and will communicate their views on the scheme to the Committee at a later date.

(*g*) They are not in favour of separate constituencies for group electors.

Q. 2—

(*a*) Yes—*vide* Bengal Government's Report on the Working of the Reformed Constitution in Bengal. They recommend that urban areas shall be grouped into constituencies and kept separate from the rural areas, which should have their own constituencies.

(*b*) Government are not in favour of contriving a set of different franchises whose main object is to attain particular figures, and therefore are not in agreement with this suggestion.

(*c*) Yes, the qualifications are suitable in principle. But they should be modified in the manner specified in the reply to Question 1 (*a*).

(*d*) No.

(*e*) This is of no importance in Bengal.

In this province the number affected would be small. It is thought undesirable to extend the franchise to serving soldiers, whether regulars, territorials or auxiliaries, as such and irrespective of other qualifications. But extension of the existing qualifications to *ex*-auxiliaries and *ex*-territorials is not objected to, if elsewhere considered desirable, though, so far as this province is concerned, the exclusion is not urged.

Q. 3—

(*a*) Government are not in favour of increasing the women's electorate in any way, other than that recommended for the general extension of the franchise [*vide* reply to Question 1 (*a*)].

(*b*) *Vide* reply to Question 1 (*b*).

Government will examine the question of extending the system of group representation to women and will communicate their views later.

(One member of Government is opposed even to examining the question.)

(*c*) Government are opposed to this suggestion.

Q. 4—

Government are not ready with their decision as to the communities which should be included as belonging to depressed classes. They will forward their views later to the Committee.

Under the present franchise the depressed classes have secured a certain number of representatives in the general electorates, though not in proportion to their numerical strength and it is likely that under a franchise extended as recommended in the answer to Question 1 (*a*) they will secure representatives in the general electorates in the areas in which they are numerous. Government are unable to estimate what the extent of such representation will be. Should further representation be required, as is likely, Government for the present adhere to the views expressed in paragraph 20 of their letter* dated 15th August 1930 on the recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission.

Q. 5—

(1) Government recommend no special measures for the representation of agricultural labour, as the general rural electorate will consist mainly of agriculturists. They are also opposed to any separate representation of plantation labour.

(2) As regards industrial labour Government are of the opinion that there is no feasible method of giving it representation through the general constituencies. It must be dealt with as part of the problem of the representation of special interests.

Q. 5-A—

(1) As regards the representation of the special interests—Universities, Commerce, European and Indian, Mining, Planting, Landholders—Government adhere to the views which they expressed in August 1930 on the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission.

* *Vide* Annexure, p. 186.

(2) As regards the representation of labour Government are agreed that—

(*a*) Representation through Trade Unions cannot be agreed to.

(*b*) No communal considerations can be taken into account in settling the question of representation.

(On this point one member reserves his opinion.)

(*c*) Whatever system of representation is adopted it can only cover labour employed in organised industries, *e.g.*, jute and other textile mills, coal mines, railways; it cannot apply to casual labour.

(3) Subject to these general remarks Government will examine the question of applying the group system of electorates to labour in the limited sense explained above : at present they do not think any other system offers any possibilities of acceptance.

(4) But they desire to make it plain that in their opinion no system can succeed unless Government have the co-operation of the Agents, managers, etc., of the industrial concerns in working it.

(5) Also they desire to know what definition of ' Labour ' is to be adopted for their enquiries ; is the system to provide for the representation only of manual labour, or is the clerical and supervising staff also to be included ? Are Sardars to be excluded ? Is any attention to be paid to the length of time a ' labourer ' (however defined) has been working or resident within the area or industry for which the system is devised ? For they desire the Committee to realise that in Bengal labour is very fluid, and that the personnel in any mill or factory is liable to change very quickly.

Q. 6—

(*a*) They are not in favour of the representatives of British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber being elected by the Provincial Legislatures by a single transferable vote.

As stated in paragraph 36* of their letter in the Simon Report they would prefer to continue the present electorate, to any reduction of the qualifications for which they are opposed.

(*b*) They ought to be different.

As regards the Upper House of the Federal Legislature the proposed qualifications are given in the answer to Question 6 (*a*).

As regards the Lower Chamber, *vide* answer to Question 6 (*c*).

(*c*) On this question Government are hopelessly divided, some Members desiring to retain direct election, others preferring indirect. Of the latter, some would prefer election by the Provincial Legislature, while others would prefer indirect election through local bodies, no two Members agreeing on a scheme.

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* *Vide* Annexure, p. 187.

Q. 7—

(1) Government are opposed to any special arrangements being made for the representation of women, or of the depressed classes of Bengal, in the Federal Legislature.

(2) They recognise that it might be desirable to have Labour specially represented in the Federal Legislature but can suggest no means of arranging for this, save perhaps through the group system of electorates, supposing that proves on investigation to be workable.

Telegram No. 170, dated 14th January 1932—

(*a*) Government suggest a figure of 240 for the Lower Chamber of the Provincial Legislature, and 80 for the Upper.

(*b*) *Vide* answer to Question 5-A.

(*c*) The present rules might be retained with additional provisions that—

(1) no person should be allowed to stand as a candidate for more than one constituency at the same time ;

(2) the qualifications of candidates and of voters should be the same.

(*d*) Government are in favour of a bicameral legislature in Bengal, the strength of the Upper Chamber being $\frac{1}{3}$ of that of the Lower. They adhere to the views previously expressed, save that they consider that the representation of Commerce, European and Indian, in the Upper Chamber should be through election and not through nomination.

ANNEXURE.

Extract from Bengal Government's letter No. 219-A.C., dated the 15th August 1930, to the Government of India,

* * * * * * * * *

20. The recommendations of the Commission regarding the representation of the depressed classes are accepted by the Government of Bengal in principle, but they are not prepared to agree to the proportion suggested in paragraph 80 of the Report, which they consider too high. In their opinion, before any decision regarding the proportion is arrived at, it will be necessary to examine the number of people of the depressed classes in the various areas in which they are largely concentrated, and to adjust their representation with some regard to the total representation of these areas.

21. The Government of Bengal agree to the proposal to retain the representation of the Universities in the Council, but they consider that the electorate for this constituency should be changed and limited to the governing bodies, *i.e.*, the Syndicate and the Senate in the case of Calcutta University and the Court in the case of Dacca. They are agreed that such an electorate is more likely to return individuals of the type associated with University constituencies than the present system of making

all graduates members of the electorate, which does not tend to the election of candidates of the proper calibre.

22. To the recommendations of the Commission on the subject of the landholders' constituencies the strongest objection is taken by several members of Government. They urge that the landholders who are returned by general constituencies do not represent the landholders' interests in the Legislative Council but are governed by the views of the people in their constituencies and of the political party which has supported them in their elections. A further argument used is that the influence of the landholders' representatives in stabilising the constitution is valuable, and, as it is considered important to introduce into the Council every possible stabilising element, there is general agreement that the separate landholder constituencies should be retained. There is some difference of opinion on the question whether their number should be increased proportionately to the increase in the number of members of the Council, the majority being in favour of giving the landholders the same proportion as in the present Council. But the actual number must depend on the decision about a Second Chamber.

23. The proposals for the representation of commerce and labour are approved, but Government are agreed that no special steps need be taken to secure the presence of women in the Legislative Council.

* * * * * * * * *

36. They agree that the Council of State should be retained and that its life should be seven years, but they are not in favour of the proposals for its composition. They would prefer to continue it in its present form and with its present electorate. They are not in favour of any special arrangements to secure the presence of women in the Council of State and are opposed to creating any women's franchise for that body.

* * * * * * * * *

II

Memorandum by the Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee.

Questionnaire—

1. (*a*) By the means indicated in the resolutions passed.

N.B.—The resolutions referred to are as follows:—

(1) The following motion of Mr. N. K. Basu was provisionally accepted by a majority of the Meeting, that assuming women are enfranchised in accordance with the recommendations of the Round Table Conference, the Union Board electorate be accepted for the rural population with identical qualifications in the case of chaukidari unions in areas where there are no Union Boards.

(2) It was resolved that the minority view be recorded, which was that all rate-payers in Union Boards and Chaukidari areas be enfranchised.

(3) The following resolution, moved by Mr. A. F. Rahman, was carried by a majority of 6 to 5.

"that this meeting is of opinion that, if women's suffrage on the basis of qualifications of husbands is not adopted, rate-payers of Union Boards should be enfranchised."

(4) The following resolution was then carried with 5 dissentients that the meeting is of opinion that rate-payers in all Municipalities including Calcutta should be enfranchised.

(5) The Hon'ble Mr. Singh Roy desired that his dissent to the above resolution be recorded.

1. (*b*) Yes.

1. (*c*) Yes.

1. (*d*) Does not arise.

1. (*e*) If the qualifications suggested in the above resolutions passed raise the percentage above 10 per cent. of the total population, to that extent the Committee consider that the electoral roll should be enarged.

1. (*f*) ....

1. (*g*) ....

1. (*h*) Was answered in the affirmative by 7 votes against 2.

Two members, Mr. Mumin and Mr. Basu, reserved their votes.

1. (*i*) Was answered as follows:—

20 would be a suitable size. The basis ought to be adult suffrage at 20 years and over. The President Panchayat with the Circle Officer will form the groups in rural areas. Chairman of Municipalities with Ward Commissioners in urban areas.

1. (*j*) Residential qualification of one year and age limit of 25 years.

2. (*a*) Yes, there is a disparity both qualitative and quantitative in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas. The disparity may be removed by lowering the franchise in rural areas to a greater degree relatively than in urban areas.

2. (*b*) (1) *Proposal.*—That the Committee is in general agreement with the suggestion as a theoretical ideal.

Lost by 7 to 6.

Amendment added.—Subject to the proviso that the voting strength be proportionate to the adult population of the respective communities.

Carried by 6 to 5.

2. (*b*) (2) The Committee agree that the proposals already adopted give effect to this suggestion so far as is practicable whatever be the electorate system adopted.

N.B.—This is the answer to the question 2 (*b*) as it stood in the original Questionnaire.

2. (*c*) (*i*) Yes. It is a suitable test—excluding wage earners in cash or kind, as such except those who will be enfranchised under the proposals already put forward.

2. (*c*) (*ii*) No.

2. (*c*) (*iii*) Modifications have already been suggested.

2. (*d*) Yes—the passing of the Upper Primary Examination or equivalent qualifications provided that the franchise be not conferred on students in any educational institution.

(Mr. Cooper dissents).

2. (*e*) Yes—provided that the franchise be not conferred on students in any educational institution.

3. (*a*) Does not arise in view of answer to 1 (*b*).

3. (*b*) No separate groups. Answer carried by 8 to 3.

3. (*c*) We agree to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. or 5 seats of the total legislature being co-opted provided an equal or larger number have not been elected. Attempts should be made in co-opting women to see that each represents a divis on if possible.

4. The Committee could come to no decision on this question and resolved to put it back for consideration along with the Central Committee.

5A. It was decided to adjourn consideration of this question till the joint meeting with the Central Committee and to suggest that the

gentlemen whom the Committee were proposing to co-opt as representatives of special interests should be asked to give evidence instead of being co-opted as members of the Provincial Committee.

N.B.—These gentlemen were—

Universities—

(1) Lieutenant-Colonel Hassan Suhrawardy, O.B.E., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, 246, Park Circus, Calcutta.

(2) Mr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee, M.L.C., 77, Ashutosh Mukharji Road, Calcutta.

Commerce—

(1) Babu Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, Hindusthan Buildings, Corporation Street, Calcutta.

(2) The Hon'ble Sir Phillip Henry Browne, C.B.E., 12, Elysium Row, Calcutta.

Mining—

(1) Mr. I. A. Clark, M.L.C., c/o Messrs. Anderson Wright and Company, 22, Strand Road, Calcutta.

(2) Mr. A. C. Banerji.

Planting—

(1) Sir Lancelot Travers, Kt., C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.C.

(2) Nawab Musharruf Hussain, Khan Bahadur, 45, Garcha Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.

Landholders—

(1) Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur, of Nashipur, 54, Gariahat Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.

(2) Mr. Prafulla Nath Tagore, 2, Darpa Narayan Tagore Street, Calcutta.

(3) Mr. Altaf Ali.

III

Supplement to the memorandum by the Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Bengal Franchise Committee held on 19th February 1932, supplied to the Indian Franchise Committee.

1. With the exception of Mr. Basu, the Committee were unanimously of the opinion that the group system was worth giving a trial.

2. It was resolved that, if adult suffrage was adopted, and the group system followed, the Committee would not press for special representation for labour unless employees of labour were given special representation.

3. It was resolved that, if the group system was not adopted, then labour should be specially represented.

4. In regard to the qualifications of women it was resolved that, if the group system was not accepted, the qualifications of women should be property in own right or literary qualification.

5. The Committee with one exception were against giving the vote to wives and widows of voters.

6. The Committee were equally divided on the following resolution :

> " given the group system, there should be no representation for special interests except for Universities."

7. It was resolved (two against) that, if the group system was adopted, a second chamber would be necessary in Bengal.

8. Four members were in favour of a second chamber in any case and 3 against.

9. It was resolved unanimously that representation in the Federal Legislature should be on the basis of population and contribution to Central Revenues.

10. It was resolved that the representatives of British Indian provinces in the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be elec ed by the Provincial Legislatures by a single transferable vote.

11. In regard to other questions relating to the Federal Legislature it was resolved that the Committee should submit its views later.

12. The following resolution in regard to the Depressed Classes was carried by 8 votes to 3—

> " That this Committee is of the opinion that the Depressed Classes are likely to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates."

IV

Supplementary Questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Government of Bengal and the Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee, dated 29th February 1932.

Q. 1-A.—What is the considered opinion of the Government of Bengal as to the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the province using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible.

(*i*) if the election is spread over—

(*a*) two days (one for Muhammadans and one for Non-Muhammadans).

(*b*) four days.

(*ii*) Taking 750 as the number of male voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day—

(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women,

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women.

B. What percentage would this number represents of (*a*) the total and (*b*) the adult population ?

Q. 2.—Which system of polling illiterate voters do you prefer—

(*a*) Coloured boxes whereby the voter has to make no mark on the paper but is able to poll secretly ?

(*b*) A system whereby the Presiding Officer marks the ballot paper on the instructions and on behalf of the illiterate voter ?

Polling Machinery.

Q. 3.—What is the maximum personnel which could be used as Presiding or Polling officers the Committee would be glad to have this information under the following heads :—

(*i*) Total number of Government Officers, Gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial,

(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government officers,

(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards Officers (superior and ministerial),

(*iv*) Total number of members of Local Bodies (Municipal Commissioners, members of District and Local Boards), Presidents and Members of Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates, and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed. To what extent could these figures be supplemented by the use of non-officials (School-masters, etc.) ? Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose ?

(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for—

(*a*) separate polling booths for women and women presiding officers and clerks ?

(*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters ?

Q. 4.—What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise :—

(*a*) 10 per cent. of the population,

(*b*) the maximum you consider administratively possible as in question 1 above.

What approximate percentage of women would be enfranchised on your proposals, under (*a*) and (*b*) respectively.

Q. 5.—The Franchise Committee would be glad of your considered opinion as between the four systems of voting which have been under consideration :—

(*a*) Universal direct adult suffrage.

(*b*) Universal indirect system.

(*c*) The extension of the direct vote so far as is administratively possible.

(*d*) A combination of the direct and indirect system as explained below.

A fuller note on each of these systems follows below with a view to facilitate a reply.

A. Universal direct adult suffrage.—The fundamental question is whether the system is administratively possible at the present stage. The reply to question 1 above will go far to make clear whether this is so or not.

B. Universal indirect system.—Under a universal indirect system the whole adult population, male and female, might be grouped in groups of between 20 and 50 each, each group to return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. Each group would elect one Mukhiya from among its own members, the election being either informal by means of a show of hands or by individual voting after nomination. (As an alternative the group might be larger electing one Mukhiya for each 20 of its number). Immediately the election was complete, the Circle Officer would place the name of the Mukhiyas elected on the electoral roll, and there would be no appeal against his decision though his proceedings would be open to revision. In the event of its being decided to retain separate Hindu and Moslem electorates, or to create, as recommended in one Province, separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, it would be necessary to form separate Hindu, Moslem or Depressed Class primary groups in the villages. The electorate so chosen would be divided into constituencies for the election of members of Council.

In the event of your approving of this system please state :—

(*i*) The precise methods by which you consider that the election of the electors for the primary groups should be conducted (the supervising and revising authority ; whether an electoral roll should be maintained ; whether geographical proximity should be the basis of the group) ; the size of the group ; whether the village or some other division or area should be adopted as the electoral unit ; whether the population should be divided into groups of 20 or thereabouts, each to elect a Mukhiya, or into larger groups—say 100— to elect say 5 Mukhiyas) ;

(*ii*) Whether men and women should be grouped together or separately ?

(*iii*) Whether you think it could be made applicable to the towns as well as to the country.

If your answer is in the affirmative please state whether you consider that the same basis of grouping and method of voting should be adopted in the towns as in the country. If not, what would you suggest ?

(*iv*) Do you consider that the loss of the direct vote by those who at present enjoy that privilege, and its substitution by a vote for a secondary elector, would be regarded as a source of grievance ?

C. The extension of the direct vote so far as it is administratively practicable.—In the event of your favouring the adoption of this system, please state exactly—

(*i*) the categories of the population which would fall under it to secure direct representation in the Legislature,

(*ii*) the approximate number of women who would be enfranchised and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate,

(*iii*) the number of the Depressed Classes (applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability) who would be enfranchised, and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate.

D. The combination of the direct and indirect systems as suggested by the Round Table Conference—

Under such a system the total adult population would be divided into :—

(1) direct voters qualified by property, education, military service, etc.

(2) the balance of the adult population. These might be grouped in groups of say 20 (or some approximate figure). In the cold weather preceding that in which a general election is due, the Circle Officer, in accordance with instructions that would be issued, would divide villages into groups on the basis of geographical proximity.

Each group would return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. The election would be either informal or by nomination as suggested in the case of universal suffrage. On the completion of the elections in the village the Circle Officer would place the names of the secondary electors chosen on the electoral roll of the constituency to which they appertain along with the direct voters, the choice of the primary voters being thus regarded as a qualification for admission to the electoral roll. The voters not directly qualified might be grouped together in the same manner as suggested in the case of universal indirect election above. The method of polling groups would be similar to that suggested above in the case of universal indirect suffrage, except that it would apply only to a proportion and not to the whole.

In the event of your approving of this system the Committee would be glad to know :—

(*a*) The precise method of primary group election which you would suggest ;

(*b*) The ratio which the number of the direct electors should bear to the Mukhiya electors ;

(*c*) Whether men and women should be grouped together in the primary groups or separately ;

(*d*) Assuming it is decided to have one Mukhiya for every 20 persons whether it would be better—

(*i*) to form the whole village into a single group, electing Mukhiyas on the basis of one per 20 adults, or

(*ii*) to form groups of say 100 each electing 5 Mukhiyas, or

(*iii*) to form groups of 20 each electing 1. How would you propose to conduct the election in each case ?

5. Do you propose that the same system should be applied to town and country ? If not, what alternative would you propose for the towns ?

6. Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or that the towns should have some weightage, and if so to what extent ?

7. The Government of Bengal, in reply to question 2 (*a*) of the Franchise Committee's Questionnaire, state that they recommend that "urban areas shall be grouped into constituencies and kept apart from the rural areas, which should have their own constituencies." The Committee would be glad of further and detailed information, on this proposal :—

(*a*) What, for instance, will be classified as "urban areas" ?

(*b*) What population test would be applied ?

(*c*) How many urban areas would there be in Bengal on the system proposed and where would they be situated ?

(*d*) Are the local Government satisfied that the smaller municipalities have such divergent interests from those of the surrounding rural areas as to necessitate their being converted into separate constituencies ?

(*e*) Are the local Government satisfied that municipalities thrown into the same group will necessarily have a common interest ?

8. The Committee would be glad of the local Government's views on the possibility of establishing a system of direct suffrage in Calcutta—

(*a*) Do the local Government consider that such a system would be administratively workable ?

(*b*) How many days would it take to poll the adult population ?

(*c*) What Government machinery could be made available for the purpose ?

(*d*) Could any approximate estimate be given of the expenditure involved ?

9. The local Government stated in reply to question 2 (*e*) of the questionnaire that they have no objection to an extension of the existing military service qualification to *ex*-members of the Indian Auxiliary and Indian Territorial forces if this is thought desirable. What period of qualifying service, if any, in the auxiliary and territorial forces would they require as a condition of admitting *ex*-members of those forces to the franchise ?

10. Would they propose any differential franchise for women, and if so, what number of women are likely to be placed on the electoral roll as the result of their proposals ?

Do the local Government consider it desirable to make provision to secure as a temporary measure say, for the first ten years that a small number of women shall be members of the Council ? If so,

(*i*) should they be chosen by co-option by the Council, by the single transferable vote,

(*ii*) be elected by a special constituency of literate women only, divided if necessary into Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan constituencies, or

(*iii*) *e.g.*, as suggested in one Province on the following lines :—

" A fixed number of seats should be reserved in the Council for women : women should be allowed as at present in this Province to stand for any constituency for which they are qualified to stand and unsuccessful women candidates up to the number so reserved obtaining the highest percentage of votes to the number of electors on t e electoral roll in the constituency for which they stand, should be declared elected to the seats reserved for women provided that they have obtained sufficient votes not to forfeit their deposits. Women who top the poll in any constituency and win a seat

outright would come into the Council as ordinary members and would be additional to those filling the seats reserved for women. If on the other hand the number of women candidates was insufficient to fill the quota of reserved seats, no further steps to fill the quota should be taken, whether by nomination or otherwise."

11. Could you state—

(*a*) the number of Depressed Class representatives, in the existing Council, and the method by which they were appointed.

(*b*) the castes and sub-castes which in your opinion are depressed in your Province, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability (including such disabilities as refusal of entry to public eating houses) and the population thereof.

(*c*) the number of members of the Depressed Classes, applying the criteria above, who would be placed on the electoral roll as the result—

(*i*) of the system of franchise you propose,

(*ii*) the extension of the direct electorate to 10 per cent. of the population.

(*d*) Are the Depressed Classes or untouchables likely to return representatives of their own to the Council under the system of franchise you propose ? If so how many, and for what constituencies ?

In order to assist the Franchise Committee in dealing with this matter could you take, say, two typical constituencies and have a detailed analysis prepared showing the number of individuals and voters belonging to the Depressed Classes in these Constituencies, and the number of Depressed Class electors who are now on the electoral roll and who would appear on the electoral roll—

(*i*) under the system of franchise you propose,

(*ii*) if 10 per cent. of the electorate were directly enfranchised.

The Committee would also be glad of a statement in general terms of the distribution of the Depressed Classes, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability, throughout the Province. Are there any constituencies or areas in which the Depressed Classes are sufficiently numerous as to make it possible for them to return a member of the Legislature, in the event of their voting together ?

12. How do you propose to secure representation for—

(*a*) industrial labour ; and

(*b*) tea garden labour,

in the Legislature ?

13. To what extent, if at all, could the group system (either wholly indirect or "hybrid"), be used, in your opinion, to deal with the representation of labour?

14. Have you any views as to the desirability of single-member constituencies, as opposed to multi-member constituencies, electing two, three, or five members each, either by the single non-transferable vote, or any other recognised device?

15. Do you consider that a Second Chamber is feasible and desirable in your Province; and if so, what should its members be, and how should they be composed? What would be its position *vis a vis* the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature?

16. What do you consider should be the number of members—

(*i*) of the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature in the event of a bicameral system being introduced,

(*ii*) of the Provinical Legislature if unicameral?

17. What representation do you consider should be given in the Provincial Legislature to special interests, *e.g.*, trade and commerce; planting; landlords; Europeans; Anglo-Indians; Indian Christians, etc., etc.?

18. As regards the Federal Legislature—

(*a*) Do you consider that the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by some system of proportional representation? The Government of Bengal have intimated that they would prefer to continue the present electorate. The Committee would be glad to know, whether, if it is decided not to retain that electorate, the local Government would favour the election of the representatives of British Indian Provinces by a single transferable vote; and if not, what alternative system they would recommend?

(*b*) To what extent should the existing franchise qualifications—

(*i*) for the Upper Chamber [if the answer to (*a*) is in the negative],

(*ii*) for the Assembly,

be extended?

(*c*) Do you consider that any group system could be employed in election to both Houses or either House of the Federal Legislature with a view to giving that portion of the population which has not a direct or indirect share in its election some voice in national affairs?

(*d*) What special interests should be represented in the Federal Legislature, and to what extent?

The Committee appreciate that reference to local officers will be necessary before answers to some of the above questions can be given, but they must ask that arrangements be made to furnish them with the bulk of the information required by 15th March at latest, and that any supplementary information on outstanding points may reach them not later than 25th March. They greatly regret the necessity for thus pressing local Governments and their Officers at the present time, but in view of the date by which their report on the basis of the franchise has to be submitted, they are compelled to ask that the matter may be expedited in every possible way.

V

Memorandum by the Government of Bengal in reply to the supplementary questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.

Additional questionnaire. *Answers.*

Government are not satisfied that the number of voters with whom a presiding officer can deal in a day will be as high as 750. For experience has shown that lengthening the hours of polling is not likely to mean a corresponding increase in the number of votes polled, as the voters, save those in the immediate vicinity of the polling station, are not likely to leave for the poll until they have had their meal. Early polling hours are very unsuitable save in urban areas. Nor in view of the distances to be travelled and of the difficulty of making adequate lighting arrangements is it likely that an extension of the polling hours in the evening will result in any increased number of votes being recorded. Government agree, however, on the supposition that the system of coloured boxes referred to in Q. 2 is adopted, to work out its calculations on the basis of 750 male voters per polling officer.

Government are agreed that it is impossible to get an election through in two days in all the districts in Bengal unless the number of voters is reduced or an indirect election is substituted for direct. For the size of some of the districts is so large and the distances to be travelled are so great that, unless the present standard of having a polling station within not more than 6 or 7 miles of the homes of the electors is departed from, the number of polling stations in a district may be largely in excess of the number of presiding officers and polling officers available. Normally the polling arrangements must be made within a district, and it will not ordinarily be convenient to supply the deficiency of one district by using presiding and polling officers

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	from another district. Even if an indirect election is substituted for a direct election, it is doubtful for the same reasons whether the period required to carry through an election in one of the bigger districts can be reduced to two days. Subject to these general remarks the answers to the questions are as follows :—
Q. 1.—A. What is the considered opinion of the Government of Bengal as to the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the province, using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible—	A. (*i*) Government could spare about 2,500 officials to act as presiding officers at one and the same time during an election, and they estimate that they could probably collect in addition about 250 pensioned Government officers and 250 suitable non-officials [*vide* the answer to question 3(*iv*)]. The total number of presiding officers would therefore be about 3,000 and a similar number of polling officers could be found.
(*i*) if the election is spread over—	
(*I*) two days (one for Muhammadans and one for Non-Muhammadans),	(*I*) If the election is to be completed in two days and the capacity of each presiding officer is 750 votes per day, the number of votes that could be recorded in two days would be $3,000 \times 2 \times 750 = 4,500,000$ votes. As stated above, however, in some districts it would not be possible to complete the polling in two days, and the figures given are subject to the stipulation that in some large districts extra polling days would be required.
(*II*) four days,	(*II*) With a four days' poll the number can be increased, say, by two-thirds on the assumption that one-third of the presiding officers are only prepared or available to work at one polling station, and cannot be spared for a second polling station. In this case too the figure is subject to the stipula-
(*ii*) taking 750 as the number of male voters with whom a Presiding Officer could deal in a day—	
(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women,	

Additional questionnaire.

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women ?

B. What percentage would this number represent of (*a*) the total and (*b*) the adult population ?

Answers.

tion that some large districts might not be able to poll in the four days and might require extra days.

(*ii*) On the assumptions (1) that the voters referred to in this question are the persons actually polling and (2) that it will take twice as long to poll a woman's vote as to poll a man's, then on the basis of the calculation given above the figures are as follows :—

Questionnaire.	Number polling.	Electorate.
1	2	3
	Two days' poll.	
1A (*i*) (*I*)	.. 4,500,000	5,625,000
1A (*ii*) (*a*)	.. 3,214,285	4,017,856
1A (*ii*) (*b*)	.. 4,090,909	5,113,636
1B (*a*) ..	.. 8·9 or 9 per cent.	11·2 per cent.
1B (*b*) ..	.. 18·0 per cent.	22·6 per cent.
	Four days' poll.	
1A (*i*) (*II*)	.. 7,500,000	9,375,000
1A (*ii*) (*a*)	.. 5,357,143	6,696,418
1A (*ii*) (*b*)	.. 6,818,181	8,522,727
1B (*a*) ..	.. 14·9 per cent.	18·7 per cent.
1B (*b*) ..	.. 30·1 per cent.	37·7 per cent.

The figures shown in the column against electorate are on the basis that 80 per cent. of the electorate polls. This is much above the average so far and is likely to be far in excess of the actuals because it is extremely unlikely that any save a small percentage of the women, on whatever basis the franchise is given them, will actually vote.

B. The percentages are given in the statement above.

Note.—These figures have been worked out arithmetically, but Government are convinced that it would be

Additional questionnaire. *Answers.*

impracticable from an administrative point of view to deal at present with the numbers out against a four days' poll. When political consciousness has developed such things may be possible, but at present Government do not consider that it would be possible to poll accurately anywhere near the percentages of the population shown against the four days' poll. They consider that it will be possible to make arrangements for polling an electorate of 5,625,000, on the presumption that not more than 80 per cent. of the voters on the roll would poll, and from an administrative point of view they would be prepared to deal with a direct electorate of that size, though from a candidate's point of view they consider that such an electorate would provide constituencies which would be much too large and expensive for the ordinary candidate to deal with. In view of this fact they would prefer to have a smaller electorate than 5,625,000, at any rate at the outset. If a start were made with a direct electorate of say 7½ per cent. of the total population based on a franchise the foundation of which was the payment of rates, whether union board, chaukidari or municipal, the system could be developed as political consciousness and party organisation increased. Development could be gradual and suited to local conditions and there would be no such break with the past as will be necessitated by the proposed system of indirect elections by groups.

Two members of Government are however so convinced of the difficulties which a direct electorate of the magnitude proposed would present that they are in favour of abolishing the direct electorate and substituting for it an

Additional questionnaire.

Answers.

indirect electorate based on the payment of union board, chaukidari or) municipal rates.

Q. 2.—Which system of polling illiterate voters do you prefer :—

(*a*) Coloured boxes whereby the voter has to make no mark on the paper but is able to poll secretly ?

(*b*) A system whereby the Presiding Officer marks the ballot paper on the instructions and on behalf of the illiterate voter ?

Government would prefer system (*a*) should it be workable, but, up to the present, it has not met with approval in Bengal and the system (*b*) is in force. They will make enquiries from local officers and will find out what views are held at the present time regarding the feasibility of system (*a*). At present they are inclined to the view that a system of coloured boxes would be workable and should be tried, for in their opinion an ordinary voter would be able to distinguish between, at any rate, the following six colours : black, white, red, green, deep blue and purple.

Q. 3.—Polling Machinery.—What is the maximum personnel which could be used as Presiding or Polling Officers ? The Committee would be glad to have this information under the following heads :—

(*i*) Total number of Government officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial.

Number of Government officers of gazetted and superior rank who would be available as presiding officers 2,500

Number of non-gazetted and ministerial rank officers who would be available as polling officers 2,500

(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government officers.

Number of pensioned Government officers available as presiding officers 250

Number of pensioned Government officers available as polling officers 250

(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards officers (superior and ministerial).

Number of Court of Wards officers available—

Superior 35

Ministerial 15

(*iv*) Total number of members of Local Bodies (Municipal Commissioners, members of District and Local Boards, Presidents and Members of Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates, and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed). To what extent could

Total number of members of Local Bodies—

Municipal Commissioners .. 1,661

Members of District Boards .. 683

Members of Local Boards .. 1,358

Presidents and Members of Union Bench Courts 8,320

Honorary Magistrates 680

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
these figures be supplemented by the use of non-officials (school-masters, etc.)? Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose?	Government think that District Officers may be empowered to make use of selected Honorary Magistrates. As regards the use of other non-officials, they are divided in opinion because a large number of non-officials would be interested in the success of various candidates. The general feeling however is that District Officers might be allowed to make use of selected non-officials. There is no objection to the use of selected school-masters of Secondary Schools, and it is considered that no objection is likely to be raised to their use unless they are interested in the success of any particular candidate. Government consider that a round number of 250 non-officials may be taken under this head.
(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for— (*a*) separate polling booths for women and women Presiding Officers and clerks, (*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters?	Provision can be made for separate polling booths and entrances for women presiding officers and clerks, also for women voters, but there will be great difficulty in finding a sufficient number of women presiding officers, and women clerks will not as a rule be available.
Q. 4.—What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise— (*a*) 10 per cent. of the population, (*b*) the maximum you consider administratively possible as in question 1 above?	Franchise qualifications based on payment of union rates or chaukidari taxes in mufassal areas and of municipal rates in municipal areas can be used to enfranchise either (*a*) 10 per cent. of the population, or (*b*) percentage mentioned in the answer to question 1-B, *viz.*, 11·2 per cent.
What approximate percentage of women would be enfranchised on your proposals, under (*a*) and (*b*) respectively?	The total number of rate-payers in rural areas is at least 14·4 per cent. of the population, in urban areas excluding Calcutta 16·74 per cent. of the population, and in rural and urban areas excluding Calcutta and Darjeeling 14·52 per cent. of the population. By

Addit onal questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	varying the amount payable for a legislative qualification the percentage can be adjusted as required. Government are unable to state what percentage of women would be enfranchised under either of these proposals but, on the basis of the percentage shown as enfranchised in 1929, the percentage would be ·63 in case of (*a*) and ·7 in case of (*b*) above.
Q. 5.—The Franchise Committee would be glad of your considered opinion as between the four systems of voting which have been under consideration :— (*a*) Universal direct adult suffrage. (*b*) Universal indirect system. (*c*) The extension of the direct vote so far as is administratively possible. (*d*) A combination of the direct and indirect systems as explained below. A fuller note on each of these systems follows below with a view to facilitate a reply.	Government are divided on this question. The only point of agreement being that system (*a*), universal direct adult suffrage, was unanimously rejected. One member is in favour of a purely indirect system based on the franchise being extended to all rate-payers only. The view is generally held that, if the Franchise Committee would agree to limit the franchise to 7½ per cent. of the population, it would be both desirable and possible to continue the existing system of direct election. But, if they insisted on enfranchising more than that percentage of the population, then recourse to an indirect system was inevitable, because it would be physically impossible or too expensive for candidates to try to get in touch with such huge electorates. Some of the members in that case would be in favour of a combination of a direct and an indirect system; other are in favour of resorting wholly to an indirect system and one member is in favour of direct election only. If an indirect system was resorted to, then it must inevitably be universal, unless the system was confined only to rate-payers. For it would be practically impossible to select a portion of the population to be represented indirectly and leave the remainder out: also at the time the Mukhiyas had to be selected the rolls for direct electors

Additional questionnaire.

Answers.

would not have been prepared, and so it would not be known who should elect the Mukhiyas. If on the other hand the indirect system was confined to ratepayers, there would be rolls of these and selection would be possible at any time.

A. Universal direct adult suffrage.—The fundamental question is whether the system is administratively possible at the present stage. The reply to question 1 above will go far to make clear whether this is so or not.

Government are agreed that universal direct adult suffrage is impracticable.

B. Universal indirect system.—Under a universal indirect system the whole adult population, male and female, might be grouped in groups of between 20 and 50 each, each group to return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. Each group would elect one Mukhiya from among its own members, the election being either informal by means of a show of hands or by individual voting after nomination. (As an alternative the group might be larger, electing one Mukhiya for each 20 of its number.) Immediately the election was complete the Circle Officer would place the name of the Mukhiyas elected on the electoral roll, and there would be no appeal against his decision, though his proceedings would be open to revision. In the event of its being decided to retain separate Hindu and Moslem electorates, or to create, as recommended in one province, separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, it would be necessary to form separate Hindu, Moslem or Depressed Class primary

Government are not in favour of grouping the whole adult population into separate groups and selecting one Mukhiya from each of the groups. In their view, if the universal indirect system was adopted, convenient units of area such as a *tollah* or a *para* or a quarter of a village might be selected and the adults therein called upon to select a certain number of Mukhiyas, the number being fixed by dividing the number of adults by 20 or whatever other figure was accepted as the proper number for a group. The details of the method by which these Mukhiyas are to be selected are not worked out, but it is thought, if there is a meeting in the areas concerned, there would easily be agreement about a certain number of the leading persons who should be Mukhiyas, and a show of hands or other method of choice would only be required for a small proportion of the selections. Governmet are agreed that the District authority should be the revising authority and they consider that, wherever possible, the supervising authority should be an official such as a circle officer, but that non-officials such as municipal commissioners might be used wherever local conditions

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
groups in the villages. The electorate so chosen would be divided into constituencies for the election of members of Council.	made that possible and disinterested non-officials are available. They consider that, while the maintenance of an electoral roll would be desirable, its feasibility was open to grave doubt, for, taking the population as 50 millions and the adult population as 25 millions, the roll must contain, according to the scheme put forward in the answer to question 5, more than 7½ per cent. of 25 million names, *i.e.*, at least 1,875,000 names. Although the work would be spread over 26 districts and Calcutta, the maintenance of such a roll for the purpose of an informal election would be a serious matter and, considering that the election of Mukhiyas is to be informal, Government do not consider this work should be undertaken. They consider that geographical proximity should be the basis of the group and, as is explained above, the area would be one which was convenient having regard to local conditions; each area to elect a number of Mukhiyas and not to be divided into subordinate groups each of which was to elect one Mukhiya.
In the event of your approving of this system please state—	
(*i*) The precise methods by which you consider that the election of the electors for the primary groups should be conducted (the supervising and revising authority; whether an electoral roll should be maintained; whether geographical proximity should be the basis of the group; the size of the group; whether the village or some other division or area should be adopted as the electoral unit; whether the population should be divided into groups of 20 or thereabouts, each to elect a Mukhiya, or into larger groups—say 100—to elect, say, five Mukhiyas).	
(*ii*) Whether men and women should be grouped together or separately.	Government are divided in opinion as to whether men and women should be grouped together or separately, the majority of them being in favour of their being grouped together, but it is recognised that the chances of an independent opinion being obtained from the women would be reduced thereby, even supposing that under any circumstances women would ordinarily have an independent opinion.
(*iii*) Whether you think it could be made applicable to the towns as well as to the country.	Government are agreed that the system, if adopted, should be confined to non-municipal areas.
If your answer is in the affirmative, please state whether you consider that the same basis of grouping and	

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
method of voting should be adopted in the towns as in the country. If not, what would you suggest ?	
(*iv*) Do you consider that the loss of the direct vote by those who at present enjoy that privilege, and its substitution by a vote for a secondary elector, would be regarded as a source of grievance ?	Government are divided in opinion as to whether the loss of the direct vote would be regarded as a source of grievance, the majority holding that it would be so regarded.
C. The extension of the direct vote so far as it is administratively practicable. —In the event of your favouring the adoption of this system, please state exactly—	Government are unable to give exact information regarding the categories of the population which would fail under it to secure direct representation in the legislature, save perhaps to say that under it there is no likelihood of any women being elected, and secondly the scales will be heavily weighted in favour of the classes which at present supply most of the Council members. Subject to the remarks given in answer to Q. 11 they can give no figures regarding the number of women or of the depressed classes, who would be enfranchised or the percentage they would represent of the total electorate. In the case of the depressed classes the percentage would vary greatly in different districts, being high in those few districts in which most of the depressed classes are concentrated. But of course, if the electorates are joint, the percentages will be greatly reduced, because in many of the districts where the depressed classes abound the Muhammadan percentage of the population is high.
(*i*) The categories of the population which would fail under it to secure direct representation in the Legislature.	
(*ii*) The approximate number of women who would be enfranchised, and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate.	
(*iii*) The number of the Depressed Classes (applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability) who would be enfranchised, and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate.	
D. The combination of the direct and indirect systems as suggested by the Round Table Conference.—Under such a system the total adult population would be divided into—	In the event of the joint system which is approved by some of the members of Government being adopted the answers to the questions are as follows :—
(1) Direct voters qualified by property, education, military service, etc.	(*a*) The method suggested in the answer to question 5 B.
	(*b*) The ratio will depend upon the ratio which the number of direct electors

Additional questionnaire.

(2) The balance of the adult population. These might be grouped in groups of, say, 20 (or some approximate figure). In the cold weather preceding that in which a general election is due, the Circle Officer, in accordance with instructions that would be issued, would divide villages into groups on the basis of geographical proximity.

Each group would return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. The election would be either informal or by nomination, as suggested in the case of universal suffrage. On the completion of the elections in the village the Circle Officer would place the names of the secondary electors chosen on the electoral roll of the constituency to which they appertain along with the direct voters, the choice of the primary voters being thus regarded as a qualification for admission to the electoral roll. The voters not directly qualified might be grouped together in the same manner as suggested in the case of universal indirect election above. The method of polling groups would be similar to that suggested above in the case of universal indirect suffrage, except that it would apply only to a proportion and not to the whole.

In the event of your approving of this system the Committee would be glad to know—

(*a*) The precise method of primary group election which you would suggest.

(*b*) The ratio which the number of the direct electors should bear to the Mukhiya electors.

Answers.

bears to the total adult population, *e.g.*, if 10 per cent. of the adult population are qualified as direct electors, then 5 per cent. (supposing each group of 20 elects one Mukhiya) of the remaining 90 per cent. will be the Mukhiya electors.

(*c*) *Vide* answer to sub-paragraph B (*ii*).

(*d*) *Vide* answer to sub-paragraph B (*i*).

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
(*c*) Whether men and women should be grouped together in the primary groups or separately.	
(*d*) Assuming it is decided to have one Mukhiya for every 20 persons whether it would be better—	
(*i*) to form the whole village into a single group, electing Mukhiyas on the basis of one per 20 adults, or	
(*ii*) to form groups of say 100 each electing 5 Mukhiyas, or	
(*iii*) to form groups of 20 each electing 1. How would you propose to conduct the election in each case ?	
Q. 5 (*A*).—Do you propose that the same system should be applied to town and country ? If not, what alternative would you propose for the towns ?	The same system should be applied to town and country or, as the Bengal Government would prefer to put it, in municipal and non-municipal areas.
Q. 6.—Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or that the towns should have some weightage, and, if so, to what extent ?	The Government of Bengal consider it unavoidable that municipal areas should have some weightage in comparison with non-municipal areas. They consider the present weightage excessive and would suggest that in the future it should not exceed 12½ per cent.
Q. 7.—The Government of Bengal, in reply to question 2 (*a*) of the Franchise Committee's questionnaire, state that they recommend that "urban areas shall be grouped into constituencies and kept apart from the rural areas, which should have their own constituencies ".	All municipal areas will be classified as urban areas.
The Committee would be glad of further and detailed information on this proposal :	
(*a*) What, for instance, will be classified as "urban areas "?	

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
(*b*) What population test would be applied ?	No population test will be applied; the test will be whether it is a municipality under the Bengal Municipal Act or the Calcutta Municipal Act.
(*c*) How many urban areas would there be in Bengal on the system proposed and where would they be situated ?	Excluding Calcutta the total number of municipalities in Bengal is 117, and they are distributed over all the districts of the province and the number in each district is shown in the Statement A* attached.
(*d*) Are the local Government satisfied that the smaller municipalities have such divergent interests from those of the surrounding rural areas as to necessitate their being converted into separate constituencies ?	Yes. Municipalities' interests are divergent from those of the surrounding rural areas. They work under different Acts, their system of taxation is different, and generally their administration is entirely distinct.
(*e*) Are the local Government satisfied that municipalities thrown into the same group will necessarily have a common interest ?	Municipalities will have a common interest in the law which is applicable to them, *e.g.*, the Bengal Municipal Act is about to be revised for the whole of the province. This is entirely distinct from the Bengal Local Self-Government Act, revision of which is being taken up separately.
Q. 8.—The Committee would be glad of the local Government's views on the possibility of establishing a system of direct suffrage in Calcutta—	Government see no difficulty in establishing a system of direct suffrage in Calcutta, but the only question will be what the minimum qualification for a vote is to be. The administrative difficulties will depend entirely on the decision on this point. It will be easier in Calcutta than elsewhere to increase the number of polling stations required to complete the poll in any class of constituency in one day. It is impossible to give an estimate of the expenditure involved until Government have some idea of what is the object to be attained.
(*a*) Do the local Government consider that such a system would be administratively workable ?	If the question is intended to refer to direct adult suffrage, such a system would be administratively almost impracticable. It took two days to hold
(*b*) How many days would it take to poll the adult population ?	
(*c*) What Government machinery could be made available for the purpose ?	
(*d*) Could any approximate estimate be given of the expenditure involved ?	

* Page 219.

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	the last election with only 39,903 electors and 46 polling stations. To provide polling arrangements for 733,388 adult voters within a reasonable time would be impracticable without an amount of interference with ordinary Government business which could not but be resented. The lowest estimate submitted is for 1,300 polling booths, 300 of them being for women, and an expenditure of about Rs. 1,50,000.
Q. 9.—The local Government stated in reply to question 2 (*e*) of the questionnaire that they have no objection to an extension of the existing military service qualification to ex-members of the Indian Auxiliary and Indian Territorial Forces if this is thought desirable. What period of qualifying service, if any, in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces would they require as a condition of admitting ex-members of those forces to the franchise ?	It has already been stated that the question of military service qualification is of little importance in Bengal, but Government suggest that the following periods should be fixed as the periods of qualifying service as a condition of admitting ex-members of these forces to the franchise ; Indian Territorial Force, six years ; the Auxiliary Force, India, four years.
Q. 10.—Would they propose any differential franchise for women, and, if so, what number of women are likely to be placed on the electoral roll as the result of their proposals ? Do the local Government consider it desirable to make provision to secure as a temporary measure, say, for the first ten years, that a small number of women shall be members of the Council ? If so, (*i*) should they be chosen by co-option by the Council, by the single transferable vote, (*ii*) be elected by a special constituency of literate women only, divided if necessary into Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan constituencies, or	As already stated, Government are not in favour of any differential franchise for women or of making provision to secure as a temporary measure that a small number of women shall be members of the Council. While in theory this may be desirable, there is no real public demand in Bengal for such representation. The activities of the few women who are interested in this subject have had no effect whatever on the great mass of the female population of Bengal.

Additional questionnaire.

(*iii*) *e.g.*, as suggested in one province on the following lines ?—

"A fixed number of seats should be reserved in the Council for women: women should be allowed as at present in this province to stand for any constituency for which they are qualified to stand, and unsuccessful women candidates up to the number so reserved obtaining the highest percentage of votes to the number of electors on the electoral roll in the constituency for which they stand, should be declared elected to the seats reserved for women, provided that they have obtained sufficient votes not to forfeit their deposits. Women who top the poll in any constituency and win a seat outright would come into the Council as ordinary members and would be additional to those filling the seats reserved for women. If on the other hand the number of women candidates was insufficient to fill the quota of reserved seats, no further steps to fill the quota should be taken, whether by nomination or otherwise."

Q. 11.—Could you state—

(*a*) the number of Depressed Class representatives in the existing Council, and the method by which they were appointed,

(*b*) the castes and sub-castes which in your opinion are depressed in your province, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability (including such disabilities as refusal of entry to public eating houses) and the population thereof.

Answers.

A list of the depressed class representatives in the existing Council is attached (Statement B)* showing the method by which they were appointed.

The list of castes to be included in the depressed classes is at present under revision. A list of the castes at present classed as depressed classes is forwarded herewith (Statement C)† showing their number according to the last Census, with additions and omissions which have recently been proposed. The decision of Government regarding these will be arrived at after ascertaining the views of the castes concerned, but it will be impossible to arrive at any decision before the date fixed by

* Page 219.

† Page 220.

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	the Committee for the submission of the views of the Government of Bengal. For the present, therefore, Government propose to proceed on the lines that the list adopted in 1921 will continue in force.
(*c*) the number of members of the Depressed Classes, applying the criteria above, who would be placed on the electoral roll as the result— (*i*) of the system of franchise you propose, (*ii*) the extension of the direct electorate to 10 per cent. of the population.	It is impossible to give any estimate of the number of members of the depressed classes who will be placed on the electoral roll.
(*d*) are the Depressed Classes or Untouchables likely to return representatives of their own to the Council under the system of franchise you propose? If so, how many, and for what constituencies? In order to assist the Franchise Committee in dealing with this matter, could you take, say, two typical constituencies and have a detailed analysis prepared showing the number of individuals and voters belonging to the Depressed Classes in these constituencies, and the number of Depressed Class electors who are now on the electoral roll and who would appear on the electoral roll— (*i*) under the system of franchise you propose, (*ii*) if 10 per cent. of the electorate were directly enfranchised?	Depressed classes can only return representatives of their own to the Council if they are united in support of their candidates in the areas in which they abound. Government are of opinion that the chances of different castes which are included in the depressed classes uniting in support of one candidate are very small, as the depressed class idea is a political idea which has not spread to the various castes, which continue to act independently of each other and to agitate in favour of their own claims and not of those of the whole class. As noted in the reply to sub-paragraph C, Question 5, the chances of the depressed classes returning representatives of their own would be materially affected by the question whether the electorate was joint or separate. For, if the Muhammadans were included in the constituencies, the depressed classes percentage of the total would be small. The areas referred to above are confined mainly to the districts of Jessore, Khulna, Mymensingh, Bakarganj, Faridpur, Rangpur and Dinajpur. Outside these districts there is no chance of the depressed classes being able
The Committee would also be glad of a statement in general terms of the distribution of the Depressed Classes, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability, throughout the province. Are there	

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
any constituencies or areas in which the Depressed Classes are sufficiently numerous as to make it possible for them to return a member of the Legislature, in the event of their voting together ?	to return representatives to the Council through a general constituency. The District Officers of Khulna and Dinajpur have been directed to prepare the analysis asked for by the Committee of the rolls in two typical constituencies; the results will be forwarded as soon as they have been received.*
Q. 12.—How do you propose to secure representation for— (*a*) industrial labour; and (*b*) tea garden labour, in the Legislature ?	Government do not consider that it is possible to secure representation for all industrial labour. They consider that nomination is under the present conditions of labour in Bengal by far the best method of securing adequate representation of labour, but if, in spite of this advice, representation by election is insisted upon, then they are prepared to make an experiment through the group system to secure representation for— (*a*) workers in jute and other textile factories; (*b*) workers in coal mines; and (*c*) tea-garden labour. They will work out the details as soon as they have had replies to the questions which have been submitted to the Franchise Committee at the time of the joint discussion of the problems involved.
Q. 13.—To what extent, if at all, could the group system (either wholly indirect or "hybrid") be used, in your opinion, to deal with the representation of labour ?	Government are prepared to experiment with the group system as stated above, provided it is made a statutory duty of the employer of labour to assist in the selection of the Mukhiyas for the various groups. They do not consider that there should be any combination of direct and indirect election in this constituency, The election should be entirely indirect.
Q. 14.—Have you any views as to the desirability of single-member con-	In the opinion of Government the constituencies should be single-member

* Pages 222—223.

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
stituencies, as opposed to multi-member constituencies, electing two, three, or five members each, either by the single non-transferable vote, or any other recognised device ?	constituencies, unless there is a decision to have constituencies with reserved seats, in which case those in which seats are to be reserved must be multi-member constituencies. They do not express a preference for any device at present as they do not know for what purpose the device is to be used.
Q. 15.—Do you consider that a Second Chamber is feasible and desirable in your province; and if so, what should its members be, and how should they be composed ? What would be its position *vis-a-vis* the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature ?	The Government of Bengal with one dissentient consider that a Second Chamber is feasible and desirable in Bengal, and they adhere to the views previously expressed as regards its numbers and functions.
Q. 16.—What do you consider should be the number of members— (*i*) of the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature in the event of a bicameral system being introduced, (*ii*) of the Provincial Legislature if unicameral.	As already stated, Government suggest a membership of 240 for the Lower House with 60 for the Upper House in a bicameral Legislature. If the Legislature is unicameral they suggest the figure of 275 which will allow of expansion in the future. The maximum accommodation available for the Lower Chamber in the existing building is 300, and it is not desirable to provide for any larger number in the near future.
Q. 17.—What representation do you consider should be given in the Provincial Legislature to special interests, *e.g.*, trade and commerce; planting; landlords; Europeans; Anglo-Indians; Indian Christians, etc. ?	As regards the special interests, Government adhere to the replies given in their letter on the recommendations to the Simon Commission.
Q. 18.—As regards the Federal Legislature— (*a*) Do you consider that the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by some system of proportional representation ? The Government of Bengal have intimated that they would prefer to continue the present	The Government of Bengal would press for direct election with the present electorate. If that is not retained, one member would favour election by the Provincial Legislature by a single transferable vote, three others favour direct election, one-fourth by members of local bodies, *viz.*, Calcutta Corporation, Municipalities, District and Local

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
electorate. The Committee would be glad to know whether, if it is decided not to retain that electorate, the local Government would favour the election of the representatives of British Indian Provinces by a single transferable vote ; and if not, what alternative system they would recommend ?	Boards, one-fourth by those paying large amounts (the figures can be settled later) of revenue, cess, income-tax and mercantile and trade associations, *e.g.*, by various chambers of commerce, one-fourth by members of the provincial council, and one-fourth by retired administrators, *e.g.*, ex-chairmen and ex-vice-chairmen of local bodies, ex-High Court Judges, ex-District Officers, etc. The other members have no alternative system to recommend.
(*b*) To what extent should the existing franchise qualifications—	The existing franchise qualifications for the Upper Chamber should be maintained.
(*i*) for the Upper Chamber [if the answer to (*a*) is in the negative],	Those for the Assembly should not in any case be extended. The constituencies are too large as it is.
(*ii*) for the Assembly,	
be extended ?	
(*c*) Do you consider that any group system could be employed in election to both Houses or either House of the Federal Legislature with a view to giving that portion of the population which has not a direct or indirect share in its election some voice in national affairs ?	The Government are not in favour of a group system for election to either House of the Federal Legislature.
(*d*) What special interests should be represented in the Federal Legislature, and to what extent ?	They adhere to the views previously expressed regarding the representation of special interests in the Federal Legislature.

STATEMENT A.

Number of municipalities in each district in Bengal.

Burdwan	.. ..	6	Faridpur	.. ..	3
Birbhum	.. ..	1	Bakarganj	.. ..	6
Bankura	.. ..	3	Chittagong	.. ..	2
Midnapore	.. ..	7	Tippera	.. ..	3
Hooghly	.. ..	10	Noakhali	.. ..	1
Howrah	.. ..	2	Rajshahi	.. ..	2
24-Parganas	.. ..	26	Dinajpur	.. ..	1
Nadia	.. ..	9	Jalpaiguri	.. ..	1
Murshidabad	.. ..	6	Rangpur	.. ..	2
Jessore	.. ..	3	Bogra	.. ..	2
Khulna	.. ..	3	Pabna	.. ..	2
Dacca	.. ..	2	Malda	.. ..	3
Mymensingh	.. ..	9	Darjeeling	.. ..	2
			Total	..	117

STATEMENT B.

Names of members of depressed classes in the existing Bengal Legislative Council.

Name.	Caste.	Method of appointment.
1. Rai Sahib Rebati Mohan Sarker	Namasudra	Nomination.
2. Mukunda Behary Mullick ..	Namasudra	Nomination.
3. Hoseni Rout	Dosadh (Methar) ..	Election.
4. Amulyadhan Ray	Namasudra	Election.
5. Sarat Chandra Bal	Namasudra	Election.
6. Lalit Kumar Bal	Namasudra	Election.
7. Prosanna Deb Raikat ..	Koch	Election.
8. R. Maiti	Mahisya	Election.
9. Rai Sahib Panchanan Barma, M.B.E.	Rajbanshi	Election.
10. Nagendra Narayan Ray ..	Rajbanshi	Election.
11. Rai Debendra Nath Ballabh Bahadur.	Chasadhopa (Mahisya)	Election.
12. Haribansa Roy	Mahisya	Election.

STATEMENT C.

Depressed classes according to—

Census, 1921.		Census, 1931.	
Caste.	Number.	Caste.	Number.
Bagdi ..	895,319	Agariya ..	230
Bauri ..	184,671	Bagdi ..	987,570
Bhuimali	79,605	Bahelia ..	4,449
Bhuiya ..	58,902	Baiti ..	8,888
Bhumij ..	78,795	Bauri ..	331,238
Chamar ..	150,689	Bediya ..	7,243
Chasi Kaibartta or Mahisya ..	2,208,670	Beldar ..	3,139
Dom ..	149,450	Berua ..	367
Garo ..	39,581	Bhatiya ..	322
Hadi ..	19,016	Bhuimali ..	72,804
Hajang ..	23,021	Bhuiya ..	49,370
Hari ..	148,329	Bhumij ..	84,447
Jalia Kaibartta	381,432	Bind ..	19,518
Kaira ..	3,350	Binjhia ..	317
Kalu ..	95,828	Chamar ..	150,458
Kaora ..	110,651	Dhenuar ..	44
Kasta ..	11,977	Dhoba ..	229,666
Khandait ..	37,375	Doai ..	1,960
		Dom ..	140,067
		Dosadh ..	36,420
		Garo ..	37,909
		Ghasi ..	5,312
		Gonrhi ..	5,149
		Hadi ..	14,334
		Hajang ..	19,693
		Halalkhor ..	876
		Hari ..	132,393
		Ho ..	23
		Jalia Kaibartta ..	352,072
		Jhalo Malo ..	10,005
		Kadar ..	1,078
		Kaira ..	38,287
		Kalu ..	71,024
		Kalwar ..	13,531
		Kan ..	66
		Kandh ..	1,525
		Kandra ..	4,724
		Kaora ..	107,908
		Kapali ..	165,583
		Kapuria ..	170
		Karenga ..	9,855
		Kaur ..	1,781

Census, 1921.		Census, 1931.	
Caste.	Number.	Caste.	Number.
....		Khatik	1,157
Khen	18,909	....	
....		Kichak	2
Koch	130,012	Koch	81,299
Koiri	7,115	....	
....		Konai	41,058
....		Konwar	133
Kora	29,881	Kora	46,789
....		Kotal	7,651
Kurmi	179,453	....	
....		Lalbegi	4,965
....		Lodha	11,001
Lohar	67,905	Lohar	50,167
....		Mahar	1,986
....		Mahli	16,262
Mal	117,403	Mal	111,167
....		Mallah	26,252
Malo	221,031	....	
....		Malpahariya	11,782
Mech	10,777	Mech	4,875
....		Mehtor	23,278
Muchi	413,578	Muchi	414,219
Munda	98,628	Munda	63,107
....		Musahar	11,714
....		Nagar	16,164
....		Nagesia	2,088
....		Naiya	40
Namasudra	1,997,441	Namasudra	2,094,957
....		Nat	7,348
Nuniya	57,243	Nuniya	28,100
Oraon	201,430	Oraon	136,427
....		Paliya	43,160
....		Pan	1,855
....		Pasi	18,925
Patni	42,269	Patni	40,766
Pod	588,394	Pod	667,731
Pundari	14,877	Pundari	31,255
....		Rabha	2,076
Rajbansi	1,397,726	....	
Raju	52,091	Raju	56,778
....		Rajwar	21,337
Santal	710,775	Santal	433,502
....		Shagirdpeasha	333
Sukli	17,591	Sukli	3,860
....		Sunri	76,920
....		Teli	224,282
Tiyar	175,721	Tiyar	96,413
....		Turi	16,199
Total ..	11,216,911	Total ..	8,071,201

VI

Supplement to the Government of Bengal's answer* to Question 11 of the Supplementary questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.

(i)

Statement showing the number of (a) individuals (b) electors belonging to the Depressed Classes in the Khulna constituency.

	Khulna.
1. Total population (Census, 1921)	1,453,034
2. Total non-Muhammadan population (Census, 1921)	730,147
3. Total number of persons belonging to the depressed classes (Census, 1921)	483,860
4. Percentage of 3 to 2	66·3
5. Total number of non-Muhammadans paying Union Board rate, chaukidari tax or municipal tax	95,783
6. Total number of persons belonging to the depressed classes paying Union Board rate, chaukidari tax or municipal tax	59,934
7. Percentage of 6 to 5	62·6
8. Percentage of 6 to 3	12·4
9. Percentage of 5 to 2	13·1
10. Total number of depressed classes on the existing electoral roll of the Bengal Legislative Council	10,132
11. Percentage of 10 to 3	2·1
12. Number of persons belonging to depressed classes who would be enfranchised if 7½ per cent. of the total population were enfranchised	34,090
13. Number of persons belonging to depressed classes who would be enfranchised if 10 per cent. of the total population were enfranchised	45,453

Note.—The depressed classes in Khulna are chiefly Namasudras.

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* Page 216.

(ii)

Statement showing the number of (a) individuals (b) rate-payers belonging to the Depressed classes in the Dinajpur constituency.

	Dinajpur.
1. Total pupulation (Census, 1921)	1,705,353
2. Total non-Muhammadan population (Census, 1921)	751,861
3. Total number of persons belonging to depressed classes (Census, 1921)	601,448
4. Percentage of 3 to 2	79·9
5. Number of non-Muhammadans paying Union Board rate, and municipal tax	111,362
6. Number of persons belonging to the depressed classes paying Union Board rate and Municipal tax	58,127
7. Percentage of 6 to 5	52·2
8. Percentage of 6 to 3	9·6
9. Percentage of 5 to 2	14·8
10. Total number of persons belonging to the depressed classes on the existing electoral roll of the Bengal Legislative Council	7,463
11. Percentage of 10 to 3	1·2
12. Number of persons belonging to the depressed classes who would be enfranchised if 7½ per cent. of the total population were enfranchised	29,691
13. Number of persons belonging to the depressed classes who would be enfranchised if 10 per cent. of the total population were enfranchised	39,588

Note.—The depressed classes in Dinajpur are chiefly Rajbansis.

VII

Memorandum by the Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
Q. 1.—A. What is the considered opinion of the Government of Bengal as to the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the province, using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible— (*i*) if the election is spread over— (I) two days (one for Muhammadans and one for Non-Muhammadans), (II) four days, (*ii*) taking 750 as the number of male voters with whom a Presiding Officer could deal in a day— (*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women, (*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women ? B. What percentage would this number represent of (*a*) the total and (*b*) the adult population ?	*Q. 1.*—This question is left to Government to answer.
Q. 2.—Which system of polling illiterate voters do you prefer :— (*a*) Coloured boxes whereby the voter has to make no mark on the paper but is able to poll secretly ? (*b*) A system whereby the Presiding Officer marks the ballot paper on the instructions and on behalf of the illiterate voter ?	*Q. 2.*—The majority of the Committee (ten members) prefer the system of coloured boxes. Four members think that photographs of candidates should be required to be placed on the top of each box. Two members prefer the system whereby the Presiding Officer marks the ballot paper on behalf of illiterate voters.
Q. 3.—Polling Machinery.—What is the maximum personnel which could be used as Presiding or Polling Officers ? The Committee	

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
would be glad to have this information under the following heads :—	
(*i*) Total number of Government officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial.	*Q. 3* (*i*), (*ii*) *and* (*iii*).—These sub-questions are left to Government to answer.
(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government officers.	
(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards officers (superior and ministerial).	
(*iv*) Total number of members of Local Bodies (Municipal Commissioners, members of District and Local Boards, Presidents and Members of Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates, and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed). To what extent could these figures be supplemented by the use of non-officials (schoolmasters, etc.) ? Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose ?	*Q. 3* (*iv*).—There is likely to be no objection raised to the utilisation of the services of persons of the classes mentioned.
(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for—	*Q. 3* (*v*).—This sub-question is left to Government to answer.
(*a*) separate polling booths for women and women Presiding Officers and clerks,	
(*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters ?	
Q. 4.—What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise—	
(*a*) 10 per cent. of the population,	*Q. 4* (*a*).—It is proposed by a majority of the Committee, consisting of ten members, that, in order to enfranchise 10 per cent. of the total population, the

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	union board and municipal franchises, reduced to such level as is necessary, say As. 12 rate or tax, be made the qualification, women to be required to be qualified in their own right, *i.e.*, not on the qualifications of their husbands. The minority (four members) consider that the existing union board and municipal voting qualification should be adopted, and that the wives of voters, if above 25 years of age, should be enfranchised on their husbands' qualifications. The approximate percentage of women who would be enfranchised according to the proposal of the majority is ·63 per cent. of the total population.
(*b*) the maximum you consider administratively possible as in question 1 above. What approximate percentage of women would be enfranchised on your proposals, under (*a*) and (*b*) respectively ?	*Q. 4* (*b*).—This question is left to Government to answer.
Q. 5.—The Franchise Committee would be glad of your considered opinion as between the four systems of voting which have been under consideration :—	
(*a*) Universal direct adult suffrage.	*Q. 5* (*a*).—All the members are against universal direct adult suffrage.
(*b*) Universal indirect system.	*Q. 5* (*b*).—Five members are in favour of the universal indirect system and nine members against.
(*c*) The extension of the direct vote so far as is administratively possible.	*Q. 5* (*c*).—Eleven members are in favour of and three members are against the extension of the direct vote as far as is administratively possible.
(*d*) A combination of the direct and indirect system as explained below.	*Q. 5* (*d*).—Three members are in favour and eleven members are against a combination of the direct and indirect systems.

Additional questionnaire.

A fuller note on each of these systems follows below with a view to facilitate a reply.

A. Universal direct adult suffrage.—The fundamental question is whether the system is administratively possible at the present stage. The reply to question 1 above will go far to make clear whether this is so or not.

Answers.

Thus the Committee by a majority favour the extension of the direct vote as far as is administratively possible.

On the question of the extent to which it is administratively possible to extend the direct vote, the Committee, on compromise, make the following unanimous recommendation: The direct vote should be conferred on all persons who pay As. 12 local tax or rate or over, but, if it is decided by the Indian Franchise Committee that the number thus enfranchised is inadequate, then, and in those circumstances only, the Committee consider that an indirect system of group voting should be resorted to.

On the question whether the indirect system to be adopted in those circumstances should be the universal indirect system or the hybrid system, the Committee are divided in opinion. When the question was put to the vote, three members voted in favour of the hybrid system and ten against. Eight members voted in favour of the universal indirect system and six against.

In deciding, for administrative reasons, not to recommend the extension of the direct vote beyond the limit mentioned above, the Committee were, in the main, influenced by consideration of the difficulties involved in the creation, under the direct system, of constituencies which would be manageable by candidates.

Additional questionnaire.

B. Universal indirect system.—Under a universal indirect system the whole adult population, male and female, might be grouped in groups of between 20 and 50 each, each group to return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. Each group would elect one Mukhiya from among its own members, the election being either informal by means of a show of hands or by individual voting after nomination. (As an alternative the group might be larger, electing one Mukhiya for each 20 of its number). Immediately the election was complete, the Circle Officer would place the name of the Mukhiyas elected on the electoral roll, and there would be no appeal against his decision, though his proceedings would be open to revision. In the event of its being decided to retain separate Hindu and Moslem electorates, or to create as recommended in one province, separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, it would be necessary to form separate Hindu, Moslem or Depressed Class primary groups in the villages. The electorate so chosen would be divided into constituencies for the election of members of Council.

In the event of your approving of this system please state—

(*i*) The precise methods by which you consider that the election of the electors for the primary groups should be conducted (the supervising and revising authority; whether an electoral roll should be maintained; whether

Answers.

Q. 5B (*i*).—The Committee express their opinion that each mukhi should represent ten persons. For the rest the sub-question is left to Government to answer.

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
geographical proximity should be the basis of the group; the size of the group; whether the village or some other division or area should be adopted as the electoral unit; whether the population should be divided into groups of 20 or thereabouts, each to elect a Mukhiya, or into larger groups—say 100—to elect, say, five Mukhiyas).	
(*ii*) Whether men and women should be grouped together or separately.	*Q. 5B* (*ii*).—The majority of the Committee, consisting of five members, consider that men and women should be grouped together. The minority (three members) favour separate grouping for men and women.
(*iii*) Whether you think it could be made applicable to the towns as well as to the country.	*Q. 5B* (*iii*).—All municipalities should be excluded from the operation of the group system.
If your answer is in the affirmative, please state whether you consider that the same basis of grouping and method of voting should be adopted in the towns as in the country. If not, what would you suggest?	
(*iv*) Do you consider that the loss of the direct vote by those who at present enjoy that privilege, and its substitution by a vote for a secondary elector, would be regarded as a source of grievance?	*Q. 5B* (*iv*).—Loss of the direct vote would not be regarded as a grievance in the opinion of the majority of the Committee consisting of six members. The minority (five members) are of the contrary opinion.
C. The extension of the direct vote so far as it is administratively practicable.—In the event of your favour-	

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
ing the adoption of this system, please state exactly—	
(*i*) The categories of the population which would fail under it to secure direct representation in the Legislature.	*Q. 5C* (*i*).—The unanimous opinion of the Committee is that, if the franchise is confined to persons paying As. 12 local tax or rate voting directly, then labour and women will fail to secure direct representation. On the question whether the depressed classes would under the same conditions fail to secure direct representation, the Committee are divided in opinion. The majority (eight members) think that they would fail to do so. Two members think the contrary.
(*ii*) The approximate number of women who would be enfranchised, and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate.	*Q. 5C* (*ii*).—This sub-question is left to Government to answer.
(*iii*) The number of the Depressed Classes (applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability) who would be enfranchised, and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate.	*Q. 5C* (*iii*).—According to the criterion laid down in this sub-question, *viz.*, untouchability and unapproachability, as those terms are understood in other parts of India, the Committee consider that, except Bhuimalis only, there is no such class in Bengal. Mr. Mullick, who does not agree, is allowed to submit a note* explaining his views for the information of the Indian Franchise Committee.
D. The combination of the Direct and Indirect systems as suggested by the Round Table Conference.—Under such a system the total adult population would be divided into—	*Q. 5D.*—This question does not arise.
(1) Direct voters qualified by property, education, military service, etc.	
(2) The balance of the adult population. These might,	

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Additional questionnaire. *Answers.*

be grouped in groups of say, 20 (or some approximate figure). In the cold weather preceding that in which a general election is due, the Circle Officer, in accordance with instructions that would be issued, would divide villages into groups on the basis of geographical proximity.

Each group would return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. The election would be either informal or by nomination, as suggested in the case of universal suffrage. On the completion of the elections in the village the Circle Officer would place the names of the secondary electors chosen on the electoral roll of the constituency to which they appertain along with the direct voters, the choice of the primary voters being thus regarded as a qualification for admission to the electoral roll. The voters not directly qualified might be grouped together in the same manner as suggested in the case of universal indirect election above. The method of polling groups would be similar to that suggested above in the case of universal indirect suffrage, except that it would apply only to a proportion and to the whole.

In the event of your approving of this system the Committee would be glad to know—

(*a*) The precise method of primary group election which you would suggest.

(*b*) The ratio which the number of the direct electors should

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
bear to the Mukhiya electors.	
(*c*) Whether men and women should be grouped together in the primary groups or separately.	
(*d*) Assuming it is decided to have one Mukhiya for every 20 persons whether it would be better—	
(*i*) to form the whole village into a single group, electing Mukhiyas on the basis of one per 20 adults, or	
(*ii*) to form groups of, say, 100 each electing 5 Mukhiyas, or	
(*iii*) to form groups of 20 each electing 1. How would you propose to conduct the election in each case ?	
Q. 5. (A).—Do you propose that the same system should be applied to town and country ? If not, what alternative would you propose for the towns ?	*Q. 5.* (A).—The majority of the Committee, consisting of eight members, consider that it would be inadvisable to apply the same system to town and country. As an alternative system for the towns (*i e.*, all municipalities) they propose that the direct system of voting be extended to persons paying As. 12 local tax or rate and over. The minority (five members) are of the opinion that the same system should be applied to town and country.
Q. 6.—Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or that the towns should have some weightage, and, if so, to what extent ?	*Q. 6.*—In the opinion of the majority of the Committee, consisting of seven members, there should be a 12½ per cent. weightage in favour of the towns (*i.e.*, all municipalities). Two members think that towns should be given greater weightage than 12½ per cent. Three members consider that town and country should be given representation proportionate to their numbers.

Additional questionnaire.

Q. 7.—The Government of Bengal, in reply to question 2 (*a*) of the Franchise Committee's questionnaire, state that they recommend that "urban areas shall be grouped into constituencies and kept apart from the rural areas, which should have their own constituencies". The Committee would be glad of further and detailed information on this proposal:

(*a*) What, for instance, will be classified as "urban areas".

(*b*) What population test would be applied?

(*c*) How many urban areas would there be in Bengal on the system proposed and where would they be situated?

(*d*) Are the local Government satisfied that the smaller municipalities have such divergent interests from those of the surrounding rural areas as to necessitate their being converted into separate constituencies?

(*e*) Are the local Government satisfied that municipalities thrown into the same group will necessarily have a common interest?

Q. 8.—The Committee would be glad of the local Government's views on the possibility of establishing a system of direct suffrage in Calcutta.

(*a*) Do the local Government consider that such a system would be administratively workable?

Answers.

Qs. 7, 8 and 9.—These questions are left to Government to answer.

Additional questionnaire. *Answers.*

(*b*) How many days would it take to poll the adult population ?

(*c*) What Government machinery could be made available for the purpose ?

(*d*) Could any approximate estimate be given of the expenditure involved ?

Q. 9.—The local Government stated in reply to question 2 (*e*) of the questionnaire that they have no objection to an extension of the existing military service qualification to ex-members of the Indian Auxiliary and Indian Territorial Forces if this is thought desirable. What period of qualifying service, if any, in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces would they require as a condition of admitting ex-members of those forces to the franchise ?

Q. 10.—Would they propose any differential franchise for women, and, if so, what number of women are likely to be placed on the electoral roll as the result of their proposals ?

Do the local Government consider it desirable to make provision to secure as a temporary measure, say, for the first ten years, that a small number of women shall be members of the Council ? If so,

(*i*) should they be chosen by co-option by the Council, by the single transferable vote,

(*ii*) be elected by a special constituency of literate women only, divided if necessary into Muhammadan and Non-Muhammadan constituencies, or

Q. 10.—This question is left to Govment to answer, but Mrs. Bose is allowed to submit a note* for the information of the Indian Franchise Committee.

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Additional questionnaire.

Answers.

(*iii*) *e.g.*, as suggested in one province on the following lines ?—

"A fixed number of seats should be reserved in the Council for women : women should be allowed as at present in this province to stand for any constituency for which they are qualified to stand, and unsuccessful women candidates up to the number so reserved obtaining the highest percentage of votes to the number of electors on the electoral roll in the constituencies for which they stand, should be delcared elected to the seats reserved for women, provided that they have obtained sufficient votes not to forfeit their deposists. Women who top the poll in any constituency and win a seat outright would come into the Council as ordinary members and would be additional to those filling the seats reserved for women. If on the other hand the number of women candidates was insufficient to fill the quota of reserved seats, no further steps to fill the quota should be taken, whether by nomination or otherwise."

Q. 11.—Could you state—

Q. 11.—This question is left to Government to answer.

(*a*) the number of Depressed Class representatives in the existing Council, and the method by which they were appointed,

(*b*) the castes and sub-castes which in your opinion are depressed in your province, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability (including such disabilities as refusal of entry to public eating houses) and the population thereof,

(*c*) the number of members of the Depressed Classes, applying the

Additional questionnaire. *Answers.*

criteria above, who would be placed on the electoral roll as the result—

(*i*) of the system of franchise you propose,

(*ii*) the extension of the direct electorate to 10 per cent. of the population,

(*d*) are the Depressed Classes or Untouchables likely to return representatives of their own to the Council under the system of franchise you propose? If so, how many, and for what constituencies?

In order to assist the Franchise Committee in dealing with this matter, could you take, say, two typical constituencies and have a detailed analysis prepared showing the number of individuals and voters belonging to the Depressed Classes in these constituencies, and the number of Depressed Class electors who are now on the electoral roll and who would appear on the electoral roll—

(*i*) under the system of franchise you propose,

(*ii*) if 10 per cent. of the electorate were directly enfranchised?

The Committee would also be glad of a statement in general terms of the distribution of the Depressed Classes, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability, throughout the province. Are there any constituencies or areas in which the Depressed Classes are sufficiently numerous as to make it possible for them to return a member of the Legislature, in the event of their voting together?

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
Q. 12.—How do you propose to secure representation for— (*a*) industrial labour; and (*b*) tea garden labour, in the Legislature?	*Qs. 12 and 13.*—Even if the group system, whether wholly indirect or hybrid, is not adopted, labour should be given representation in special constituencies by means of the group system, the term "labour" to include mill and factory labour and seamen only. Mr. K. C. Roy Chowdhury dissents. He considers that the special representation of labour should be made through Labour Unions approved by Government. He is allowed to submit a special note for the information of the Indian Franchise Committee.
Q. 13.—To what extent, if at all, could the group system (either wholly indirect or "hybrid") be used, in your opinion, to deal with the representation of labour?	
Q. 14.—Have you any views as to the desirability of single-member constituencies, as opposed to multi-member constituencies, electing two, three, or five numbers each, either by the single non-transferable vote, or any other recognised device?	*Q. 14.*—The Committee favour single-member constituencies.
Q. 15.—Do you consider that a Second Chamber is feasible and desirable in your province; and if so, what should its numbers be, and how should they be composed? What would be its position *vis-a-vis* the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature?	*Q. 15.*—The Committee are of the opinion that if the group system of voting is adopted, a Second Chamber will be necessary in Bengal. A minority of the members are in favour of a Second Chamber in any case. All the members consider a Second Chamber feasible. As regards the strength of the Second Chamber, the Committee consider that its strength should be 40 per cent. of the Lower House. As regards its composition the Committee, except one member, think that 70 per cent. of its members should be elected by general constituencies by the direct vote, 20 per cent. should be elected by special interests and 10 per cent. should be nominated by the Governor. Mr. N. K. Basu dissents to nomination. He considers that no member should be nominated. As regards the qualifications of voters it is thought that these

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	should be the same as the qualifications of voters for the present Legislative Assembly and that the qualifications of candidates should be required to be a little higher than those of voters, both as regards age and in other respects. As regards the position of the Second Chamber *vis-a-vis* the Lower Chamber, the Committee accept, *mutatis mutandis*, the views expressed by the Federal Structure Committee in regard to the relations of the Upper and Lower Chambers of the Federal Legislature (*vide* paragraphs 40-42, Federal Structure Committee's third report).
Q. 16.—What do you consider should be the number of members—	
(*i*) of the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature in the event of a bicameral system being introduced,	*Q. 16* (*i*).—Not less than 225.
(*ii*) of the Provincial Legislature, if unicameral.	*Q. 16* (*ii*).—Not less than 250.
Q. 17.—What representation do you consider should be given in the Provincial Legislature to special interests, *e.g.*, trade and commerce, planting; landlords; Europeans; Anglo-Indians; Indian Christians, etc., etc.?	*Q. 17.*—As regards European interests, the view of the majority consisting of seven members, is that the existing representation of European interests in the existing elected Bengal Legislative Council, both special as representing trade and commerce and also as consisting of constituencies representing the non-official European community, should be retained in the same proportion in the new elected Bengal Legislative Council (Lower Chamber). The view of the minority (four members) is that 10 per cent. only of the total House should be reserved for European interests, both special and general. As regards other special interests the Committee think that the following interests should be given representation in the provincial legislature (Lower

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	Chamber) in the same proportion as in the present Bengal Legislative Council: Indian trade and commerce, landlords, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians. The Committee by a majority of 6 to 1 consider that, if an equal number of general seats is given to Hindus and Muhammadans in the general electorate, then the special constituencies reserved for those two communities should be divided in equal numbers between Hindus and Muhammadans, so far as is found to be possible.
Q. 18.—As regards the Federal Legislature—	
(*a*) Do you consider that the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by some system of proportional representation? The Government of Bengal have intimated that they would prefer to continue the present electorate. The Committee would be glad to know whether, if it is decided not to retain that electorate, the local Government would favour the election of the representatives of British Indian Provinces by a single transferable vote; and if not, what alternative system they would recommend?	*Q. 18* (*a*).—The Committee are of the opinion that the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by some system of proportional representation.
(*b*) To what extent should the existing franchise qualifications—	
(*i*) for the Upper Chamber [if the answer to (*a*) is in the negative],	*Q. 18* (*b*) (*i*).—This question does not arise.
(*ii*) for the Assembly, be extended?	*Q. 18* (*b*) (*ii*).—The existing franchise qualifications for the Assembly should not be extended further.

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
(*c*) Do you consider that any group system could be employed in election to both Houses or either House of the Federal Legislature with a view to giving that portion of the population which has not a direct or indirect share in its election some voice in national affairs ?	*Q. 18* (*c*).—No.
(*d*) What special interests should be represented in the Federal Legislature, and to what extent ?	*Q. 18* (*d*).—Not more than four seats in all should be reserved in the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature for the following special interests: Europeans, Anglo-Indians and trade and commerce. Labour should be represented in the Lower House only. Europeans, Anglo-Indians and commerce should also be represented in the Lower House. It is not thought necessary, at this stage, to determine the proportion of representation.
The Committee appreciate that reference to local officers will be necessary before answers to some of the above questions can be given, but they must ask that arrangements be made to furnish them with the bulk of the information required by 15th March at latest and that any supplementary information on outstanding points may reach them not later than 25th March. They greatly regret the necessity for thus pressing local Governments and their officers at the present time, but in view of the date by which their report on the basis of the franchise has to be submitted they are compelled to ask that the matter may be expedited in every possible way.	

Note of dissent by Mr. N. K. Basu, M.L.C., dated 11th March 1932.

I regret I cannot accept the majority resolutions on the mode of voting.

What the majority have decided is--

(1) The voting *in towns* is always to be direct.

(2) The voting *in rural areas* is to be direct if the franchise is confined to persons paying annas 12 or above in rates or taxes: but if a larger number of persons are enfranchised, the voting is to be altogether by the group system, each Mukhi representing 10 persons.

(*N.B.*—Towns mean all municipal areas.)

A short resumé of the way in which this decision has been arrived at will be instructive.

After the matter was remitted by the Indian Franchise Committee for reconsideration, the matter was fully debated on the 4th instant and the following answer decided on :—

"All the members are against universal direct suffrage; five are in favour of and nine against universal indirect system; eleven are in favour of and three against extending the direct vote as far as is administratively possible; three are in favour of and eleven against a combination of the direct and indirect systems."

At the next meeting (7th March) the Chairman made a strong appeal for unanimity and after stating what the local Government had recommended urged us to accept the same view as a compromise resolution. Thereafter, it was proposed, as a compromise—

"That the direct vote be conferred on all persons paying annas 12 as tax or rate and above, but that if the Indian Franchise Committee determine to extend the franchise still further by including persons paying lower taxes, etc., then and in those circumstances only, this Committee recommend that an indirect system of voting be adopted."

This was accepted as a compromise, though in the minds of several of us (including myself) there were considerable misgivings.

The voting on the next question showed that our misgivings were well founded:—

"On the question whether the indirect system to be adopted in these circumstances should be the universal indirect system or the hybrid system, the Committee are divided: Three are in favour of the hybrid system and Ten against; Eight are in favour of the universal indirect system and Six against."

This appears to me to be not only anomalous but in direct contradiction to our previous resolution on question 5.

I shall now indicate my reasons for dissenting from the majority verdict.

The universal indirect system (which I shall hereafter call the "group" system) disenfranchises a large number of persons who are voters now. (I do not lose sight of the fact that to minimise the force of this objection the majority have decided to recommend that each Mukhi should represent ten persons. This expedient, however, to my mind does not meet the difficulty.) It is bound to create a great deal of discontent even though five of our members think otherwise.

In making their recommendation, I am afraid, the majority have been swayed more by phrases and political ideals than by the practicalities of the position. The ideal of "adult suffrage" and the possibility of doing away with "communal electorates" have had a lot to do with their decision. Indeed, at one period (*viz.*, during our discussions with the Indian Committee) I myself surrendered to the latter idea, and though it has ever since been counted to me for righteousness by the protagonists of the group system, I am convinced I was wrong.

Regard being had to the fact that the Provincial Legislature we are considering the franchise for is to be entrusted with responsible government, I do not think adult suffrage can now be considered.

We ought to remember that in Bengal, the adults are just 50 per cent. of the population, the women (mostly purdah) are about 47 per cent. of the adults, the percentage of literacy among women is almost negligible, the bulk of the people take very little interest in things beyond their immediate ken.

In this connexion the remarks of the Auxiliary Committee of the Simon Commission should be borne in mind—

"In every country where there is representative government" education should be given "such as to produce a popular electorate capable of exercising intelligently the primary functions of citizenship: they should be able to choose their representatives with knowledge and intelligence: to understand, at any rate, to a certain extent, the social and political programmes which are placed before them by candidates for election to the legislative bodies."

When we remember that less than 13 per cent. of the adult population of the province is literate, I am afraid, the regretful decision must be that the time for adult suffrage—direct or indirect—has not yet arrived.

I would base my recommendation on the findings of the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference. One of the very few of their unanimous resolutions was—

"We consider that there should be a property qualification for the franchise."

Then there were majority resolutions to have *additional* educational and military qualifications and special representation for women.

In his remarks to the Provincial Committee, the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee asked us particularly to try and ascertain public opinion on the matter.

The opinions so far published in the Press (English as well as Vernacular) are singularly unanimous and have condemned the "group" system by bell, book and candle. I do not think we have any right to ignore the volume of opinion and decide to the contrary on the ground that "we are making history", another phrase on which the majority of our Committee have stumbled.

I would therefore have all voting—even in rural areas—to be direct (the official members of the Committee have assured us there would be no administrative difficulty) and would confer the franchise upon—

(*a*) All persons paying rates and/or taxes of annas 12 and over.

(*b*) All literate women, of 25 and above.

(*c*) All males who have passed the Matriculation Examination, or an equivalent examination.

This would enfranchise about 18 per cent. of the rural adult population or 9 per cent. of the total population.

The voters in towns would bring the number of persons enfranchised to the maximum which I consider to be proper at the present time.

I may note that under this scheme the total enfranchised would be about 36 lakhs as against the 23 lakhs of secondary voters under the group system, with one Mukhi for 10 adults.

In my judgment, the secondaries are the only persons enfranchised under the "group" system. The primary voter's franchise is the shadow of a shade and no responsibility attaches to it, nor for the matter of that to the secondary voter.

Then again, the majority have recommended weightage of 12½ per cent. to be given to the towns.

This in my opinion is wholly inadequate in present circumstances. The rural population is 46 millions and that of towns about 3½ millions.

The present ratio of representation between urban and rural areas is 1 : 4.

The majority would reduce that to 1 : 10. This is wholly unfair and loses sight of the fact that in the towns in Bengal are conglomerated all the people who really can exercise an intelligent franchise. If the present ratio be considered to be unjust and it is decided not to maintain it, I should certainly not reduce it to less than 1 : 5.

N. K. BASU.

Note of dissent by Mr. S. M. Bose, M.L.C., dated 13th March 1932.

I regret to have to submit this Note of Dissent on the Provincial Committee's recommendations on the Additional Questionnaire sent by the Indian Franchise Committee.

2. In the following note, I shall deal with the following matters :—

(*a*) Objection to the universal indirect system and the Provincial Committee's recommendations (paragraphs 3 and 4).

(*b*) My objections to the abolition of the present direct system of voting (paragraph 5).

(*c*) Public opinion in Bengal is strongly against abolition of direct voting and against universal indirect system ; illogical differentiation made by the Committee between town and country (paragraph 6).

(*d*) Hybrid system—its dangers (paragraph 7).

(*e*) My concrete suggestions (paragraphs 8 and 10).

(*f*) More seats for urban areas (paragraph 9).

3. I am unable to agree first as to the recommendation advocating the universal indirect system in case the Central Committee think a very large increase of electorate should be allowed. See answer to question 5 (*d*). I am entirely opposed to the introduction of any such system in any shape or form, and to the abolition of the existing system of direct voting.

4. On the 4th March last, at a very full meeting of the Provincial Committee (14 out of 15 members being present), it was decided by 9 votes to 5 that there should not be the universal indirect system ; and at the same meeting, it was by 11 votes to 3 decided on the extension of the direct vote so far as it is administratively possible [answer to question 5 (*b*) and (*c*), Additional Questionnaire]. It is thus abundantly clear that a considerable majority of our Committee are in favour of question 5 (*c*) and are of opinion that the direct voting system should continue, and should be extended, and that in no event was the universal indirect system to be introduced. In face of this, it is difficult to understand how the Committee at its next sitting, after an attempt to reopen the matter had failed, should have recorded the opinion that the direct vote should be conferred on all persons paying 12 annas rate or tax, but if the Central Committee determine to extend the franchise still lower, *the universal indirect system is to be introduced.*

5. I am definitely of opinion that under no circumstances should the right of direct franchise now in force be taken away. Shortly put, this system is to be preferred to the indirect or the group system for the following, among other reasons : (1) it has considerable educative value for the voters ; (2) it places them face to face with the candidate who is to be always in touch with them, and so feel a sense of responsibility towards them, which will be entirely absent in the group system, where

the candidate is not in contact with the primary voters; (3) the primary election being held six or nine months before the secondary or the real election, the primaries will be quite in the dark as to who the Council candidates will be, or what will then be the actual issues before the country; the only matter before them is the choice of their headman, the secondary voter; (4) the secondary thus will have no mandate from the primaries (even if they had any mandate, there is no compulsion on the secondary voters, and the ballot box effectually covers a multitude of sins) and will do just as they like. So this form of adult suffrage will really mean that nineteen people out of twenty will not have the faintest voice in the governance of their country; (5) the vigilant candidate will have to canvas at both the elections, which will mean a heavy expenditure; (6) the necessity of having a detailed house-to-house census throughout all the villages in Bengal every four or five years, just before each election. I need not deal with practical difficulties, *e.g.*, who is to maintain and revise the roll, etc. To the very strong argument that the present direct voters will bitterly resent any deprivation of their rights, the answer has been made that he is sure to be returned as a secondary voter. That this is incorrect has been shown by actual calculation for the union board to which belonged the villages in Faridpur, which we went to visit on the 20th February last. I am told that there the present number of direct voters to Council is about 370; but if the group system of twenties be applied, there would be about 160 secondary voters; and there can be no certainty that these will come from the present direct voters. Further, if it be true that the direct voter is sure to be returned as secondary, then I ask what is the use of this farce of a show of adult suffrage, with its attendant expense and unsettling of the present system, which gives us exactly what we are getting now?

6. In accordance with the suggestions made by the Central Committee, the Provincial Committee's provisional conclusions regarding the universal indirect system were submitted for public opinion, and the unanimous opinion as expressed in the Press has been strongly against this scheme, and in favour of the retention of the present system of direct voting. The "Amrita Bazar Patrika," the paper with the largest circulation among Indians, Congress papers like "Liberty," the "Advance" —both in English—the "Bangabani," nationalist papers like the "Basumati" and the "Ananda Bazar Patrika," weeklies like the "Sanjibani," edited by that Nestor among journalists, Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, the veteran Liberal politician—all sections of political opinion in Bengal have condemned the proposal to introduce the universal indirect system and to abolish the present system. This fact must be borne in mind. Further, the illogical nature of the Committee's recommendation to have the universal indirect system is shown by the fact that according to them, this should not apply to towns. But in urban areas, there is a large number of adults without franchise, perhaps proportionately as large as in rural areas. In rural areas, on the other hand, there is a large number of direct voters. One possible reason in favour of this exemption in favour of towns may be that the urban voters being more educated, more vocal and more concentrated, can combine more

effectively to make their objection heard. But there is in truth no reason for any differentiation between town and country. Efforts should be made to avoid any permanent cleavage between rural and urban interests, to avoid any ground for fostering ill-feeling between them.

7. The *hybrid system* is much better, but there is a danger to be safeguarded against. The primary and the secondary electors are all persons who pay no tax at all. It will be inadvisable to allow such persons to have any effective voice in the expenditure of the revenues to which they do not contribute. For those who pay no taxes have every motive to be lavish and none to economise. There will be a real danger to the State if such persons are allowed to vote money for any purpose they think fit to call a public one. It is therefore necessary to see that the secondary non-tax paying adult voters are small in number as compared with the direct voters—say one secondary to four direct voters. It follows that the groups should be at least 25 if not 50. To this limited extent, I am prepared to allow the hybrid system, but I think it will be quite sufficient to depend on direct voting, so far as practicably possible.

8. I have had considerable experience of elections; I have fought two contested elections for the East Mymensingh (Rural) Constituency, with nearly 90 polling stations, and a very large electorate spread over a considerable area. I have fought a third election in Calcutta, and have helped in a good many other contests. I am of opinion that in fixing the basis of franchise, we should carefully bear in mind, *inter alia*, the following considerations: (1) the present illiteracy and the consequent lack of active political interest; and the lower the franchise is extended, the greater the proportionate illiteracy among the voters. This will no doubt be remedied to a larger extent, the longer the Primary Education Act is enforced; (2) the necessity for a fairly small constituency where it is possible for the candidate directly to approach the electors and to influence them, and be responsible in the real sense of the term to them; (3) the difficulty of communication in rural areas; (4) the fact that the number of seats is not likely to be enlarged very much, the probable number being 200 in place of 114 elected seats at present. Having regard to all these factors, I think that under the direct system of voting alone, without recourse to the hybrid system, we can enlarge the franchise so as to give the vote to four million people, thus trebling the present number of enfranchised persons; this will mean enfranchising 16 per cent. of the adult population. I may here enter a caveat against the common parlance of asking for enfranchisement of so much per cent. of the *total population*. To my mind this phrase has no meaning, and what we ought to speak is by reference to the *adult population*, our goal being adult suffrage. The basis of franchise then would be as follows:—

Enfranchise for the Council all persons possessing the union board electorate qualification (payment of Re. 1 as cess or chaukidari rate), and all persons possessing municipal voting qualification as at present,

together with all wives, of the age of thirty or over, of such two classes of persons. The approximate figures will be as follows :—

(1) Persons with union board electorate franchise	2,400,000
(2) Persons with chaukidari committee franchise	200,000
(3) Municipal voters, including Calcutta ..	400,000
(4) Wives of 30 years and over, of above, say ..	1,000,000
Total ..	4,000,000

The above figures may be adjusted so as not to exceed four millions—a total which can be conveniently polled by the direct system. If we take into account the following additional qualifications, this number will be I think greatly exceeded : (*a*) educational qualification—all adult matriculates or those passing the School Finals, and (*b*) military qualification, including service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces, as recommended by our Committee. There will be no necessity of resorting to the hybrid system at all. But should the Central Committee be desirous of still further increasing the franchise, the hybrid system with safeguards as in paragraph 6 above may be tried.

9. The second matter on which I to some extent differ from the Committee is on the question of towns. There seem to prevail an unreasonable hostility to towns, and an inclination to penalise them at the expense of the country. In this connection, the apposite remarks of the Government of India in their Fifth Despatch on the Indian Constitutional Reforms (Franchise), dated April, 1919, should be borne in mind : " After religion and race, the boundary between town and country is the greatest dividing line that runs through the Indian people. It corresponds closely with the division between progress and conservatism ; between English education and vernacular ; between experience of self-government and lack of such experience. It is roughly the difference between the old Indian and the new, the forces that are pressing us forward, and those that are holding us back. These are in our view elements which ought to be measured on a uniform scale all round, and the relative importance of which ought to be assessed in each province." The importance of towns was also mentioned in the memorandum of the Government of Bengal before the Simon Commission. The towns are the centres of political life and thought of the country ; the educated classes of all communities congregate there. As the Simon Commission in their Report, Volume 1, paragraph 33, remark : " It is inevitable that in India, those who give their attention to political affairs should be found mainly in the towns. It is in the towns that are to be found the barristers and journalists who predominate among the leaders of Indian political opinion and from whose ranks for the most part are drawn the propagandists,

candidates and public representatives of all political parties and communities. The Indian educated class presents a feature which must be regarded as unique. For here is a body of men, educated, working, and, in many instances, thinking in an alien Western language, imbibing with that education the principles and traditions of a Western civilization and polity, and yet keenly conscious of its unity with the mass of the Indian people whose minds are set in the immemorial traditions of the East." For these reasons I think that the number of urban seats—17 at present—should be increased. Big towns with a population of 25,000 and over should have a seat. There were 22 such towns according to the 1921 census. The other urban areas with less population may be conveniently grouped to form constituencies.

10. Finally I wish to add that my scheme (paragraph 8) would provide an electorate which will adequately reflect the adult population belonging to the Moslem community and the "backward classes" (see the remarks at page 273 of the Report on the Working of the Reformed Constitution in Bengal, 1921-27). It will also provide for the adequate enfranchisement of women, which is omitted in the scheme to lower the franchise to 12 annas ratepayers, adopted by our Committee.

S. M. BOSE.

Note on Special Electorate for Labour by Mr. K. C. Roy Chowdhury, M.L.C.' dated 9th March 1932.

The joint memorandum of registered trade unions in Bengal including organisations of jute millhands, printing press employees, seamen, railway workmen and clerks was submitted to the Central Franchise Committee urging special representation for labour if the same concession is made to Industry and Commerce by reservation of seats in Bengal and Federal Legislatures equal to those to be reserved for the latter.

The following are the existing special constituencies for Commerce and Industry :—

	Seats.
Bengal Chamber of Commerce	6
Indian Jute Mills' Association	2
Indian Tea Association	1
Indian Mining Association	1
Calcutta Trades' Association	1
Bengal National Chamber of Commerce	2
Bengal Marwari Association	1
Bengal Mahajan Sabha	1

The proportion is just over 10 per cent. of the present House of 140 and as this proportion has been recommended by the Provincial Committee for representations of capitalists (Trade and Commerce), in the new Provincial Legislatures, labour should have same proportion of seats reserved for it in Bengal Council.

According to a Note submitted by India Office to the League of Nations, the total number of industrial workmen in India is over 20 millions and the share of Bengal is about 5 millions or practically 20 per cent. of the adult population of Bengal including females, Hindus, Moslems, and members of all other communities.

The following figures of wage-earners in Bengal have been taken from various reports and records :—

Operatives employed in registered factories in Bengal including 320,000 jute millhands is about	560,000
Seamen including inland navigation	120,000
Tea garden labour in Dooars, Darjeeling, Tippera and Chittagong	90,000
Coal miners in Burdwan	45,000
Railwaymen (share of Bengal including Carriage and Wagon, Traffic, Loco, Engineering)	120,000
Clerks	60,000
Jetty, Dock and Motor Vehicles labour	20,000
	1,015,000

With universal indirect adult suffrage, a million of the above industrial workers neglecting half timers should, on the basis of ten in a group, return 100,000 secondary electors to elect at least 16 Council Members (6,250 per constituency). More than 90 per cent. of them work and reside in urban areas. The Bengal Provincial Committee have unanimously decided to exclude group system from those areas and yet in case of labour representation they have illogically and inconsistently and in spite of my protest recommended grouping and indirect election of labour. Take the case of jute mills ; they are scattered and not more than 15,000 millhands will be found to reside within a single municipal area. If you group them, you will have to include non-millhands in these groups. The same will apply to seamen, who when out of employ reside in villages in different districts, *viz.*, Comilla, Chittagong, Noakhali, Dacca, etc. It will not be possible therefore to form such groups of industrial labour as well ensure election of labour representatives in Council.

The Whitley Commission has made it abundantly clear in its report that labour must have adequate representation in all legislatures to share the responsibility of passing labour legislations which must inevitably

grow as India is a member of the International League of Nations and its labour branch. The Whitley Commission has also recommended that Labour Unions should form special constituencies as Chambers of Commerce and Mill and Mining Associations, etc.

The progressive labour movement in India is responsible for the All-India Trade Union Congress, now called All-India Trade Union Federation, with branches in all industrial provinces. The Bengal Branch, known as Bengal Trades Union Federation, has 12 or 13 Unions affiliated to it, with a membership of over 50,000. They are all registered and have to submit reports and accounts every year to the Registrar of Trades Union.

Mr. N. M. Joshi and other two labour representatives on the Round Table Conference advocated this method (*vide* page 84 of the Minority Report). Mr. Gilchrist of the Bengal Government has emphasised the importance of Labour Unions. Mr. Thompson on behalf of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce admitted in evidence that he has no objection to representation of labour through Trade Unions. There need be no fear that politicians will easily capture Labour Unions in future. In fact a large majority of workers all over India are fed up with political extremists who promoted strikes and three thousands out of employment.

The Government in future will be the sole judge of the *bona fides* of labour unions, before admitting them as special electorates.

Labour must have at least 15 seats in future in Bengal Council of 200, including two representatives of tea plantations and two of coal mines and five seats in the Central or Federal Legislature. which will be mainly responsible for labour legislations.

The Government of India has hitherto recognised the All-India Trade Union Congress and Federation for selection of delegates to the International Labour Conference. The Governments of Bengal and Bombay have nominated labour representatives in Municipal Boards in consultation with *bona fide* Labour Unions (*e.g.*, labour seats in Bhatpara Jute Mill Municipality in Bengal).

It is an admitted fact that next to the Indian National Congress, the labour movement in India is best organised with more than 300,000 members and maintains strong discipline. But for the unfortunate political situation the Trade Unions would have made much more rapid progress. The Bengal Franchise Committee has little or no knowledge of these facts and is prejudiced against Trade Unions because of their exploitation by political extremists.

Group, unless it is universal or direct, is out of the question. The next best suggestion if Trade Unions are not favoured is that made by the Simon Commission, *viz.*, that in every province the Governor should nominate labour representatives in agreement with suitable labour organisations following the procedure laid down in the Treaty of Versailles for selection of delegates to the International Labour Conference.

K. C. ROY CHOWDHURY.

Minute on the " depressed classes " by Mr. M. B. Mullick, M.L.C., Member, Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee, dated 12th March 1932.

1. *Hindu topography—Indications of.*—The term " Hindu " does not indicate any homogenous race. Of the various castes coming under the term " Hindu ", there is hardly anything in common between one and another so far as their internal affairs are concerned, though they all profess the Hindu religion and are also governed by the Hindu Laws. It is therefore impossible to try to find out any community of interest between these various castes. But even with various differences, there are certain castes which can be grouped together in consideration of their enjoyment of political and social privileges in common with one another. For instance, the three topmost castes under the Hindu topography, namely, the Brahmin, the Vaidya, and the Kayastha, practically go together; and though there is no intermarriage between the three castes and even amongst the several subsects of each of them, they enjoy all other privileges, social and political, together in that they have the common social servants, the priest and the barber, to serve them, and in matters of education and state patronage they have jointly got the largest share in between themselves.

2. *Caste-Hindus.*—It is almost an admitted fact that the said three castes have so far determined the hierarchy of various Hindu castes on account of their privileged position and that they have always exercised a very great influence upon the ruling authorities of the country. For some reason or other they have given, according to their estimation, some status to the next batch of castes known as the Navashaks or the nine branches, namely, the Karmakar (blacksmith), the Kumabhakar (potter), the Napit (barber), etc. These are the nine castes from whom the above three high castes would take water and that they would not consider the former " untouchable " from any point of view. Their touch or presence either in the kitchen or the temple would not pollute the food or drink or even defile the articles of worship.

Leaving the aforesaid twelve castes, the rest might practically go together ; but that with their progress and education and with their economic and political advancement some other castes have raised themselves in the estimation of the first three castes. Amongst these may be mentioned the Shahas and Subarnabaniks (the rich mercantile and land-owning communities in Bengal) and also the Mahishyas or Chashi-Kaibarthas. How the rich position of the Shahas and Subarnabaniks has worked upon the rigidity of Hindu orthodoxy will be evident from the fact that even in the Hindu orthodox dining hall of the Lowis Jubilee Sanitarium at Darjeeling, the Shahas and Subarnabaniks are allowed to take their food in the same dining hall with the Brahmins, the Vaidyas and the Kayasthas ; but that no castes belonging to the depressed classes of the Hindus is allowed to have his meal in any portion of the said dining hall. In the Government Hindu High English School at Calcutta where only the Brahmins, the Vaidyas and the Kayasthas are allowed, they have admitted the

Subarnabaniks ; but they do not admit any caste of the depressed classes.

3. " *Depressed classes* "—*Who they are.*—There has been no attempt made so far to define the term " depressed class ". I am also obliged to concede that it is not quite possible to give a cut and dry definition of the term. But the matter will be clear from the analysis of the Hindu topography of castes given above. Though there cannot be a correct definition, yet looking at the events as have happened certain indications can surely be given of the castes who would come under the " depressed classes ". Amongst these criteria, may be mentioned the following :—

(*a*) Castes, from whose hands the three high caste or even the Navashakhas (that is, the caste-Hindus) would not accept water and whose presence either in the kitchen or in the room where water and cooked food are kept, would pollute the same according to their estimation.

(*b*) Castes, who would not be allowed into any Public temple and whose presence in the same would defile articles of worship.

(*c*) Castes, who would not be allowed to enter or to have their meals inside the dining room of a hotel or eating house run by the aforesaid caste-Hindus.

(*d*) Castes, at whose socio-religious functions Srotriya Brahmins (that is, the priests) officiating in such functions in the house of the caste-Hindus, would not officiate.

(*e*) Castes, who would not be served by the Srotriya Napit (that is, the Barber) whose services are necessary in various socio-religious function of the Hindus.

4. *Implications of the term " unapproachability " and " untouchability "*.—Some confusion has been sought to be made by the introduction of such terms as " unapproachability " or " untouchability " as being the only defining factors of the depressed classes, as it obtains in Madras and in some other parts of India. The matter can only be looked at from one point of view, namely, that it is not the same consideration in all the different parts of India as would make a particular caste a " depressed class ". The factors differ in different provinces. But the common indication remains, namely, that it is the external expression of an internal feeling of odium by which certain sections of the community are precluded from having anything in common with others in social matters and as a result of which, they are also debarred from the enjoyment of their political rights. This one common factor is expressed in one province in the shape of denial of entrance into schools or public temples, in another in the shape of denial of having any access to public wells or tanks, in another in the shape of refusal of having meals inside the public hotels or eating houses and in others again in the shape

of denial of social services from social servants; but that they all lead to show that these castes are refused the enjoyment of their political rights.

It was thus observed by the Indian Statutory Commission in their report (Volume I, page 39) :—" In Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces, although there are large numbers belonging to untouchable castes, in general they do not seem to suffer so universally or so severely as in the south. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the problem does not exist in these provinces."

Regarding the condition of the untouchables the said Report observes on page 39, Volume I, that considerable efforts have been made in recent years by social reformers and by Government for the amelioration of the state of the depressed classes, but progress has been, and is likely to remain, slow. Modern changes in the external conditions of daily life are not without effect, but the breaking down of the barriers cannot but be exceedingly gradual.

5. *The communities coming under the "depressed classes" and their numbers.*—Taking the above criteria, I am of opinion that the following castes* (stated in Schedule A below) would come under the term " depressed classes ".

Their number would be over ten millions. The correct figures may be obtained from the Government Census Department. They would thus be over 20 per cent. of the total population in Bengal.

The Statutory Commission in their Report, Volume 1, page 40, gives the number of the depressed classes in Bengal at 11·5 millions or 24½ per cent. of the total population. At that time they were not quite clear in their estimation, as it now appears that one of the castes called the " Mahishyas or Chasi-Kaibartas " have taken exception to their being included in the category of the depressed classes.

6. *Should the " depressed classes " have any representations at all ? If so, on what basis ?*—If the responsible Government or representative Government means that the same should contain the acknowledged representatives of all sections of His Majesty's subjects, the position can never be denied that these vast numbers of people should have their representation on the Legislature of the province. The position cannot also be doubted that regard being had to their number and to their mostly being the producer of national wealth, the said representation must be true and proper as also effective ; and in order that the same result may be achieved, their representation should be from amongst themselves and in proportion to their numerical strength. Everybody now seems to agree on this matter. All the various associations including even the Hindu Mahasabha with Dr. Moonje as its President, agree in this. The only difference between the depressed classes themselves and these others seems to be that while the depressed classes are definitely of opinion that they should have the power and privilege to choose their own true representative from amongst themselves. Others seem

* Page 258.

to think that the depressed classes should be given their proper share of representation but that the same is to be had jointly with the other Hindus. I do not consider it worth while to pursue this point as it has been definitely ruled by the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee that this question is not within the scope of their enquiry.

7. *If "depressed classes" are likely to secure representation of their own choice in the general electorates* ?—Past experience shows that it is not the number that has counted in the matter of securing one's own true representative on the Legislature. For the number of the depressed class electors is not very insignificant and in some of the general constituencies, they are in the majority. With any general extension of the Franchise, the same conditions will continue to exist; and the same factors, namely, the influences of the landlords and of the money-lenders and also of the religious interference coupled with the illiteracy of large sections of them will still continue to exercise the same old influence and they will be debarred from the free exercise of their votes.

Past experience.—While the figures (*vide* pages 174, 351 and 366, Part I, Census Report, 1921) show that they are in fairly large numbers and are in a majority in some of the general constituencies in Bengal, they have not only been unable to send their true representatives but have absolutely failed to secure any representation at all in most of them.

A. First Election of 1920.—The following were the members from the depressed classes in the Council of 1921 :—

(1) Rai Sahib Panchanan Barma, M.A., B.L., M.B.E.—(Rajbangshi) Rangpur.

(2) Mr. Nerode Behari Mullick, M.A., B.L.—(Namasudra) Bakarganj South.

(3) Mr. Hem Chandra Nasker—(Pod) 24-Parganas.

(4) Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikat—(Koch or Rajbangshi) Jalpaiguri.

(5) Babu Rasik Chandra Charmakar—(Chamar) Noakhali.

(6) Mr. Bhismadeb Das—(Namasudra) Nominated.

Of these Babu Rasik Chandra Charmakar, an illiterate member of the "chamar" community was returned uncontested from Noakhali. He was sent to the Council as a sort of ridicule by the political party, that is, the Congress ; his coming to the Council indicates dominant position of the caste-Hindu. Mr. Bhismadeb Das, a leading Namasudra member of Faridpur, was defeated by a caste-Hindu, and he came to the Council by Government nomination. Messrs. Prasanna Deb Raikat and Hem Chandra Nasker were able to come in only because of the fact that they were big landlords. Even then the influence of the latter gave way to that of the caste-Hindus in the following elections when he was returned as a nominee of the caste-Hindus.

Mr. Nerode Behari Mullick was able to get in because there was a triangular fight. The other two candidates being influential landlords,

their contest was keen and the Namasudra candidate got in only by chance.

Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, the true representative of the depressed classes of Khulna, was defeated by a caste-Hindu, while the figures show that they are 333, the caste-Hindus are only 58 in a total population of 500 Hindus.

B. The Second Election of 1923.—The following were the members in the Second Legislative Council of Bengal :—

(1) Rai Sahib Panchanan Barma, M.B.E., M.A., B.L.—(Rajbangshi) Rangpur.

(2) Babu Nagendra Narayan Roy, B.L.—(Rajbangshi) Rangpur.

(3) Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikat—(Koch or Rajbangshi) Jalpaiguri.

(4) Babu Mohini Mohan Das—(Namasudra) Faridpur.

(5) Dr. Charu Chandra Das, L.M.S.—(Dhoba) Nominated.

Babu Mohini Mohan Das has not got any English education at all and he cannot speak in English. He is an inhabitant of Barisal but he came in as a Congress candidate from Faridpur defeating Babu Bhismadeb Das, a true and educated representative of the Namasudra community of the district of Faridpur. The figures show that the depressed classes are 220 and the caste-Hindus are only 62 in a population of 362 Hindus. In the next election when Mr. Hem Chandra Nasker and Mr. Mohini Mohan Das stood independently both of them were defeated.

Messrs. Mukunda Behary Mullick, M.A., B.L., Nerode Behari Mullick, M.A., B.L., Bhismadeb Das, Broja Mohan Mandal, Debendra Nath Biswas, Suresh Chandra Adhikary, B.L., Rajani Kanta Das, B.L., were all defeated by the caste-Hindus from the general constituencies of Khulna, Bakarganj South, Faridpur South, Faridpur North, Jessore South, Jessore North and Dacca.

C. The Third Election of 1926.—The following are the members from the depressed classes in the third Legislative Council of Bengal :—

(1) Mr. Nagendra Narayan Roy, B.L.—(Rajbangshi) Rangpur.

(2) Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikat—(Koch or Rajbangshi) Jalpaiguri.

(3) Mr. Hem Chandra Nasker—(Pod) 24-Parganas.

(4) Rai Sahib Rebati Mohan Sarkar—(Namasudra) Nominated.

In this election also Messrs. Mukunda Behary Mullick, M.A., B.L., Kamini Kumar Samodar, B.A., Jogendra Nath Sarkar, B.L., Debendra Nath Biswas, Bhismadeb Das also contested in the general constituencies, but that they were defeated by the caste-Hindus. Mr. Hem Chandra came in as a Congress nominee.

D. The Fourth Election of 1929.—In this Council there were the following members to start with :—

(1) Rai Sahib Panchanan Barma, M.A., B.L., M.B.E.—(Rajbangshi) Rangpur.

(2) Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikat—(Koch or Rajbangshi) Jalpaiguri.

(3) Mr. Hem Chandra Nasker—(Pod) 24-Parganas.

(4) Mr. Mohini Mohan Das—(Namasudra) Faridpur South.

(5) Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick, M.A., B.L.—(Namasudra) Nominated.

(6) Rai Sahib Rebati Mohan Sarkar—(Namasudra) Nominated.

Mr. Hem Chandra Nasker and Mr. Mohini Mohan Das came in only as Congress nominees, but for which they would have never been returned. Mr. Hem Chandra Nasker has also practically no English education. With the resignation of the Congress nominees from the Council these two gentlemen also resigned their seats.

E. The Bye-Elections of 1930.—With the adoption of the resolution by the Congress to non-co-operate the caste-Hindus, a large section of whom belong to the Congress group, did not take any part in this election and they practically boycotted the same. As a result the following other gentlemen were returned uncontested to the Council in February and May 1930 :—

(1) Mr. Sarat Chandra Bal, B.L.—(Namasudra) Faridpur South.

(2) Mr. Amulyadhan Roy, B.L.—(Namasudra) Jessore South.

(3) Mr. Lalit Kumar Bal, B.L.—(Namasudra) Bakarganj South.

(4) Mr. Nagendra Narayan Roy, B.L.—(Rajbangshi) Rangpur East.

(5) Babu Hoseini Rout—(Methar) Midnapur North.

Of these Babu Hoseini Rout, a sweeper by occupation and who does not know to sign his name even, has been sent to the Council by the caste-Hindus as a sort of ridicule.

Even in the bye-election of 1930, when there was a contest, as it was in Khulna, the depressed class candidate, a B. L., was defeated by a Matriculate caste-Hindu.

Our experience and the review of the results of the previous elections indicated above, show clearly that the depressed classes will not be able to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates under a Joint System of Elections.

8. *The number of seats the "depressed classes" can have under the new constitution.*—The Indian Statutory Commission in their report (Volume 2, page 67) recommended thus :—" The proportion of the number of such reserved seats to the total number of seats in all the Indian general constituencies should be three-quarters of the proportion of the depressed class population to the total population of the electoral area of the province. It will be seen therefore that we do not recommend allocating seats to the depressed classes on the basis of their full population ratio. The scale of reserved representation suggested will secure a substantial increase in the number of M. L. C.'s drawn from the depressed classes.

The poverty and want of education which so widely prevail amongst them make it extremely doubtful whether a large number of adequately equipped members could be at once provided, and it is far better that they should be represented by qualified spokesmen rather than by a large number of ineffectives who are only too likely to be subservient to higher castes." I am, however, of opinion that regard being had to the statistics a portion of which is indicated above, the reason assigned by the Indian Statutory Commission for a reduced number of depressed class representatives is more imaginary than real. For some of their representatives, though not superior to a few of the caste-Hindu representatives, are in no way inferior to a large number of their representatives.

Without entering into a further detailed discussion of the matter and considering the claims of the various communities of Bengal I am of opinion that in a Chamber of 200 members in Bengal the depressed classes should at least have 35 seats, if not more, to which they are certainly entitled.

9. *Whether there will be any difficulty in the formation of their constituencies.*—In consideration of their numerical strength and in consideration of the localities in which they generally live, as will appear from the map given on page 11 of the Report on the working of the reformed constitution in Bengal, 1921—1927, prepared by the Government of Bengal there will be no difficulty whatsoever in the formation of their constituencies.

10. *Federal Legislature.*—In consideration of the fact that some of the very important subjects will be all-India subjects under the new constitution, it is only proper and just that the interest of the depressed classes should also be fairly represented on the Federal Legislature along with other special interests.

M. B. MULLICK.

SCHEDULE A.

(Referred to in paragraph 5 above.)

List of depressed classes.

1. Agaria.
2. Bagdi.
3. Bahelia.
4. Baiti.
5. Bauri.
6. Bedia.
7. Beldar.
8. Berua.
9.
10. Bhuinmali.
11. Bhuita.
12. Bhumij.
13. Bind.
14. Binjhia.
15. Chamar.
16. Dalu.
17. Dhami.
18. Dhenuar.
19. Dhobi.
20. Doai.
21. Dom.
22. Dosadh.
23. Garoh.
24. Ghasi.
25. Gonrhi.
26. Hadi.
27. Hajng.
28. Halakhur.
29. Hari.
30. Ho.
31. Jalia-kaibartta.
32. Jhalo, Malo.
33. Kadar.
34. Kalu.
35. Kawar.
36. Kan.
37. Kandh.
38. Kandras.
39. Kaors.
40. Kapali.
41. Kapuria.
42. Karenga.
43. Kaur.
44. Khatik.
45. Kichak.
46. Kochh.
47. Konai.
48. Konvar.
49. Kora.
50. Kotal.
51. Kurariar.
52. Lalbagi.
53. Lodha.
54. Lohar.
55. Mahar.
56. Mahli.
57. Mal.
58. Mallah.
59. Malpahariya.
60. Mochh.
61. Mehtar.
62. Munda.
63. Muchi.
64. Musahar.
65. Nagar.
66. Nagesia.
67. Naiya.
68. Namasudra.
69. Nat.
70. Oraon.
71. Paliya.
72. Pan.
73. Pasi.
74. Patni.
75. Pod.
76. Pundari.

List of depressed classes—contd.

77. Rabha.
78. Raju.
79. Rajwar.
80. Rajbansi.
81. Santal.
82. Shaigirdpesha.
83. Sunri.
84. Teli.
85. Tiyar.
86. Turi.

I agree subject to reservation if adequate number of seats for representatives of depressed classes in the Central Legislature which will deal exclusively with problems of employment in State Railways, Customs, Posts and Telegraphs and other concerns directly under the Central Government.

K. C. ROY CHOWDHURY.

I am in accord that separate electorates should be given the depressed classes.

E. T. McCLUSKIE,—14-3-32.

I agree.

A. F. RAHMAN.

M. A. MUMIN.

So do I.

TAMIZUDDIN KHAN.

The Minorities Pact agreed to separate representation for "Depressed Classes" and therefore I think the principle in their case should be granted.

C. G. COOPER.

I am in favour of separate representation for the depressed classes for the present.

F. W. ROBERTSON,—17-3-32.

Note by Mrs. P. K. Bose on Women's Suffrage and Women's Representation.

1. Women are actually carrying on social and educational works and it would not be proper to deny them their right to vote in the elections to the Legislature. Giving women votes will make them realise their sense of responsibility and divert their energies into desirable activities.

2. Unless the basis of franchise is a fair one, women will go unrepresented. Therefore it is essential to widen women's franchise and I suggest the following qualifications :—

(A) Possession of property or payment of taxes, rates and cesses on a much reduced scale than at present (this may be the same as adopted for men).

(B) Literacy—Women above 21 years of age.

(C) Being the wives and widows (of the age of 25 years and over) of men who have or had votes. Where there are more than one wife or widow, only one may be given a vote.

3. According to the above recommendation—

(A) Present property, etc., basis enfranchises—40,971 women. Lowered property qualification may enfranchise additional—2,000 women.

(B) Literacy—Taken from Census—375,232 women.

(C) As wives of men voters per Union Board electorate—1,288,000 women.

As widows of men voters per Union Board electorate—1,262,000 women.

Total available by direct method 2,986,203 women (as against 40,971 now).

There may be some over-lapping, but approximately there would be about 2½ million direct voters or 10 per cent. of the total women population.

4. If the indirect system be adopted for men who do not come in as direct voters, then it would be advisable to bring in the rest of the adult women as well, and have separate primary groups for women. The nominees of these groups may exercise votes as though they were directly qualified.

5. The voting qualifications being decided upon, it will be necessary to consider the system of electorates for women. Separate or communal

electorates for women are not in my opinion necessary or desirable in case of direct voters and in the secondary stage. "The sheer weight of numbers" provides ultimately a more effective safeguard than any system of separate electorates. But separate entrances for men and women in the same polling station might be allowed.

6. Qualifications of candidates should be required to be a little higher than those of electors both as regards age and in other respects.

7. It will be possible to ensure the return of women to the legislature by reserving for women—say five seats in a house of 200 members. There are five divisions in Bengal and one seat from each division may be so reserved. If it is possible to create multi-member constituencies one seat in each of these may be reserved for women, the rest being open alike to both men and women. The provision of multi-member constituencies on the above lines will, to my mind, pave the way for the introduction of general electorates in the near future.

8. In case any of the reserved seats remain vacant, I would suggest as the next best method, a system of co-option by the members of the Legislature, by a single transferable vote.

9. As their admission to the Council ought to depend on the vote of a constituency composed of electors of both sexes, I do not approve of a special constituency of literate women only as suggested in the additional Questionnaire, paragraph 10.

10. If a Second Chamber is feasible then women should have a seat.

MRS. P. K. BOSE.

Letter from Messrs. N. K. Basu, R. P. Sinha Ray, S. M. Bose, and B. C. Chatterjee, to the Chairman and Members of the Indian Franchise Committee, dated the 21st March 1932.

We the undersigned members of the Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee are much surprised to find that several of our colleagues have at this late stage thought fit to countersign Mr. Mullick's note without any reference to the Committee.

At the meeting of the Provincial Committee held on the 8th March 1932 (which was attended by all members of the Committee except the two official members), the answer to Q. 5C (*iii*) was agreed to by every single member except Mr. Mullick who was allowed to submit a note.

These proceedings were confirmed on the 12th March and Mr. Mullick submitted a note to which were attached some highly obtruse remarks

by Mr. K. C. Roy Chowdhury. It may be noted in passing that Mr. Mullick has traversed grounds far in excess of the scope allowed him by the resolution of the 12th March.

The Committee was dissolved on the same day.

Now, more than a week later, come these signatures. How this has been achieved and with what voice the signatories are now speaking we are not in a position to understand, but we protest against the manner in which the so-called "Minorities Pact" is now sought to be brought in after the dissolution of the Committee, and also the manner in which the decision of the Provincial Committee is sought to be altered.

Miscellaneous correspondence with the Local Government on matters arising out of replies to Questionnaires.

APPENDIX.

(a) Number of Depressed Classes.

TELEGRAM FROM THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, NO. E-601-BEN., DATED THE 12TH APRIL 1932.

Please refer to first paragraph Government of Bengal's original reply to Franchise Committees questionnaire. Should be glad to have by telegram Government's decision as to the communities which should be included as belonging to the depressed classes. Reference your answer to Additional Questionnaire question to please report urgently views of local officers on feasibility of coloured box system.

TELEGRAM FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, NO. 7956-A., DATED THE 16TH APRIL 1932.

Your telegram E-601-Ben. dated twelfth April Depressed Classes please make following provisional corrections to list of Depressed Classes according to census 1931 appended to Bengal Governments answers to additional Questionnaire. For Jhalo Malo 10005 read Jhalo Malo or Malo 198099 for Kaira read Kharia add Rajbanshi 1804371 Kurmi 194652 Kastha 2601 Koiri 16021 Khandait 34328 for total 8071201, read total 10311268. Figures in respect of last three castes incomplete as these are for some districts only local Governments decision as to the communities which should be included as belonging to depressed classes has not yet been reached and will not be available before end of April at earliest.

Replies

of the

Government of the United Provinces

and the

U. P. Provincial Franchise Committee

to the

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UNITED PROVINCES.

Visit of the Indian Franchise Committee to Lucknow (7th—9th February 1932).

Memorandum by the Government of the United Provinces.

I

LETTER NO. 64-R., DATED LUCKNOW, THE 2ND FEBRUARY 1932, FROM THE UNITED PROVINCES GOVERNMENT, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICITY AND REFORMS.

In your demi-official letter No. F. 183/31-R. of the 6th January, to Clay, you asked the local Government to furnish copies of their provisional views and material for the Indian Franchise Committee not less than four days before its arrival at the provincial headquarters. The United Provinces Government regret that in the short time available they have not been able to collect new statistics or form fresh views on the various points covered by the questionnaire. They can at present merely place before the Committee the material previously supplied to the Indian Statutory Commission. This consists of the following :—

*(1) *United Provinces Government's report on the working of the system of the Government for the years 1921—1928.*—Reference is invited to paragraphs 163 to 180 on pages 149 to 166, paragraphs 284 and 285 on pages 445 and 446 and paragraphs 341 to 343 on pages 482 and 483 which contain an account of the existing electoral machinery of these provinces, including the franchise for local boards. The position of the depressed classes and of labour is stated in paragraphs 173 (*iv*) and (*v*) on pages 158 to 160. Reference is also invited to paragraphs 1 to 14 of part X on pages 559 to 570 which discuss certain proposals for the widening of the franchise, the system of election and communal and special electorates.

†(2) *Report of the Committee appointed by the United Provinces Legislative Council to co-operate with the Indian Statutory Commission.*—Paragraphs 22 to 25 and 70 to 73 may be seen.

(3) *United Provinces Government's letter No. 4949-C., dated the 23rd August 1930, to the Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Reforms Office, paragraphs 21 to 34 and appendices D and E.*—These extracts contain the views of the United Provinces Government on the recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission relating to the franchise and representation of various classes and bodies in the Legislative Council.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER OF THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, REFORMS OFFICE, NO. 4949-C., DATED THE 23RD AUGUST 1930.

Communal representation.

"21. This Government are not concerned with the representation of Sikhs, non-Brahmins or Mahrattas, and in their consideration of this

*Published in Volume IX of the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission.
†Published in Volume III of the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission.

question of communal representation propose to confine themselves to the cases of Muslims, Indian Christians and depressed classes. They are in full agreement with the view of the Commission that the subject of communal representation is pre-eminently one which the rival communities should settle among themselves, but that in the absence of any new agreement between Hindus and Muslims communal representation for the latter community must be continued in this province for the present. The Commission have considered three different methods of securing such representation, namely, (1) by means of a system of reserved seats, (2) by means of a system of reserved seats combined with a system of previous selection of candidates by Muslim electors alone, and (3) by means of a system of proportional representation. They have rejected the first and third of these methods, and this Government agree with their view that the first would be entirely unacceptable to the Muslim community generally and that the third is at present impracticable. The Commission have suggested that the second method, called by them the system of " primaries," should be further considered by both communities to see if it provides a basis of agreement. This Government are not yet in a position to state what the views of the Muslim community generally are likely to be on this question, but I am to say that Nawab Sir Ahmad Sa'id Khan and all His Excellency's Ministers are opposed to the introduction of this system of election, and that this Government have reason to believe that that view would be endorsed by a majority of Muslims in this province. The Government as a whole accept the view that in the absence of agreement between the two great communities separate Muslim electorates must be continued.

Representation of depressed classes.

" 22. At present the Governor nominates one member to represent classes which in his opinion are depressed classes. In his report to the Commission the Governor in Council recommended that in future the Governor should nominate five persons to represent depressed and backward classes. The committee of the United Provinces Legislative Council agreed that representation of both these classes should be by nomination and recommended that the number of representatives should be fifteen. The Commission have gone far beyond these recommendations. They reject the system of nomination on the ground that it provides no opportunity for training these classes in politics. They also reject separate electorates on general grounds of principle and also on two special grounds, namely, (1) that exact definition would be difficult and (2) that such electorates are likely to militate against the rise of these classes in the social scale. They therefore propose that seats should be reserved in the non-Muslim constituencies to be filled by the votes of the non-Muslim general electorates, and that the Governor should be required to certify which candidates are authorized to seek election. They realize that difficulty may for some time be experienced in finding sufficient suitable candidates among the depressed classes themselves, and suggest that, if this difficulty does arise, the Governor should for ten years, and in respect of half the number of reserved seats only, have the power either (1) to allow other than members of such classes to stand for election on

their behalf, or (2) to nominate such other persons to reserved seats. Finally, the Commission recommend that the number of reserved seats should be fixed on the following principle—the proportion of the number of reserved seats to the total number of seats in all the Indian general constituencies should be three-fourths of the proportion of the depressed class population to the total population of the electoral area of the province. The Government of India will not expect this Government at the present stage to enter into a detailed and exhaustive examination of this difficult question. The matter is one which will require careful investigation by the Franchise Committee which the Commission recommend. This Government therefore confine themselves to an expression of opinion on the main principles involved.

"23. The Commission's proposal, as understood by this Government, would result in the return to the legislature of this province of about forty representatives of the depressed classes. The basis of this proposal is not the probable electoral strength of these classes but their total strength. The Commission have made no attempt to estimate their electoral strength. All that they say on this subject is that "there are, even with the present restricted franchise, a sufficient number of depressed class voters to make methods of election possible, at all events, in many areas." This Government have not the necessary information to enable them to say whether that statement is or is not accurate so far as this province is concerned. Their own opinion is that if the term "depressed classes" is defined with some strictness and held to include only the members of those castes which follow an occupation which is generally regarded as degrading, the number of persons belonging to those classes who are at prsesent enfranchised will be found to be comparatively small. Even if the franchise be lowered, so long as the main qualification is the payment of rent for land or of land revenue, the number is likely to remain comparatively small, for the reason that the main occupation of these castes is not cultivation. Speculation in a matter of this kind is however useless and actual facts must be ascertained. The Governor in Council is not prepared to accept the proposal that the representation of these classes should be based on their total strength. This would give them a representation out of all proportion to their political importance. It is therefore essential to find out what the probable voting strength of these classes will be on whatever franchise is to be fixed for the general electorate—for there can be no question of a special franchise—and thereafter to consider what number of representatives can suitably be allotted. This Government propose therefore to initiate inquiries immediately so that they may have some material which they can put before the Franchise Committee and which may form a basis for their own proposals.

"24. This Government also disagree with the Commission in regard to the method of election. They agree that it is desirable to introduce some system of election in place of nomination, but they dislike the proposal that the election should be made by the non-Muslim electorate to a number of reserved seats. As explained in the extract which will be found in the appendix*, from a note by Raja

* Pages 278—280.

Bahadur Kushalpal Singh, this is not what the depressed class leaders themselves ask for, and it is not likely to satisfy them. The Commission themselves admit that separate electorates are more likely to secure the return of an adequate number of persons who enjoy the confidence of the depressed classes. That admission suggests the vital objection to their proposal, namely, that in the general non-Muslim constituencies the depressed class voters will be far outnumbered by the other voters and the members returned will be those who are supported by the majority of voters, as distinct from the depressed class voters. The Commission's proposal will not in fact give the depressed classes members who will be trusted by them to represent their special interests. The alternative is separate electorates. These no doubt have their own disadvantages, but if the initial difficulty of creating an electorate can be overcome, this Government consider that these classes should not, on a purely theoretical ground, be denied a privilege which has already been given to Muslims and Europeans and which it is proposed to give to Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. The objection that such an electorate will involve stigmatizing each elector and will militate against his rise in the social scale is not one that is likely to weigh with those principally concerned, and if the representatives in the legislature must be stigmatized, and even the Commission's proposal involves this, there seems no reason why the voters should not be. It is at least arguable also that the position of these classes is more likely to be improved by securing real representation in the local legislature than by the ineffective form of representation suggested by the Commission. The real difficulty lies in forming an electorate. This Government are not at present prepared to say more on this point than that they propose to investigate the matter in the hope that they may be in a position to put concrete proposals for an electorate before the Franchise Committee.

Indian Christian representation.

" 25. The Indian Christian community is at present represented in this province by one nominated member. The Commission propose that representation should in future be by election, they prefer a system of reservation of seats to separate electorates and they recommend that the number of representatives be increased from one to two. The total number of Indian Christians in this province at the census of 1921 was 169,000. The number of electors, even with the extended franchise, will therefore be comparatively small. No figures are at present available showing the distribution of Indian Christians among the various districts of the province, but it can be said with confidence that it will not be possible in this province to make a satisfactory arrangement whereby two seats will be reserved for Indian Christians. If nomination is to be substituted by election, then it seems practically inevitable that a separate electorate should be established. This Government have no objection to the increase in the number of representatives from one to two.

University representation.

" 26. The Commission obviously are not convinced of the desirability of retaining university representation and have confined them-

selves to a halting expression of opinion that the existing university seats should be retained. There is some division of opinion on this subject among the Members of this Government. His Excellency the Governor and the two Members of the Executive Council see no advantage in retaining the one university seat in this province. University members do not represent any special interests and the university electors undoubtedly receive adequate representation through the general constituencies. His Excellency's Ministers feel some difficulty in agreeing to the withdrawal of a privilege at present enjoyed. They would therefore prefer to retain the existing seat. They would not, however, confine it to the Allahabad University, but would either have a joint electorate formed from the three provincial universities of Allahabad, Lucknow and Agra, or in the alternative they would allow each university to elect the member in turn.

Representation of labour.

" 27. Labour at present receives no special representation in this province. The Commission recommend that the duty of drawing up rules for securing labour representation should be imposed on the Governor and they would leave it to him to resort to nomination if he considers a system of election impossible. As regards the number of labour representatives, they content themselves with expressing the view that, if suitable members are available, the proportion of labour representation should be increased. The position in this province in regard to the representation of labour interests was fully explained in this Government's report to the Commission, and I am to say that this Government do not anticipate that a system of election will be possible. In the absence of any labour organizations which are capable of putting up a panel of candidates from whom selections could be made, this Government at present see no alternative to a system of nomination pure and simple, and they are prepared to accept the Commission's proposal which will probably result in the Governor nominating one or two labour representatives.

Representation of great landholders.

" 28. The great landholders of this province have special electorates which return six members to the legislative council. On the ground that their standing and reputation and the influence which they exert in their own localities have enabled them to share a large number of seats in the general constituencies and are therefore such as to render special protection unnecessary, the Commission have, subject to a certain safeguard to secure them their present representation, recommended the withdrawal of their special representation. This Government are unable to endorse the Commission's recommendation. Though all the Members of Government hold the same views on the general principles involved, I am to refer the Government of India to the extracts E (*i*) and (*ii*)*, which will be found in the appendix, from notes by Nawab Sir Ahmad Sa'id Khan and His Excellency's Ministers. Government hold that the representation which the great landholders have been able to secure

* Pages 280—281.

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has not been disproportionate to their political importance in present conditions. It is almost inevitable that as the electorate gains political experience, it will tend to prefer representatives drawn from sources other than the great landed families, and the need for special representation is likely to increase rather than decrease. It is peculiarly unfortunate that the Commission have singled out this one class to be deprived of a privilege at present enjoyed, while at the same time recommending the grant of special representation on a wider scale for some classes of little political importance and the retention of the special representation of another class—university graduates—to which the arguments used in the case of the landholders apply with even greater force. This Government are unanimously and strongly in favour of the retention of the special representation of the great landholders at the existing ratio, and the Governor in Council desires to repeat the recommendation placed before the Commission, which was that the number of representatives be increased to twelve, seven to be elected by Agra landholders, four by the Oudh taluqdars and one by the Oudh landholders other than taluqdars, and that all these representatives except the last be elected by proportional representation on the system of the single transferable vote. His Excellency's Ministers would go further and give the landholders sixteen representatives, as recommended by the Indian Central Committee, but, differing in this from that Committee, would allot ten seats to be filled by the Agra Province Zamindars' Association, five to be filled by the British Indian Association, and one by Oudh landholders other than taluqdars. I am to add also that the Ministers consider that similar bodies of equal status in other provinces should also return their own representatives by separate electorates to both chambers of the provincial councils and also to the Federal Assembly and the Council of State.

Nominated members.

"29. The Commission propose that apart from a power to nominate members representative of certain special classes where election is impossible or fails to give a specified amount of representation, the Governor should have a discretionary power of nomination which should be used particularly to ensure more adequate representation of women and labour. They would fix the number of members who may be nominated at between 5 and 10 per cent. of the total fixed seats. In a council of 250 this would give the Governor power to nominate between 12 and 25 members. Apart from officials the Governor in this province now has power to nominate only five members and of these three must be representatives of special interests. There are, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, obvious disadvantages in leaving the Governor so general a power as the Commission propose. However defensible such a power is under the existing constitution, it will clearly become more and more anomalous as the constitution approaches one of complete responsible government. His Excellency in Council is therefore in favour of retaining the power of nomination only to a very restricted extent and in order to secure the representation of definite interests. He sees no reason to

grant any special power of nominating women as such. If this Government's proposals in regard to the representation of great landholders are accepted, then there will be no need for nomination in their case. This Government also hope that it will be possible to secure the representation of Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and depressed classes by election. The only special interest which it will not be possible to get represented by election is that of labour, and this Government have already agreed above to the nomination of one or two labour members. The Commission have said nothing about the nomination of expert members. This Government consider that the Governor should have the power at present conferred by proviso (*b*) to sub-section (2) of section 72-A of the Government of India Act to nominate not more than two persons having special knowledge or experience of the subject matter of any Bill which is before the legislature. Such persons would not necessarily be officials but might, to take one example, in the case of a Bill to regulate religious and charitable endowments, be persons who have had actual experience of the management of such endowments. This Government would also allow the Governor to nominate one person (who would generally be an official) to act as legal adviser to the Government and to assist in dealing with the drafting of Bills during their progress through select committees and the like. The Governor in Council would therefore prefer to restrict the Governor's power of nomination to the following three purposes :—

(1) to secure representatives of labour interests,
(2) to secure the assistance of experts, and
(3) to secure the assistance of a legal adviser and draftsman.

His Excellency's Ministers would, however, have no objection to the Commission's proposal to give the Governor power to nominate members up to 5 or 10 per cent. of the total membership, on the understanding that he would not be restricted to use this power to secure the representation of any special interests such as those of women or labour.

Powers of legislation and finance.

" 30. The special powers of the Governor in relation to legislation and finance have been dealt with in paras. 15 to 17 above*. This Government accept the remaining proposals in regard to legislation and finance contained in paras. 96 to 98 of the Report.

Chapter 3.—The Franchise.

" 31. After referring to the variety of views held in India in regard to the extension of the franchise and to the way in which the views held by various classes and communities are influenced by the manner in which each such class or community is likely to be affected by extension, the Commission have rejected adult franchise as impracticable at the present stage and have recommended that a Franchise Committee should be appointed with instructions to frame schemes which would enfranchise about 10 per cent. of the total population. They have further suggested that a special literary qualification should be introduced and also a special qualification for wives and widows of

* Not printed.

persons qualified for the franchise. Finally, as a complement to their proposal that the legislative council should be permitted to revise the franchise by constitutional resolutions, they have recommended that after an interval of fifteen years a second Franchise Committee should be appointed to review progress and, if 20 per cent. of the population have not by then been enfranchised, to devise means to accelerate progress. The views of this Government on each of these proposals are explained in the following paragraphs.

Proposals for extension.

"32. The Commission base their proposed extension of the franchise on the following grounds :—

(1) That the existing franchise is too limited to provide the material from which to build an adequate scheme of representative government.

(2) That many of those who are at present below the line of qualification are as fit to exercise the vote as those who are above it, and, even if they do not ask for it, the vote must be regarded as an instrument of political education and as a source of political influence.

In this section of their Report the Commission have not referred to the size of constituencies. But they have done so in paras. 205 and 206 of Volume I, and it would appear that one of the reasons which influenced them in proposing so large an extension of the franchise was that such an extension would render possible a reduction of the size of constituencies and a closer touch between members of the legislature and the voters who return them. Their ideas on this point are the outcome of their own experience derived from a country which is predominantly industrial. It may be questioned whether they apply with the same force to a country which is predominantly agricultural and in which 90 per cent. of the people live in an immense number of villages scattered over the country-side. For practical purposes it can make little difference in the relations between the member and his electors whether the constituency contains 2,000 villages or 1,000, and any reduction in the size of constituencies that is within the bounds of possibility is not going to make any real difference from this point of view, nor give either the member or voter a more accurate appreciation of the true meaning of representation. While therefore this Government are not opposed to some extension of the franchise in the hope that the vote may in time prove to be an instrument of political education and a source of political influence, they see no adequate reason for so large an immediate extension as that proposed by the Commission. This Government stated to the Commission that the great majority of the electorate in this province are not only illiterate but also ignorant of and without interest in the affairs of the province as a whole. They do not, however, deny that there is some force in the argument that many of those who are at present without the vote are as fit to exercise it as the majority of existing voters. It is therefore not unreasonable to extend the franchise to a considerable extent, but care must be taken not to make it so large as to place an undue strain on the polling

machinery. This Government have not immediately available all the information which they would like to possess before expressing a considered opinion in regard to the extent to which the franchise can be widened, and for that reason they desire to confine themselves to a provisional expression of opinion on this point. According to figures collected in 1920 the lowering of the principal rural qualifications to a payment of not less than Rs. 25 rent in the case of tenants and not less than Rs. 10 land revenue in the case of landholders will add about 1¼ million to the rural electorate and thus double the number of persons enfranchised by virtue of rent or revenue paying qualifications. This Government are not at present disposed to recommend any larger extension than this. But they would agree to the lowering of the other rural qualifications and also of the urban qualifications, where this can suitably be done, to such a degree as to qualify roughly double the present number of electors. It may be objected that the increase thus proposed is only 100 per cent. instead of the 200 per cent. recommended by the Commission. The reply to that objection is, firstly, that, as already stated, the argument that smaller constituencies will bring member and voter into close touch does not apply to Indian conditions with the same force as it does to English conditions; secondly, that the franchise necessary to secure this Government's 100 per cent. increase will be approximately the same as that required for the Commission's higher increase with the exception of the special women's qualification which this Government for reasons given below are not prepared to accept; and, thirdly, that it would be unwise to lower the qualifications still further at the present stage.

Literary qualification.

"33. This Government are divided in their views on the proposed literary qualification. His Excellency the Governor and the Members of the Executive Council are opposed to this innovation. His Excellency's Ministers accept the principle of the Commission's proposal, but two of them would prefer that the actual qualification should be somewhat different. Hitherto the main principle of the franchise has been based on some property qualification, and until it is shown that it is impossible to retain that principle and at the same time widen the franchise to the extent desirable, the Governor in Council would prefer to have no purely literary qualification. The Commission suggest two reasons in support of their proposal, namely, that it would bring in voters of better education, and that it would provide for an increase in the number of electors in proportion to the spread of education. In reply to these reasons it can be argued that the test proposed is so low that it will not bring in really educated men and that the majority of men who are educated have, and in future may be expected to continue to have, a property qualification of some kind or other. It is, however, true that the present qualifications disenfranchise many members of joint Hindu families, and for this, as well as for general reasons, the Ministers would like to see a literary qualification introduced. Nawab Muhammad Yusuf and Maharaj Kumar Mahijit Singh would extend the franchise to those who have passed the matriculation or other

equivalent examination or a recognized proficiency examination in a vernacular or classical language. Raja Bahadur Kushalpal Singh would accept the qualification proposed by the Commission.

Special qualification for women.

" 34. The Commission have expressed considerable concern at the small number of women who are enfranchised and a desire to see a substantial increase in the present ratio of women to men voters. In order to effect this they have suggested that it may be found possible to add to the present qualifications two others, namely, (*i*) being the wife, over 25 years of age, of a man who has a property qualification to vote, and (*ii*) being a widow over that age whose husband at the time of his death was so qualified. In addition they would apply their proposed educational qualification to women over 21 years of age as well as to men. These proposals are of a far-reaching nature and must be considered in relation to existing facts. In this province the great majority of the voters are ignorant and illiterate villagers. Whatever can be said of their competency as voters it can hardly be questioned that the wives of most of them are even more ignorant and illiterate and that many of those who are of a better status would be prevented by social customs from exercising the vote. The practical result of the proposal would indeed be to give to the low caste Hindu voter, whose wife is able to go to the poll, a second vote and thus give him twice the voting power of many of the higher caste Hindus and also of many of the Muslims. In the opinion of this Government the means of extending the women's franchise can best be left to be dealt with by the people themselves under the powers which it is proposed to grant to the new legislative councils.

Appendix.

Extracts from notes by Hon'ble Captain Sir Ahmad Sa'id Khan and His Excellency's Ministers.

D

Depressed classes.

" The importance of depressed classes lies in the fact that they include within their fold lakhs of humble tillers of the soil and also real agricultural castes such as Kachhis, Lodhas, Kurmis, Murao, Koeri, Tharus, Bhuksas, etc. Had it not been for Tharus and Bhuksas the culturable land of the Tarai would have remained uncultivated . . . . The importance of the depressed classes will fully appear from the following very pertinent observations of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru :—

> '" I do say what is my most sincere conviction, that unless you are able to solve your own social problems about the depressed classes and the untouchables, I do not see any real prospect for real genuine constitutional advance, and any Constitution that you may get will certainly not arouse any

> interest in me, because I do feel, howsoever good, howsoever perfect, howsoever ideal your Constitution may be, unless you have got the support of the minorities and unless you command the confidence of those whom in your vanity you may describe as depressed classes, your Constitution will not be worth a day's purchase." '

So far as my information goes, suitable representatives of the depressed classes will be forthcoming to fill 40 seats on the Council.

" The Simon Commission admit that most of the depressed class associations which appeared before them favoured separate electorates with seats allocated on the basis of population. The United Provinces Adi-Hindu (Depressed Classes) Leaders' Conference was held at Allahabad on July 23. " This Conference while thanking the members of the Indian Statutory Commission for taking a keen interest in the cause of the depressed classes, strongly protests against their recommendation of a joint electorate system and is of opinion that nothing short of a separate electorate would ameliorate the social and political status of the depressed classes." The Simon Commission concede that " Separate electorates would no doubt be the safest method of securing the return of an adequate number of persons who enjoy the confidence of the depressed classes." But they are averse from recommending separate electorates for them on the ground that separate electorates will prevent their political amalgamation with other Hindus. They have ignored one important fact. The depressed classes are not a homogeneous body. They consist of a large number of heterogeneous clans which are socially distinct and are kept apart from one another by a spirit of rigid exclusiveness and separation. They entirely lack cohesion and are scattered all over the province. Although according to our *Shastras*, as interpreted by the Calcutta High Court, the various sub-divisions of the Shudra caste can intermarry, but in actual practice intermarriage between them is impossible. The depressed classes have been divided into separate clans by very sharply defined boundaries over which it is impossible for one to pass to another. Ethnologically they are so many tribes and clans, with separate histories and customs. There should be two distinct stages in the process of their political amalgamation with the high caste Hindus. The first stage should be that they should be brought together and welded into one political unit. Their unification into one political unit will be seriously retarded if the system recommended by the Simon Commission is adopted. Their voting strength will be much smaller than that of the high caste Hindus. A member of the depressed classes who wants to get himself elected will look rather to the ease with which he can secure election to the council than to the political education of his order. He will naturally solicit the support of the high caste Hindus who will be both numerous and influential . . . When such a candidate is returned to the council, he will be a servile follower of the high caste Hindus and will be more concerned to keep their favour than to represent the interests of his own order . . . If the system recommended by the Simon Commission is adopted, the candidates returned to council will not only show no interest in the welfare of the

depressed classes but will regard themselves as members of the high castes and in no way allied to the depressed classes. The result will be that the concession proposed by the Simon Commission instead of being a blessing will be a veritable curse to them . . . —(*Raja Bahadur Kushalpal Singh*).

E

Representation of great landholders.

(i)

" The chief reason that they have given for the abolition of the special representation of the zamindars is that they have been able to capture enough seats in the legislatures through the general electorates. That is true ; but it is equally true in the case of other special constituencies. For instance, graduates, professors, teachers and *ex*-teachers come into the councils through the general electorates and yet the universities are given representation. Similarly, men of business and commerce in the Assembly and the councils have often been elected through the general constituencies. Is there any reason why they should be given special seats, while the special seats of the landlords should be taken away ? If we compare the number of landlords returned to the council in the election of 1924 with those returned in the election of 1927, we find that while in 1924, according to the memorandum of the United Provinces Government, there were 51 landlords, their number has come down to 45 in 1927. With the widening of the franchise I am sure that the chances of the landlords of getting into the councils from the general constituencies will be greatly reduced. But this is not all. The real point is this : that the landlords elected by the general constituencies will perforce try to represent the views of their constituencies in the legislature. Again and again I have noticed in the legislative council that while the landlords representing the special constituencies boldly took a line of their own in regard to a particular proposal, the other landlords, in spite of their sympathy with the proposal, opposed it because they were afraid of their constituencies. A landlord elected by a general constituency will never be able to go against the wishes of his constituents —(*Sir Ahmad Sa'id Khan.*)

(ii)

" We are bound to say that the withdrawal of the rights of the zamindars and taluqdars to be represented through their own associations is a very retrograde and unjustifiable recommendation. The arguments advanced by the Commissioners that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report contemplated only as a temporary arrangement to give representation to the zemindars through a separate special electorate of their own and that they did not desire it to be a permanent feature cannot be accepted as incontrovertible. While it may be arguable on the basis of a certain expression which occurs in the recommendations of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, namely, " we must give them special measure of representation, if they need it *at the outset*, but it may be that their

political education like the ryots will come mainly by pressure of events", that it was not meant to be a permanent feature. It cannot be denied that the power of the zemindars, as has been found all over the world, is bound to decline gradually, and if special representation to zemindars was found necessary to be given from the very beginning, it is even more necessary now when the working of the Reforms has shown that the majority of the zemindars has decreased after every general election under the Reforms. The alternative suggested that the Governor may nominate zemindars in the legislature if the representation is not adequate according to the representation guaranteed to them under the present Constitution is, in our opinion, extremely unsatisfactory and cannot be acceptable to the zemindars . . . We are of opinion that at least sixteen seats should be allotted to the Agra Province Zemindars' Association and the British Indian Association of Oudh to return their representatives to the council, as has been recommended by the Indian Central Committee or even more proportionately to the total strength of the council—(*Honourable Ministers' joint note*)."

II

(i) Proceedings of Meetings of the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee at which the Questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee was considered.

(*a*) *Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Franchise Committee held on February 1, 1932.*

The United Provinces Franchise Committee met at 11 A. M. in the Committee Room of the Council House.

The following members were present:—

(1) Rai Rajeshwar Bali Sahib, O.B.E., M.L.C.
(2) Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh Sahib, M.L.C.
(3) Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, M.L.C.
(4) Mr. H. C. Desanges, M.L.C.
(5) Mr. Rama Charana, Rai Sahib, M.L.C.
(6) Mrs. J. P. Srivastava, M.L.C.
(7) Mr. H. N. Kunzru.
(8) Mr. J. H. Darwin, I.C.S.
(9) Dr. K. N. Malaviya, Advocate.
(10) Babu Ram Sahai Sahib.
(11) Rao Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh, M.L.C.
(12) Dr. S. S. Nehru, I.C.S.

Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain proposed that Rai Rajeshwar Bali Sahib, M.L.C., be elected Chairman of the United Provinces Franchise

Committee. Mr. H. C. Desanges seconded the proposal. The Committee agreed. Rai Rajeshwar Bali then took the chair. It was agreed that Dr. Nehru should act as Secretary.

Dr. Nehru explained the scope of the Provincial Franchise Committee's enquiry and said that the Indian Franchise Committee desire to have the provisional views of the Provincial Committee as early as possible. These views, and the material which the local Government have, would be forwarded to the Indian Franchise Committee and would form the basis of their discussion when the Indian Franchise Committee arrive on February 7. The Committee noted that the Indian Franchise Committee are arriving here on February 7 and again on March 19. They desire it to be informed that February 8 and 9 would not suit the Muslim members of the Committee on acount of *Id*, and March 22 to 24 would not suit the Hindu members on account of *Holi*.

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The Committee decided to consider items 1 and 2 of the questionnaire the following day.

The meeting then adjourned at 12 A. M.

S. S. NEHRU, *Secretary.* RAJESHWAR BALI, *Chairman.*

(*b*) *Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Franchise Committee held on February 2, 1932.*

All members were present.

(1) The Indian Franchise Committee's telegram suggesting a representation of labour on the Committee was read and considered. It was thought that sufficient time was not left for taking any effective action in the matter. Moreover, there were members on this Committee with sufficient experience of labour conditions and capable of putting the view-point of labour.

* * * * * * * *

The Committee proceeded to discuss the first section of the questionnaire regarding the extension of the franchise. Paragraphs (*a*) and (*f*) were considered first.

I.—(*a*) The means discussed and suggested were the lowering of property qualifications and introduction of literacy qualifications. The Committee then passed on to consider (*f*).

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It was agreed, after some discussions on a basis of castes, that Messrs. Darwin and Malaviya should draft a skeleton of a scheme for village or caste grouping system. Till a scheme was received and considered the Committee would not come to a decision.

(*b*) After some discussion it was agreed that such an electorate would be capable of casting an intelligent vote. Any slight deterioration that might result would disappear very soon.

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(*d*) No answer.

If group system is not adopted, electoral roll should be enlarged up to 15 per cent. of total population.

II.—(*a*) The disparity is marked but there has been no complaint that it requires rectification.

(*b*) This has been achieved and there is no reason to suppose that the existing proportion will be disturbed if the qualifications are lowered.

Yes.

(*c*) Our definite aim being universal suffrage, we cannot on principle accept property qualification as test of fitness for franchise as it is purely arbitrary, but has been accepted for practical purposes. For this reason we recommend lowering the property qualifications and then introducing a literacy-the-property qualification. In the case of joint Hindu families the qualification should be introduced on the lines of qualifications for such families for district board elections.

This should also apply *mutatis mutandis* to tenants whose names are entered in the revenue records.

(*d*) After some discussion it was generally agreed that the minimum qualification should be a class IV certificate but that the Director of Public Instruction be invited to attend the Committee and give them the benefit of his views in regard to examinations, standards and certificates.

(*e*) It was agreed to retain the existing military service qualification and extending it to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces, pending scrutiny of the Act.

The Committee adjourned to Wednesday, February 3, 10-30 A. M.

S. S. NEHRU, *Secretary.*

RAJESHWAR BALI, *Chairman.*

(c) *Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Franchise Committee held on February 3, 1932.*

The Committee assembled at 10-30 A. M. All members were present except Kunwar Bikram Singh.

3. (*a*) *Women's suffrage.*—It was agreed after some discussion that the wife of a husband possessing a property qualification should have the right to vote. Opinion was, however, divided in regard to the question whether in case of co-wives only one wife was to be enfranchised or as many wives as were covered by the property qualification of the husband.

As regards widows it was agreed that they should not get the right to vote except on their own separate qualifications.

The age-limit should be fixed at 21.

As to literacy qualification for women's suffrage, it was decided to consult the Director of Public Instruction who has already been invited to appear before the Committee in another connection.

The Committee realized the serious difficulties that beset the question of registration and particularly that of identification of female voters at elections. The suggestions for curtailing the cases of fraud and false personation were, firstly, that where no official can identify a female voter, who is enfranchised through her husband, she must be identified by her husband, who must take upon himself the responsibility of proper identification. Secondly, there should be heavy penalties provided in such cases of fraud and false personation. In view of the fact that the number of female voters may increase to such an extent as to prove a decisive factor in elections, no woman should be allowed to vote unless she has been properly identified.

There should be joint polling booths for men and women voters.

(*b*) This should be postponed till Messrs. Darwin and Malaviya have drafted the skeleton scheme for caste and village grouping system and the Committee have considered it.

5. As the basis of suffrage is being lowered this assumption will no longer be justified in the case of both organized and unorganized labour.

The Committee adjourned to February 4, 10-30 A. M.

S. S. NEHRU, *Secretary.* RAJESHWAR BALI, *Chairman.*

(*d*) *Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Franchise Committee held on February 4, 1932.*

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The agenda of the Franchise Committee was next taken up.

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4. *Representation of the depressed classes.*—With the Chairman's permission Mr. Rama Charana read out a note he had prepared. This opened the discussion.

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The question was what test should be applied.

Mr. Desanges suggests the test of a caste or castes being a depressed class should be that laid down by the Simon Commission, namely, (1) untouchability, (2) unapproachability.

Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana, however, suggests as follows :—

" Untouchability of the sort prevailing in the United Provinces and further economic and educational backwardness among the Hindus, also criminal tribes."

" Untouchability of the sort prevalent in the United Provinces means (1) prohibition from drawing water from wells, channels, etc., used by high class Hindus ; (2) prejudice created among the high class Hindus against classes on account of their occupation and eating certain food."

Kunwar Bikram Singh observes—" If educational and economic backwardness among Hindus is to be considred for depressed classes as suggested by Mr. Rama Charana, then, my submission is that on behalf

of not only my Jat community but for all such martial races as Rajputs, Jats and Gujars who are admittedly backward educationally and economically may be given separate representation and assured of their political elevated position in the future legislatures to safeguard their own respective interests.

Hafiz Hidayat Husain states alternatively that if educational backwardness is one of the criteria for marking a community in the Hindus as depressed, Rajputs, Jats, Kurmis, Gujars and other martial communities should also be classed as depressed.

It was agreed to apply the tests enumerated by Mr. Desanges to the castes specified in Mr. Blunt's note.

The Committee discussed at great length as to who were the depressed classes and what was their total number. Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana thought that Mr. Blunt's figures were underestimated as the number of depressed class people was in his view about 20 millions. On the other hand Mr. Kunzru felt that Mr. Blunt's figures were overestimated as was clear from some of the official statements made from time to time by the local Government and the Government of India. If untouchability were the criterion as accepted by the Simon Commission, *vide* Report, Volume I, para. 56, then the Committee unanimously agreed that Bhangis and Doms are the only ones falling under depressed classes. Rai Sahib suggested an exhaustive inquiry into the matter, but it was agreed unanimously that this was not feasible within the time at the disposal of the Committee.

The Committee is of opinion that through the lowering of the franchise, which they have already advocated, the depressed classes will secure a larger number of electors and thus be able to exercise more influence over the elections.

Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana proposed the formation of separate electorates to represent the interests of the depressed classes. Mr. De anges pointed out that this would be very difficult on administrative grounds due to the scattered nature of the depressed class communities. A discussion followed. Dr. K. N. Malaviya made a strong appeal to Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana to accept joint electorates and secure a number of reserved seats to safeguard their interests. It was eventually decided to allow Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana time to consult his associations.

The Committee adjourned to February 5, 10-30 A.M.

S. S. NEHRU, *Secretary.* RAJESHWAR BALI, *Chairman.*

(e) *Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Franchise Committee held on February 5, 1932.*

We propose to give the vote to all women but realize that the difficulty of identification in the case of women, who ob erve strict *purdah*, is greater than in the case of those who do not observe strict *purdah*.

Then the tentative scheme of the group system prepared by Messrs. Darwin and Malaviya formed the basis of discussion. The following criticism was offered :—

(*a*) Administrative arrangements would have to be made as much or nearly as much as for any other system of adult suffrage, *e.g.*, preparation of rolls, identification of voters, decisions of objection, supervision of elections, etc. Therefore, if feasible, adult suffrage by direct election would, undoubtedly, be the better method.

(*b*) This will involve two elections for the candidate and from his point of view will make the elections extremely expensive.

(*c*) It is not desirable to adopt both methods of election, direct and indirect, at the same time.

(*d*) If community is the unit, this might introduce caste divisions both among Hindus and Muslims, which ordinarily do not exist or are not prominent at present.

(*e*) If the village is the unit, then in the case of the bigger villages plural voting would have to be introduced, which would cause further complications.

The Committee is, therefore, opposed to this proposal and would prefer adult suffrage, if and when administratively feasible.

The question as to whether the group system would solve the problem of the representation of the depressed classes was put to the members of those classes. They said that the same general objections held good in their case also.

Mr. Ram Sahai's memorandum was then taken into consideration.

(1) Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana does not endorse the first point.

(2) Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana agrees with the second point.

Rai Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh strongly opposes them on the ground that all the depressed classes are Hindus, and does not think that even they would be prepared to separate from a religious point of view. He is, however, of opinion that certain seats be reserved for them but the election should be by joint electorate.

Dr. Malaviya is opposed for the reason given in his appeal on February 4.

Mr. Darwin favours the system of nomination in preference to the reservation of seats. He is opposed to separate electorates on the ground that this would give an undue advantage over intermediate classes who get no representation at all.

Mr. Kunzru is opposed to separate electorates, and it will not be possible to consider the question of reservation of seats until the extent to which the depressed classes have been enfranchised and the size of the Council are known.

Mr. Desanges is inclined to let them have separate electorates with separate seats for themselves not in proportion to their population but 10 per cent. of the seats fo Hindus.

Hafiz Hidayat Husain, on behalf of all Muslim members, said that we feel bound by the minorities pact arrived at in London in December 1931, allowing separate electorates to the depressed classes. He does not want to fix any exact number but may allow 20 per cent. of all the seats.

The Committee adjourned to February 6, 10-30 A. M.

S. S. NEHRU,
Secretary.

RAJESHWAR BALI,
Chairman.

(*f*) *Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Franchise Committee held on February 6, 1932.*

Discussion continued on the proposal made by Hafiz Hidayat Husain giving 20 per cent. of total seats to depressed classes. He adds that this figure was arrived at on the basis of the depressed class population being about 26·4 per cent. of the total population of the province.

The question can be considered on the basis of the following analysis:—

Depressed class population	..	26·4 per cent.
Muslim population	..	14·8 per cent. of total population.
		41·2 per cent.
Total for caste Hindus	..	58·5 per cent.
As to representation—		
out of 100 seats ..	..	20 per cent. for depressed classes as stated by Hafiz Hidayat Husain in accordance with the pact arrived at in London.
		30 per cent. for Muslims.
		1 per cent. for Christians.
		2 per cent. for Anglo-Indians.
		3 per cent. for Europeans.
		56 per cent.

44 seats will be left over for 58·5 per cent. of the population which reduces the majority to a minority and will affect the Hindu-Muslim settlement of 1916, if speaking on behalf of the Muslim members Hafiz Hidayat Husain stands by his proposal.

Note.—Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana objects to the population of depressed classes being 26·4 per cent. which is based on the calculation made by the Simon Commission and considers it to be much more. If the figure is found to be higher, the percentage of seats will proportionately rise.

In Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana's view not only the castes which have been described as " non-depressed and dubious " in Mr. Blunt's

note, but also Pahari, Bhil, Bhopa, Bauriya, Nai, Bari and Kahar, should be included in the list of depressed classes. He reserves his opinion as to the number of seats to be claimed for them.

At this stage Thakur Bikram Singh pointed out that as the result of the majority being turned into a minority, different communities of Hindus, like the Jats, press for their separate representation as part of a minority community on the population basis.

II.—The Federal Legislature.

(*a*) Mr. Kunzru discussed at length the relative merits of direct and indirect election for both the upper and the lower chambers. The Committee favour direct election with the following qualifications :—(1) Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh favours it at present but reserves the right to modify it if necessary when the constitution of the provincial second chamber is definitely known ; (2) the members of the depressed classes reserve their opinion.

Mr. Darwin gave some rough figures showing the implications of having an electorate for the Legislative Council amounting to 15 per cent. of the population and after considering this the Committee were of the opinion that it would not be administratively feasible to increase the electorate beyond 10 per cent. specially if the Federal Legislature elections were to take place on the same day and the Committee considered that as essential. This is in modification of the view taken in the reply to question I (*e*).

(*b*) After considering the administrative difficulties the Committee was of opinion that the election of the lower house of the Federal legislature could at the most be trebled.

I.—Figures should be collected of payers of land revenue in categories of—

(1) Rs. 1,000 to 2,000. (3) Rs. 2,500 to 3,000.
(2) Rs. 2,000 to 2,500. (4) Rs. 3,000 to 4,000.
(5) Rs. 5,000 and over.

II.—Payment of rent—

(1) Rs. 100 to 125 ; (2) Rs. 125 to 150 and (3) Rs. 150 and over.

III.—The same categories for payers of land revenue.

Figures for tenants paying between—

(1) Rs. 25 to 34 ; Rs. 35 to 49 ; (2) Rs. 50 and over.

IV.—Similar figures for payers of land revenue.

V.—Similar figures for categories of payers of land revenue.

Rs. 10 to 20 ; Rs. 20 to 25 ; Rs. 25 to 35 ; Rs. 35 to 49.

(*c*) We favour direct elections and think that the size of the lower chamber be increased to 400.

S. S. NEHRU, *Secretary.* RAJESHWAR BALI, *Chairman.*

(ii) Note on the Group System by Messrs. J. H. Darwin and K. N. Malaviya, Members of the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee.

The Committee has referred to us the question of considering whether any such system would be feasible. When the matter first came before it, the general opinion was that it was not. Some members, however, thought that it might be possible if instead of a group of 20, a village was made the unit of the primary. But that would produce two great difficulties. There is first the vast difference in the size not only of villages but of towns, where the group system would also presumably operate. This difficulty might perhaps be surmounted by allowing more than one representative for a village or town on a population basis. But this would considerably complicate the election, seeing that the unit group would be composed of persons of different castes, creeds and interests. As the local Government has said on page 565 of its report, the average voter already finds sufficient difficulty in casting a straight vote for a single candidate. It would introduce so many rivalries that it could not be completed without special polling arrangements. And this is the second difficulty. Polling arrangements would necessitate polling officers and staff : and it would be administratively impossible to conduct an election in every village.

There are so few panchayats in this province (4,594 only for 104,347 villages in 1927) that the problem cannot be solved by making them election committees : nor would the organization of panchayats merely for this purpose be a practical proposition.

We think, however, that the group system might be workable if groups were arranged by communities or sections of them. In all towns and villages such communities are already in existence. All we shall have to do is to take advantage of this fact. The main benefit is that in the formation of a group or groups there will then be little, if any, of the friction which is the great obstacle to their composition by any other method. Imagine for a moment what might otherwise occur. Take for instance a village in which 200 persons are not ordinarily qualified to vote but will come under the group system : of these 110 may well all be members of a single predominant community. Now if ten groups were formed of 20 each, all that the predominant community will have to do to establish a monopoly of group electors is to arrange for 11 of their number to be included in each group. They will not have to trouble about the remaining members of the groups, because with their numerical majority in each they can secure the whole of the representation. This is by no means a far-fetched example : every one with experience of this province knows the close ties by which members of one community are often united against others. On the other hand if the groups were formed by communities there could be no such manipulation : each community would secure its proper share of group electors.

We propose then that each community should form a separate group council with a president of its own and draw up a list with the help of the patwari in which the name of every person (male or female) is recorded who is not otherwise entitled to a vote. This council would choose

as many group electors as the number to which it is entitled on the basis of population. This may be one in 20, one in 50 or one in 100 : the principle is the same for all. If we took 20 as the pivotal number we would probably have to direct that less than 11 in any community would not be sufficient to entitle them to a separate group elector : but that if they were more than 10 and not less than 30 they would have the right of choosing one elector : if over 30 and not more than 50 they would have the right of choosing two electors, and so on. As soon as the council had drawn up the list it would be forwarded to the election officer. We anticipate that there would be very few objections to the lists under this arrangement, but if so these would be decided by the election officer. The latter would then intimate to the council the number of representatives to be chosen by them, and the dates by which this was to be completed. The council would then send the results to the election officer who would thereupon amalgamate the names of the selected representatives with those of persons qualified by a direct vote.

This scheme apart from solving the otherwise difficult question of composing groups will have the following advantages :—

(1) It is a long step on the path of universal suffrage. The Committee in England contemplated a gradual reduction of the size of groups from 20 to 15, 15 to 10, and so on unti lsuch suffrage was achieved. There will be no difficulty in increasing the number of group electors by successive stages, once the system is introduced.

(2) It will create a mass political consciousness. Every person in every community will feel that he has a share in the creation and composition of the Legislative Council, and will thus be encouraged to take an interest in its proceedings.

(3) It will give each community or section of community a voting strength roughly proportionate to its numbers. This was one of the ideals which the Round Table Conference had in view.

(4) It will save the elaborate and expensive machinery which would have to be devised for any other form of grouping or selection. It is very simple of comprehension, and, though it would want some supervision, would make no exorbitant demand in that respect. It involves the appointment of an election officer, but as the Committee is already of opinion that such an officer would in any case be required for other franchise arrangements, that will mean no additional cost.

An argument that might be brought against our proposal is that it would tend to create mutually exclusive bodies and divide India into petty political units, with the result that the growth of nationalism would be retarded. Our reply is that this will not actually be the case. We are merely utilizing associations that already exist and are universally recognized. Ours, moreover, is merely a temporary expedient for the

sake of administrative convenience, and should not be regarded as a permanent measure. It may also be urged that this system will mean much more intensive work on the part of candidates and entail visits by them to each village in their constituency. But this will not be so. The actual election contests will not be among the primary groups. This will only take place when the group electors have been amalgamated with other voters. It is only then that the candidates will come on the stage. There will be no actual survival of community groupings once the direct electorate has been formed, because the group electors will include persons of every community, and they will then inevitably unite for or against those persons who stand as candidates.

The selection of one person out of 20 means 5 per cent. of the population. Out of a population of 47 millions this comes to 2·35 millions. If we deduct 10 per cent. of the total population as having according to the wishes of the Committee become qualified for a vote otherwise, we should get 1·85 millions. A large number like this will be able to play a considerable part in elections. If this system was applied to depressed classes, the Chamar community, for instance, which number some six millions, would on this 20 per cent. basis secure about 30,000 group electors and in those districts where they lived closely together they might, with a little combination, secure the return of a member of their community to the Legislative Council, who had (as some of them have) the other necessary qualifications. In this way part, if not the whole, of the question of representation of depressed classes might be solved.

J. H. DARWIN,
February 4, 1932.

K. N. MALAVIYA,
February 4, 1932.

Visit of the Indian Franchise Committee to Lucknow (18th-22nd March 1932).

III

Memorandum by the Government of United Provinces.

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 104-C.X., DATED LUCKNOW, THE 20TH MARCH 1932.

I am directed to forward a copy of the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee's replies to the questionnaire issued by the Franchise Committee, together with the views of the local Government on the points dealt with in these replies. The local Government regret the delay in the despatch of these papers, but they were unable to obtain a report from the Provincial Committee until the 19th instant. The recommendations of the Provincial Committee have been considered by His Excellency the Governor with his Executive Council and Ministers sitting together.

2. As regards the first point raised in the questionnaire, namely, the extension of the franchise in the Provincial Legislature so as to include 10 per cent. of the population in the electoral roll, the local Government have considered, as a preliminary question, whether an enlarged electorate should be secured by an extension of the present system of direct voting, or by the general substitution of the "group" system to which reference is made in (*f*), (*g*), (*h*), (*i*), (*j*) of part I of the questionnaire. They see certain advantages in the application of this latter system, particularly to rural voters, as it would embrace some of the elements of a general adult suffrage and would meet some of the difficulties arising from the problem of securing representation for depressed classes and for women. But there are on the other hand obvious disadvantages in depriving of the direct vote a large number of people who have hitherto enjoyed it; moreover, the "group" system of voting is in itself a novelty, and its actual effect in developing the political consciousness of the electorate and its desire to make use of its voting powers could only be decided by experience. It would be undesirable to base a legislature charged with working the new Constitution on an electorate secured by a system of which no one can forecast the operation; and on the whole therefore the local Government consider that the "group" system, if adopted, could only be used as supplementary to the "direct" system and not in substitution for it. I am to return to this point subsequently; at this stage it is only necessary to say that the local Government advocate that in the main, the enlarged electorate should be obtained by an extension of the present franchise, to be secured by lowering the property qualification and introducing a literacy qualification.

3. *Question* (*b*) *of part I—Capacity of such an electorate to cast an intelligent vote.*—It will be sufficient to say here that the quality of the electorate thus obtained will not be markedly different from that which prevails at present. How far a vote is "intelligent" must depend

on the standard of political consciousness which it is held that a voter should possess. Clearly large numbers of existing voters have little conception of political issues and know little of the nature of the constitution: the value of giving the vote to these classes depends, rather on its educative effect than on their capacity to make a judgment on principles and policy. The individual in the enlarged electorate will not be characteristically different from the present voter; a reduction for instance in the tenant or land revenue qualification will not bring a different class of intelligence to the polls. The mass effect may be different, owing to the inclusion of a larger proportion of one interest or another, as for instance, the tenant interest; but the answer to I (*b*) of the questionnaire is that the voter, as such, will not be different in general intelligence from the voter whom the Committee now encounters in the province.

4. *I* (*c*)—*Manageability of an electorate of this size.*—The Provincial Franchise Committee give some details of the number of voters with which polling officers can deal, and would take the results at which they arrive as a basis for determining the proportion of the population which they would enfranchise at this stage. Without entering into these details, the local Government consider that by a simplification of the present procedure (such for instance as the use of coloured boxes and dispensing with cross marks on ballot papers) it would be possible to make arrangements for polling approximately 10 per cent. of the population on the direct vote. They would prefer to decide subsequently, in the light of facts forthcoming as to the establishment available in each district, whether it is preferable to spread out the elections over several days instead of polling all electors in a constituency on one day.

5. *I* (*e*)—*Desirability and feasibility of further extension.*—The local Government are not at this stage prepared to advocate an extension of the direct vote beyond the approximate figure of 10 per cent. of the population. Both on general grounds, based on the character of the electorate available, and on administrative grounds, they consider this sufficient at present.

6. *I* (*f*) *to* (*j*)—*Adoption of the "group" system.*—It will be seen from what has already been stated that the local Government would adopt the group system, if at all, only as supplementary to an expanded direct franchise. The merits and demerits of the group system have no doubt been amply canvassed elsewhere in evidence given before the Franchise Committee, and the local Government do not now propose to enter on any discussion of general principles, but will proceed briefly to state their conclusions on the subject. Actual experiments made by district officers show that though some difficulties will no doubt be encountered in working any such system, they are not insurmountable, and there is evidence to show that a considerable number of people, particularly in the rural areas, who will not obtain a direct vote, would desire to utilise the opportunities presented by this system. On the other hand it is so much of a novelty that it is difficult to speak with any confidence of its probable results in operation. Any views which the local Government can now put forward must therefore be given

with considerable hesitation. They would be prepared to adopt it as an experimental measure, to be modified and perhaps even abandoned in the light of actual experience of its working. If it is adopted, they would recommend that voting should be in small groups of 20, formed as far as possible from neighbouring households, rather than in larger groups combining to nominate a number of representatives, since the latter system would in their opinion give a less true representation and would be liable to misuse by undesirable influences. Voting should be by adults, male and female, on a residential qualification; the basis of the register could be obtained from the census reports. A definite series of rules would have to be laid down for the special staff employed to carry out voting on the spot. But these rules, though definite enough to produce a guarantee against abuse by the establishment so engaged, would have to provide for some elasticity in order to suit the requirements of the voters themselves. The procedure would necessarily be far less formal than that applicable to direct voting; but it will be necessary to provide for a summary form of objection before the Collector who, in case of any serious doubt as to the procedure adopted, would be able to order a fresh election. Each group would decide for itself whether women would vote separately or with men. The local Government would not advise that group electors should vote in separate constituencies; it would seem preferable on many grounds, including that of simplicity, that the group representative should merely be added to the electoral roll of direct voters. This in itself would involve the rejection of the suggestion contained in I (*g*) that only group electors should be qualified to stand as candidates. Nor would the local Government advise in reference to question I (*j*) that any special qualifications should be required in the persons chosen by groups to vote on their behalf. It is calculated that group voting on this system would produce 800,000 voters as an addition to those obtained under the direct voting system.

II.—Franchise Qualifications.

7. (*a*) *Disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas.*—There has been no general complaint of disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas. In general, however, there is a higher level of income in the urban area than in the rural area. The general qualification for the urban franchise for the Legislative Council is an annual rental of Rs. 36 which would seem to postulate an income of an average of at least Rs. 240; this would probably exceed the average net income of the agricultural voter on the lower franchise qualification which will now be proposed for adoption. It will be understood that this is a matter on which it is not possible to speak with any certainty, owing to the variety of conditions in the province; a tenant on Rs. 50 in Bundelkhand holds a far greater area of culturable land than a tenant paying a similar rent in the west of the province; and equally of course rentals vary greatly in different towns. On the whole the local Government consider that if the rural qualification is now reduced as proposed, no question is likely to arise of weightage of one type of vote against the other. Such complaint as exists actually refers rather to the fact that

a number of large towns are included in general constituencies of a rural character and tend to dominate the latter. It will be advisable so to re-arrange constituencies as to avoid this result.

8. *II (b)—Assuming that communal electorates are retained should each community be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers.*—At present, as shown by the Provincial Franchise Committee, there is no great disparity between the proportion of Muslim and non-Muslim electors to the total population of the community, and the local Government agree that there is no reason to suppose that this proportion will seriously be disturbed by the new qualifications now suggested. The local Government would in general be opposed to adopting variable qualifications for different communities in order to secure a voting strength proportionate to numbers, as they attach importance to the maintenance of a uniform qualification for the franchise.

9. *II (c)—The fitness of a property qualification as a test for the franchise.*—Without going into general considerations of principle, the local Government consider that the existing type of qualification may reasonably be adopted as the basis of franchise in view of the fact that on other grounds it is desirable to restrict the franchise to a definite proportion of the population. As shown below, they propose an additional qualification in the nature of an educational test, but they consider that with this addition the franchise will be sufficiently comprehensive.

10. *II (d)—Addition of an educational qualification.*—There seems to be in the province a general feeling that some provision should be made for the difficulty arising from the existence of the joint Hindu family system and for the fact that in many cases sharers in tenancies do not (owing to the system of record) obtain a direct vote. The local Government therefore agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that the franchise should be extended by adoption of an educational qualification and would for this purpose accept the passing of the upper primary examination. It appears that in the last eleven years 442,000 males and about 11,000 females have passed this examination. Some illustrative tests have been made to elicit information as to the extent of the net addition to the electoral roll through this qualification, and also with a view to ascertaining how many of those who possessed the certificate have relapsed into illiteracy. The general result of such tests goes to show that the proportion of those who have relapsed into illiteracy in after years is not large. It also appears that the net addition to the electoral roll by adopting this qualification would not be considerable. The local Government would adopt this qualification rather in order to meet the considerations above referred to than as a definite measure for widening the franchise.

11. *II (e)—Retention of the existing military service qualification.*—The local Government agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee in recommending the retention of the existing military service qualification

and would extend it to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. The net addition to the electoral roll would not in this province be considerable.

12. Though precise figures cannot be given, it is believed that the required 10 per cent. of direct votes could be obtained by reducing the land revenue qualification to Rs. 10 and the rental qualification to Rs. 25, leaving the present urban qualification untouched.

III.—Women Suffrage.

13. *III (a) and (b).*—The local Government regret that they have not been able to arrive at a unanimous decision on the answer to be given to this portion of the questionnaire. The Government as a whole are fully conscious of the considerations put forward before the Round Table Conference for the extension of the franchise to women, and admit that the principles of the Hindu law will actually operate to exclude women from the electoral roll so long as the latter is based mainly on a property qualification or the payment of taxes. Some members of the Government, however, feel that there are objections to adopting the alternative suggested, namely admitting to the electoral roll the wives of those who possess the property qualification or (as suggested by the Provincial Franchise Committee) admitting the wives of those who possess double the minimum property qualification. The latter proposal in particular appears to be open to the objection that it would in effect give a double vote to husbands possessing double the minimum qualification and would act therefore to the prejudice of the large classes now being enfranchised which possess only the minimum qualification. These members of Government also feel that there is not in the province at large any real demand for a measure of this nature. They would prefer to attempt to extend the franchise to that class of women who might be expected both to be willing to appear at the polls and also to be capable of exercising an independent vote, namely those possessing a literacy qualification. They would adopt as liberal a definition as possible of this qualification and would allow any woman to exercise the vote who can produce a certificate that she can read and write, attested by an inspectress or assistant inspectress of schools or an honorary magistrate. It must be admitted that even this liberal interpretation of the qualification would not enfranchise a very large number of women, for the census returns show that there are only some 128,000 women of the age of 20 and over who possess literacy. At the same time, however, this measure might be expected to bring to the polls the great majority of those women who actually desire to exercise the vote. They further point out that if the group system is adopted, women will at least be admitted as primary voters and will have an opportunity of standing for election as group representatives. Other members of Government feel that the proposal of their colleagues is inadequate, and that effective steps are in fact necessary to remove the sex disqualification imposed by the Hindu social system. They would therefore adopt the proposal of the Provincial Franchise Com-

mittee so far as it relates to the enfranchisement of the wife of a husband possessing double the minimum property qualification. They would not give the vote to widows except on any separate qualification they may possess. They admit the difficulty arising from the existence of co-wives and on the whole would prefer to restrict the vote to one wife to be nominated by the husband. All members of Government agree that such steps as are possible should be taken to secure identification of women voters and to prevent fraud and false personation. The primary responsibility for identification must rest on the husband and adequate penalties must be provided for personation.

As already shown, the local Government consider that if the group system is adopted, the group should be composite and include both men and women.

14. *III (c)—Suggestion for the co-option of women representatives.*—The local Government agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee in finding objections to the principle of co-option and would prefer a system under which a definite number of seats should be reserved for women to be filled from among the women candidates who have polled the largest proportionate number of votes but have been unsuccessful in obtaining a seat. The proposal that seats should be filled from among the women candidates who have polled the largest absolute number of votes in the constituencies is open to the objection that constituencies may vary greatly in size. It is understood that the number of seats reserved for women would be filled up on a communal basis. It will probably be necessary to provide in the initial stages that if a sufficient number of candidates do not qualify by this method the vacant seats will have to be filled up by nomination by the Governor.

IV.—Representation of depressed classes.

15. The Franchise Committee will have received a note* on the depressed and backward classes prepared by the Hon'ble Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, Member of the Executive Council, which has been of great value to the local Government in considering this question. The recommendations of the Provincial Franchise Committee disclose, as is only natural, a considerable difference of opinion both as to the classes which should be described as "depressed" and as to the method of their representation. The maximum estimate amounts to 17 million persons; the minimum to something less than one million. Moreover, whatever definition is adopted, the factors on which discrimination is based cannot be said to be constant, for classes at times rise in the social scale, and even within different classes discrimination is liable to be based on a variable factor, such as occupation. Here again the local Government would desire to avoid entering on a discussion of general principles. They will confine themselves to expressing a feeling that special measures are necessary to protect only those classes whose interests are liable to suffer if they are not voiced by their own representatives or are left to be voiced casually by others. A large number of classes now described as "backward" obviously do not fall within this description; on the other hand

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there are castes which suffer serious disabilities requiring removal and their interests would therefore be prejudiced if representation were left to chance. Accepting the fact that there are classes which need such protection by special representation in the legislature, the local Government nevertheless find great difficulty in proposing a separate electorate for them owing to the fact that they are widely scattered throughout the province and also to the fact that owing to inter-class jealousies they themselves at present will encounter difficulty in finding common representatives. The local Government therefore consider that for the present special representation must be secured by nomination in the hands of the Governor. For obvious reasons this nomination should remain entirely in his hands and should be exercised before Ministers are selected. At the same time these classes, on the franchise now proposed, will have a certain number of electors of their own; if the group system is adopted as supplementary to the direct system, it may well be that the total number of electors belonging to the depressed classes may amount to 400,000 or 500,000. As the castes improve in social condition, this figure will rise; and if the franchise qualification be again lowered, it will become considerable. As political consciousness grows among these classes, associations will arise representative enough and wide enough in composition to justify the Governor in consulting them regarding their nominated representatives. It may be foreseen that sooner or later these associations will combine into a single association capable of running candidates for election in the general constituencies. Nominations could then disappear. The local Government cannot forecast future developments, and in any case the question of the depressed classes will constitute a real problem for another generation at least. But they are already rising, and the local Government believe that the rise will be both more rapid and more far-reaching than is usually supposed.

16. In making nominations during the first stage the Governor should be guided, though not necessarily restricted, by a schedule which would be drawn up for his use. It should at least include the following classes; the list is based on the information given in Mr. Blunt's note, and is intended to indicate those classes for which there can be no doubt that special consideration is required. (The components of the groups referred to are given in Mr. Blunt's note.)

Dhanuk	127,581
Chamars in rural areas estimated at	4,187,770
Bhangi group	349,053
Kolarian group	125,356
Dom group	109,906
Pasi group	1,446,155
Hill Dom	326,012
Vagrant tribes	111,981
Total	6,773,814

V.—Representation of labour.

17. The facts regarding labour are already in possession of the Franchise Committee. The great mass of labour is agricultural and it is not possible to devise any form of franchise for it. Nor indeed are the interests of the paid agricultural labourer markedly different from those of the small tenant who will now find his way to the electoral roll through the enlarged franchise. Industrial labour in an organized form may be said to exist only at Cawnpore, where there are some 35,000 labourers employed in factories, though of course there are considerable number of labourers employed in the railway workshops at Gorakhpur, Jhansi and Lucknow. At present there exist no trade unions of such a composition and character as could be utilized as forming the basis of representation. The local Government however think that a beginning might be made by giving representation to factory hands at Cawnpore, it being understood that with the growth of organized forms of industrial labour this principle might be extended to other centres. They would form a special constituency with a roll embracing all adult labourers who for six months have been employed on a pay of Rs. 15 per month or over in factories (as defined in the Factories Act) at Cawnpore. It would be a matter for consideration whether another constituency could be formed by combining labourers in other towns of lesser industrial importance, and if the Franchise Committee accept the principle now suggested, the necessary investigations will be undertaken in order to determine the feasibility of this extension.

V-A.—Representation of special interests.

18. It is to be assumed, as a factor in the consideration of this question, that the size of the Legislative Council will be considerably increased as a result of the expansion in the number of electors. The question of the exact size and composition of the Council does not form an item in the questionnaire; but the local Government assume for this purpose that it will at least contain 200 members. They further assume, for the purpose of discussing this part of the questionnaire, that their recommendation for the constitution of a second Chamber will be accepted. If so, it becomes necessary to consider whether the representation of special interests can more suitably be made in the second than in the first Chamber. On the assumption that the functions of the second Chamber will be largely revisory, the local Government think that it would not be advisable to confine representation of special interests entirely to that Chamber. General experience has shown elsewhere that with a wide extension of the franchise it is necessary to make provision in an originating chamber for the presence of a certain number of persons with special knowledge and experience of interests which are likely to be vitally affected by legislation. On the other hand the representation of such interests in the first Chamber should be limited to such number as will secure to them a proper expression of their views rather than a definite weightage of votes, and the local Government have been largely guided by this consideration in making the following recommendations.

19. In its report to the Simon Commission the local Government proposed that the existing special representation of the Allahabad University by one member should be retained and that an addition should be made by combining the universities of Agra and Lucknow (which are at present unrepresented) in a single member constituency. The local Government did not at the time make any suggestion in regard to the two denominational universities of Benares and Aligarh, which are all-India in character and whose statutes depend on all-India legislation. The local Government still consider that so long as these universities are not affected by provincial legislation, they cannot claim special representation in the provincial legislature; but on reconsideration of their original opinion they think that the three provincial universities should now be combined in a single constituency to be represented by two members.

20. As regards the representation of Commerce, the interest is now represented by three members. Two are elected by the Upper India Chamber of Commerce and one by the United Provinces Chamber. This arrangement has continued practically unchanged since 1919. The larger representation given to the Upper India Chamber of Commerce can be justified by the fact that the capital interests represented by its constituencies are undoubtedly far greater than those represented by the United Provinces Chamber. The local Government consider that the existing representation should be maintained, but in order to provide for the possibility of changes in the composition of the Chambers and also for the increase in the size of the Legislative Council, they would prescribe the seats representative of Commerce as five in number and would give to the Governor power to nominate from time to time the bodies which should be allowed to elect members. A number of smaller chambers or associations representative of industrialists and commercial men are now arising in other parts of the province, and it is likely that these will gain in importance sufficiently to warrant their being regarded either singly or in combination as constituencies for returning persons representative of Commerce. The local Government would prefer to avoid nomination and would, as shown above, give power to the Governor merely of selecting bodies which should be allowed to elect members.

21. As regards landowners, the local Government consider that it is essential to give special representation to them owing to the prominent part which revenue and rental legislation is likely to take from the first under the new constitution. Recent events have in their opinion emphasized this necessity, and it is indeed possible that for some years to come questions of this character will form the outstanding problems which will engage the attention of the legislature. At present special representation is afforded by the method described at page 157 of the Report of the local Government presented to the Indian Statutory Commission. There are special electorates in Agra and Oudh returning two and four members respectively. As shown, however, in that Report, resolutions have been passed in the Legislative Council

advocating an increased representation for the Agra landholders, and these resolutions have received the support of the local Government. The Agra Zamindars' Association has by legislation now been placed in a position similar to that of the British Indian Association of Oudh, in so far that Government now collects the subscriptions of its members along with the land revenue and it can be said with confidence that the Agra landholders are now far better organized than they were when the matter was originally considered in 1919-20. Those of them who pay Rs. 5,000 land revenue and over considerably outnumber the taluqdars in Oudh; the electors number 716 in the two Agra constituencies and only 373 in the taluqdari constituency of Oudh, and of the taluqdars nearly one-fifth pay less than Rs. 5,000 land revenue. The taluqdari representation is roughly one member for every 100 electors. If the same ratio were applied to Agra, there would be an increase to seven. On the same ratio also the 102 non-taluqdar landholders in Oudh who pay over Rs. 5,000 land revenue and at present receive no special representation, would return a single member. The local Government advocate, on the principle stated in the previous paragraph, that the total representation of landholders should be raised from six to twelve to be secured as follows. There would be four members to represent the British Indian Association of Oudh plus one member elected by non-taluqdar voters of Oudh in a special constituency. There would be four members to represent the Agra Zamindars' Association, with three members elected in special constituencies by superior revenue payers not belonging to the Association.

II.—FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

VI.—Allocation of seats to British Indian Provinces.

22. The local Government find some difficulty in answering that portion of the questionnaire which relates to the selection of representatives of British Indian provinces for the Upper Federal Chamber in the absence of a decision whether a Second Chamber will be constituted in the United Provinces. It is possible that if such a Chamber is constituted, this might be used as a means of electing representatives to the Upper Federal Chamber. In any case, however, the local Government do not support the proposal of the Federal Structure Committee that the representatives of British India in the Upper Federal Chamber should be elected by the provincial legislatures by a single transferable vote. They consider that such a procedure would not make adequate provision for the election of persons distinguished by political or other qualifications of the class desirable in an Upper Federal Chamber, since it would force them to seek election in the first place to the provincial legislatures. The provisional opinion of the local Government is therefore that it would be desirable to select representatives for the Upper Federal Chamber by the direct vote from special constituencies of the nature of those now constituted for election to the Council of State. As regards election to the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature, the local Governments are mainly influenced by considera-

tions based on the size of the constituencies which it would be necessary to create in order to secure the election of the 32 members which it is proposed should constitute the representation of the province in the Lower Chamber. The size of these constituencies would be increased if communal electorates were introduced, and the local Government see little chance of securing and maintaining contact between representatives and electors in constituencies of this nature. They therefore propose that representation should be secured through an electorate consisting of members of district and municipal boards. This would give an electorate of manageable size and representative in character.

VII.—Representation of women, labour and depressed classes in the Federal Legislature.

23. The local Government do not find it possible to make suggestions on this point at the moment and would prefer to wait decisions as to the manner in which representation of these elements is to be secured for the provincial legislature.

Note explaining the origin and nature of depressed and backward Classes by the Hon'ble Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, O.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Member, Executive Council, United Provinces Government.

This note is an attempt to explain the origin and nature of the classes usually called " depressed ", and their relation to the Hindu social system. It is prepared for the use of the Franchise Committee, in the hope that it may help them to understand a very difficult problem. In writing it I have used the following material :—

(*a*) Crooke's " Tribes and castes of the North-Western Province and Oudh." This work, which is in the form of a dictionary, was written in 1895. To bring it up to date, certain additions and corrections are required, but Crooke is still *the* authority on the caste-system of these provinces, and is not likely to be ousted from the position.

(*b*) Sir Richard Burn's Census Report, United Provinces, for 1901, chapter VIII. This chapter contains a scheme of social precedence, which was based on local inquiries made by committees which were created *ad hoc* in every district, and is the *locus classicus* on this particular subject.

(*c*) Information collected by myself at various times on the subject of caste generally. This was done principally in connection with the census of 1911, when it was the result of local inquiries made by special officers in every district, usually from members of the caste themselves. Other information is the result of my own observations or of special inquiries which I have made. [It has been collected in a book of which I have just received advance copies.]

(*d*) The rough draft of a chapter on the backward and depressed classes which will ultimately appear in the Census Report of 1931, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. A. C. Turner, Provincial Census Superintendent. His information was, as usual, collected for him by special officers in every district, who made inquiries from the local *pandits* and other influential Brahmans regarding such matters, as " untouchability " and other disabilities of the " depressed ". Mr. Turner has also allowed me to see the census figures for 1931, and I have used them in this note.

It should be understood, that all the statements made in this note refer directly only to the United Provinces ; but with minor modifications they are probably also true of the whole of Northern India between sea and sea, and between Himalayas and Vindhyas,—in other words, of the country formerly called Aryavarta or Aryan territory.

Origin of the " depressed " classes.

2. *The Arya social classes.*—When the Arya invaders first broke into India some 3,000 years B. C., they were already divided into three social classes, of which, two, namely, the ruling or military class, subsequently

called the Rajan or Kashattriya, and the priestly class, subsequently called the Brahman, were already recognized as superior to the Vish, or Arya commonalty.

3. *Arya and Dasyu.*—On entering India, the Aryas found the country inhabited by a race, to which they gave the name Dasyu. The Aryas were a fair-skinned people, and, for the time, highly civilized. The Dasyus were a mere collection of jungle tribes, dark skinned and little better than savages. The Arya hated and despised the Dasyu, whose physical peculiarities, manners and customs were all repugnant to him. But the Arya wanted the Dasyu's country ; he wanted the Dasyu's women, for he had not brought enough of his own with him ; and so the two races were forced into the closest contact.

4. *Intermarriage between dissimilar races.*—When two races of similar blood and civilization are brought into contact so close as this, there is usually fusion between them, producing a mixed race with characteristics derived from both sides of its descent. But when the two races are of different blood and at different stages of civilization, then the fusion is never complete. Intermarriage between them occurs. But the process is not universal ; the highest sections in the higher race disdain to take wives from the lower race, whilst the lower race cannot obtain them from the higher at all. And the process is not continuous ; it is begun with reluctance, and it ceases as soon as the higher race has bred a sufficiency of women for its wants. The result is the formation of groups of all shades of colour, some of them of pure blood, both high and low, most of them of different degrees of mixed blood,—but all imbued with a spirit of exclusiveness, bred of mutual dislike and contempt.

5. *The varnas and the outcaste groups.*—So it was in India ; and thus there arose the four well-known *varnas*, a word which—significantly enough—means " colour " ; the first three called Brahman, Kashattriya and Vaishya after the existing Arya social classes, the fourth class called Sudra, a term of uncertain meaning but possibly the name of some Dasyu tribe. There was, however, another class in this Arya-Dravidian society formed from the remnants of the Dasyu tribes, called Nishada or Chandala in Vedic times, and *hina-jatyo* (low tribes) in Buddhist times ; with whom are coupled the *hina-sippani*, groups following low or primitive occupations, such as hunting, fowling, basket-making, the collection of jungle produce, as well as more degrading occupations, such as tanning, scavenging, and the trade of the executioner. These *hina-jatiyo and hina-sippani* were the " depressed classes " of that period. They were compelled to live in villages by themselves ; and they were so " untouchable ", that, like the lepers of the middle ages, they had to give notice of their approach by striking two pieces of wood together.

6. *The later invasions.*—At a much later date came the foreign invasions, beginning with the expedition of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B. C. and ending with the inroad of the Huns in the fifth century A. D. Greek, Parthian, Scythian, Kushan and Hun, one after another, broke through the northern passes and carved out kingdoms for themselves in India. The invaders, sooner or later, were absorbed in the

Hindu social system; their kings and nobles, in virtue of their position usurped the style and rank of Kshattriyas, whilst their tribes were added to the ranks of Vaishya or Sudra; some also to the *hina-jatiyo*, since some of these new comers were barbarians, as alien from the Hindu as the Dasyu had been from the Arya.

7. *The social pale.*—When a higher race like the Aryan intermarries with a lower race like the Dasyu, it is usually compelled, sooner or later, to admit the half-bred groups into its social system; but it generally endeavours to keep out the lower race. The result is the formation of a sort of social pale, within which are the groups that possess any share of the higher blood, outside of which are groups of the lower blood. So it was in India. The Brahmans, anxious to preserve the Arya people and especially the Arya religion from contamination, at first tried to exclude not only the *hina-jatyo* and *hina-sippani*, but also the Sudra. In respect of the latter they failed; for though a distinction is still drawn between the once-born Sudra and the twice-born higher classes, yet the former is recognized as a full member of the Hindu society. And even amongst the *hina-jatyo* and *hina-sippani* there were many that from time to time succeeded in forcing their way within the pale.

8. *The parvenus.*—The process by which such an outcaste group enters Hindu society has always been the same. The aspirant begins by abandoning the degrading occupation which is traditional in his group, and takes to some less un-savoury means of livelihood. As he grows prosperous, he gives up all those primitive customs which are especially abhorrent to Hinduism, for instance, the practice of widow remarriage, the drinking of strong liquor and the eating of pork or beef. He also lowers the age of marriage and adopts the characteristic Hindu domestic rites. His next step is to induce some Brahman first to attend and then to serve his rites. He adopts in place of his group name some sectional name preferably one also to be found in groups of higher position. Lastly, with the assistance of his newly acquired family priest (*purohit*), he invents for himself a pedigree, and puts out a definite claim to be a member of one of the three higher castes. And such a claim has more than once been admitted.

9. *Exclusiveness of the low groups.*—It must not be supposed, however, that all tribes outside the pale were equally anxious to cross it. The spirit of exclusiveness, which was and still is the principal characteristic of Hindu society, has worked both ways. If the Arya hated and despised the Dasyu, the Dasyu hated and feared the Arya. He was quite as unwilling to give the Arya his daughter in marriage as the Arya was to take her. At no time would he have felt any desire to exchange his own priests and his own rites for the priests and rites of others. His objection to eating food cooked, or drinking water given, by an Arya, was even stronger than that of an Arya to eating food cooked, or drinking water given, by him: for his objection was the result of certain primitive superstitions to which he attached great importance, whilst the Arya's objection was mainly the result of racial fastidiousness.

"Depressed" class of the present day.

10. *The present state of affairs.*—The *hina-jatyo* and *hina-sippani* of Buddhist times have their descendants or counterparts at the present day. There are still in existence such degraded tribes as the Habura, the Sansiya, the Nat, and other vagrants, or the Dom, which are wholly outside the pale of Hinduism, and have so far shown no great desire to be received within it. There are, in South Mirzapur and elsewhere, tribes that have only partly emerged from jungle life, and still preserve their primitive customs, beliefs and rites. There are castes following unsavoury professions, from which the better castes to a greater or less extent hold themselves aloof. And it is to these castes and tribes that, *prima facie*, the term "depressed class" should be restricted.

11. *Terminology.*—The phrase "depressed class" is of comparatively recent coinage. It is not to be found in Crooke's great work. It was not used by Sir Richard Burn in the Census Report of 1901; nor was it used in the Census Report of 1911. It seems to have found its way, probably from Madras, into the United Provinces about 1920. The use of the word "depressed" in this connection is unfortunate. Firstly, it does not translate any vernacular term; indeed the Hindustani adjectives used in this connection, such as *adi* (aboriginal), *adna* (inferior), *dalit* (down-trodden), or *achut* (untouchable), have been subsequently selected to translate the English adjective. Secondly, the word "depressed" is question-begging, for it connotes the presence of a depressor; and though there may be castes that can with justice complain that obstacles have been deliberately placed in the way of their social or economic or political advancement, there are also many castes which, though they may be of low social status, are certainly not "depressed" in the literal sense of the word, and would be extremely annoyed if they were told that they were. This is indeed the principal reason why it is so difficult to define the term, and why its meaning differs so greatly with different authorities.

12. *Criteria of depression.*—Various criteria have been suggested by which to determine whether a particular tribe or caste should or should not be classed as "depressed". The principal of these are as follows,—

(1) Untouchability, or pollution by physical contact; which involves—

(*a*) exclusion from the use of a village well:

(*b*) exclusion from the temples of orthodox Hinduism.

(2) Food and water taboos.

(3) Exclusion from orthodox domestic rites.

13. (1) *Untouchability.*—The criterion of untouchability is of special importance, because many people (including the Simon Commission) appear to regard "untouchable" and "depressed" as synonyms. The principle is of far less importance in this province than in other parts of India. We have, for instance, no caste so low that its members can cause pollution from a distance, or by the fall of a shadow; our untouchables convey pollution only by contact. Moreover, the superstition is moribund. Few castes are now untouchable to Rajputs and Sudras; and

though Vaishyas and Brahmans may be more particular, yet they too are apt to ignore untouchability, whenever observance of it would be inconvenient. If a Brahman is working in the field during the morning with an untouchable labourer, he can scarcely avoid contact with him; but the fact will not trouble him, for he will in any case wash himself and his clothes when he goes home at midday, and thereby can remove the stain of contact. Modern conditions have also served to weaken this taboo. Touchables and untouchables jostle each other freely in a crowded street, or a political meeting, or a railway carriage; but trouble is avoided because the touchable is careful not to display any curiosity regarding his neighbour's caste.

14. *Exclusion from wells and temples.*—(*a*) *Wells.*—With the disappearance of the taboo of untouchability, itself the two principal disabilities which result from it are also disappearing. Not so long ago, the untouchables of a village, if they had no well of their own, were compelled to wait at the village well until some member of a clean caste condescended to draw water and fill their vessels for them; they were not allowed to draw water themselves. The reports received at the census of 1931, however, show that this restriction is disappearing rapidly, and that for the most part untouchables are as free to use the common well as anybody else. Nowadays, an untouchable would only be debarred from using the well, if a touchable wanted to use it at the same time; in which case the untouchable must stand aside till the touchable has finished.

(*b*) *Temples.*—Some social reformers seem to regard exclusion from the major Hindu temples as the principal disability of an untouchable caste, and the removal of it as the only step necessary to raise him into the ranks of Hindu society. It seems doubtful, however, whether so much weight should ever have been given to this particular restriction. Castes likely to be excluded from such temples would rarely have either an opportunity or a desire to enter them. Many such castes have their own deities and their own worships, often of a very primitive kind, and would ordinarily be content with those. If an untouchable conceived the idea of visiting the Golden temple at Benares, his motive will probably be either mere curiosity, or a vague idea, common enough amongst the followers of all primitive religions, that it is desirable to placate strange gods in their own domain. The prohibition, moreover, has never been confined merely to untouchables, but is extended to the followers of other religions, for instance Islam and Christianity. At the present time, the latest reports show that in many districts the prohibition has been relaxed. For instance, at a certain famous temple in the Bara Banki district where a large fair is held on the Shivratri festival, Chamars and sweepers are allowed to offer their Ganges water without any restrictions whatever; whilst from another district comes the report that Chamars are allowed to enter temples up to a certain fixed distance, provided they are wearing wet loincloths (*dhotis*).

15. *Temporary and permanent untouchability.*—Untouchability serves as a criterion of social status only when it is permanent. It is the result of uncleanness. Anybody may be temporarily unclean and

therefore temporarily untouchable; for instance a woman in her courses or in childbed is always untouchable for a fixed period. If a man, though touchable himself, has come into contact with an untouchable, he himself becomes untouchable until he has removed the stain. Again, anybody, even though touchable himself, can pollute by touch the chief mourner after a death, who, for the benefit of the departed soul, must keep himself in a state of ceremonial purity. On the other hand, the son of a twice-born cannot be polluted by touch until he has undergone the *upanayana* ceremony which makes him twice-born, and has put on the *janeo* (sacred thread), a rite which should take place in the eighth year, but is usually postponed till the tenth or eleventh; and it is this fact that makes it possible for the sons of Brahmans and Chamars to play together in the streets, or sit next to each other on the same school bench.

16. *The causes of permanent untouchability.—In theory,* the following practices would make a tribe or caste permanently untouchable, at all events to a Brahman :—

(1) the following of some unclean profession, such as scavenging;

(2) the keeping of pigs, or the eating of unclean food, such as pork or beef;

(3) vagrancy, unless there is a settled home to which the tribe or caste occasionally returns.

Reports received in connection with the census of 1931 from the districts, show that the *average* Brahman still regards these practices as carrying with them a theoretical stigma of untouchability, even though that stigma, as already explained, may now be lightly regarded. There is, moreover, a marked and growing tendency to make untouchability a personal and not a caste attribute. Formerly, every person born into a caste, the members of which followed some degrading practice, was treated as permanently untouchable. At the present day, any caste, or any section of a caste, or any individual who has abandoned the practice which made him untouchable, becomes touchable. The village Chamar, for instance, will remain untouchable so long as he handles dead animals, but the Chamar who has become a saddler (*zingar*), or a cobbler (*mochi*), or a groom (*syce*), is not. This has happened even amongst Bhangis, for there is a case recorded of a municipal latrine-cleaner, who having first risen to the rank of jamadar of scavengers, subsequently abandoned that occupation altogether, and is now no longer regarded as untouchable by his fellow-citizens. And all recent evidence suggests that, at the present day the castes that would, as a *whole*, be treated as untouchable are very few,—the Bhangi; the Dom; and the wandering tribes; and these would be untouchable not only to the Brahman but to all orthodox Hindus. The whole idea of untouchability, in fact, is now fast disappearing.

17. *Untouchability amongst the untouchables.*—Curiously enough, however, many castes, which for this reason or that are in theory untouchable, are particular in keeping certain other untouchables at a distance. For instance, the Basor, a section of the Dom tribe, which has

settled down to the comparatively respectable occupations of basket-making and music, will not touch either a Bhangi, a Chamar, a Dhobi, or even a Dom or a Dharkar, both of whom are his close relatives. Among the five castes mentioned, the Bhangi and the Chamar will not touch the Dhobi or the Dom. The Dharkar also extends his objections to the Chamar; whilst even a Dom will not touch a Dhobi.

18. *Untouchability summarized.*—The principal facts connected with untouchability can now be summarized—

(*a*) The number of castes that would be regarded or treated as untouchable by all the twice-born is small.

(*b*) The number of castes that would be regarded as untouchable by the Brahman is considerable, but—

(*i*) the stigma of untouchability will disappear if the practice which produced it is abandoned;

(*ii*) even though a Brahman may *regard* any particular caste as untouchable, he will not necessarily *treat* a member of it as such, if to do so would cause himself inconvenience.

(*c*) Castes, themselves untouchable, are often more intolerant in their treatment of other untouchables than the twice-born themselves.

19. *Untouchability the minimum criterion.*—It follows, therefore, from what has been said, that untouchability cannot be regarded as a good, and still less a decisive, criterion of social status; for in certain circumstances anybody may become untouchable, whilst with relatively little trouble, anybody who is untouchable can relieve himself of the taint. The number of those who attach any importance to the principle is constantly growing smaller, and the principle itself is constantly growing weaker. If we confine ourselves strictly to the few castes which are untouchable to everybody, then untouchability may serve as a criterion of the *minimum* population that can be regarded as "depressed"; beyond that, however, its use would be dangerous. On the other hand, the degrading practices mentioned in paragraph 16, whether they do or do not connote untouchability, do connote a social status, which may, or may not, be sufficiently low to be consonant with "depression".

20. (2) *The food and water taboos.*— These taboos form the most common criterion of the social rank of any particular caste. They form one of the bases on which Sir Richard Burn erected his scheme of precedence, and for all Hindus they are of great importance. A classification of castes according to these taboos represents, in Sir Edward Gait's words (Census Report of 1911), the "external view of the social organization". To the individual his caste matters much, but it matters very little to anybody else. A Brahman will not care whether his neighbour belongs to this caste or that, but he will care whether he can take food or water from his hands. At first sight it would seem that these taboos provide an adequate criterion of the social position of any particular caste,—at all events, in any given locality, for the intercourse which can take place in

this matter varies from place to place. There are, however, many practical difficulties. The taboos themselves have always admitted of exceptions, for since the time of Manu it has always been recognized that the hungry traveller may obtain food as best he can, whether he thereby infringes caste regulations or not. The distinction drawn between *kachcha* food (food cooked with water) and *pakka* food (food cooked with butter, *ghee* or milk), forms another exception, and is an excellent example of practical casuistry. In modern times, again, the incidents of railway travelling have further relaxed these restrictions. It would be inconvenient to make inquiries regarding the caste of a platform food-vendor especially if the wait is a short one. "Having drunk water from his hands it is foolish to ask about his caste," says the proverb; and a wise traveller avoids trouble by making no inquiries at all. Finally, the number of high caste Hindus, who will dine in company with Hindus of any caste, or with Muslims and Europeans, is constantly growing; and such guests do not as a rule inquire to what caste the cook of the host belongs. In short, these taboos also, though they can scarcely be described as moribund, are sensibly weaker than they used to be a generation ago.

21. *The food taboos of the low castes.*—Again, many low castes are quite as particular as high castes regarding these food taboos. The Kumhar (potter), for instance, is in this respect on a par with the Kanaujia or Saraswat Brahman. The Majhwar and the Agaria, two primitive tribes in south Mirzapur, are on a par respectively with the Khattri and Kayastha. Out of 76 castes whose commensal taboos have been fully analysed, there are only four who will take food cooked or drink water given by almost anybody,—namely, the Bhangi, the Chamar, the Dom and the Kanjar (a vagrant tribe). In modern times as in ancient, the spirit of exclusiveness is as strong in some low castes as it is amongst the highest.

22. Lastly, in particular cases the taboos themselves are either irrational or merely sentimental. Why, for instance, should a twice-born caste be willing to take water from a man who transports goods by boat, and refuse to take it from a man who transports goods on the backs of bullocks or ponies? Why should he take water from a tailor and refuse to take it from a weaver? Why should he refuse to take water from a man whose oil he uses freely? The most striking instance of this, however, is that of the Kalwar. He has a longstanding claim to be regarded as a Vaishya. He is wealthy and his percentage of literacy is high. Yet no twice-born will take water from him, and the only reason appears to be that he sells liquor.

23. *Food taboos the maximum criterion.*—In short, though the food taboos are an important and well-nigh a decisive criterion of social status, the fact that a caste is debarred from offering either food or water to any twice-born caste cannot be regarded as decisive of its "depression". At the very most, it can be regarded as setting an upper limit, just as untouchability sets a lower limit, to the "depressed" classes.

24. (3) *Exclusion from orthodox domestic rites.*—At all times, throughout history, the Brahman priesthood have endeavoured to keep the *hina-jatyo* and the *hina-sippani* segregated, not only from Hindu society, but from the Hindu religion and the Hindu ceremonial. They were not allowed to hear, much less study, the Vedas : they must carry out all ceremonies without using the *mantras* (sacred texts) ; and no Brahman would carry out any domestic ceremony (*sanskara*) for them. And that is still the position ; there are many castes who are not served by Brahmans, yet have showed by their attempts to secure some trivial service from Brahmans, that they are desirous of receiving their recognition, and of being admitted as full members of the Hindu society. And if the term " depressed class " had only a historical or ethnographical significance, if it meant merely the lowest stratum in the Hindu caste system then I should reserve it for those whom no Brahman will serve. They are in precisely the same position as the old *hina-jatyo* and *hina-sippani*, who were the " depressed classes " of mediaeval times. Their position is pathetic, because they want what the Brahman will not give them, they are " depressed " in the full sense of the word. At the same time there would be difficulties in using this as the sole criterion of " depression ;" for there are many castes which possess their own deities, rites and priests (*baiga* and *ojha*), who are apparently content with them, and do not desire the ministrations of Brahmans except, sometimes, as astrologers. And some of these must certainly be classed as " depressed." Again, the disability itself is removable ; the prosperous Chamar, Bhar, or Pasi, can always find for themselves family priests. And since an individual by his own action can free himself of this disability, it must be regarded as the attribute of a person rather than of a caste.

25. *The difficulty of defining a depressed class.*—With criteria so wholly vague and inconclusive, it is not perhaps surprising that diffierent writers, each from his own point of view, have given such different meanings to the term " depressed." Some, for instance, would restrict it to the few groups, numbering perhaps a million in all, which are untouchable to everybody else without exception. Others would extend it so as to include all groups, in number some 13 millions, which are debarred from offering food or water to the twice-born. And there are some who would stretch the term so as to include not only those who can reasonably be called " depressed " but also those who can be labelled " back-ward " :— whereby they stretch the figure to some 27 millions or so, and turn what is usually regarded as a minority into a large majority. Nor, in view of the magnitude of the political issues now involved, is there any likelihood that these differences can be composed, indeed they are more likely to be emphasized.

Personally, I regard it as wholly impossible to devise a general formula capable of covering all cases of " depression." " Depression " is a question of fact, not of formula. I consider that the only possible method of deciding whether it exists in the case of an individual caste is to examine the circumstances of that caste in detail.

26. *The backward classes.*—Of recent years a considerable number of lower Sudra groups have endeavoured to join forces with the "depressed classes." They describe themselves as "backward;" they claim that in respect both of social status and civil position, the difference between themselves and the "depressed" is only one of degree, and that they are as much in need as the latter of special concessions and special treatment. The result is that in the later discussions on this subject, "depressed" and "backward" classes are linked together as if they were one. The term "backward" is as unfortunately chosen as the term "depressed." Firstly, what type of backwardness is meant? If it be backwardness in the matter of education, then, as one member of the Provincial Franchise Committee has pointed out, the term could justifiably be used to cover not only some, but all Sudras, and even a considerable number of the "twice-born." And if backwardness is interpreted as meaning the maintenance of primitive customs, beliefs and ideas, there are many continental nations which still cling to customs and superstitions quite as primitive as any to be found among our "backward" classes. Do not we ourselves dislike the number 13, the crossing of knives, the spilling of salt, and regard Friday as unlucky? Are not most of our Christmas customs survivals of pagan festivals? In short, the term "backward" is entirely relative; its content depends on the place where progress is supposed to end and backwardness to begain. Backwardness, like depression, must be regarded as a question of fact and not of formula; and here too, the only possible method of deciding whether it exists is to examine the circumstances of individual castes.

I commence, however, by certain general observations which may lighten the task of detailed examination.

Need for Social Uplift and Political Concessions.

27. *Social uplift.*—The Hindu social system is the most aristocratic in the world. A man is born a member of the caste to which his parents belong, and throughout his life remains a member of it. But ambition to rise in the social scale is as common in the East as in the West, and in favourable circumstances an individual, or a sub-caste, or even a whole caste, can rise to higher things. The progress of the parvenu has already been described (paragraph 8); and though that progress may be slow and even painful, yet it is sure, and long before it is complete, untouchability and other stigmata of "depression" will have passed away. Nor are such cases uncommon. Claims to higher social rank are usually ventilated at a census, for the claimants are anxious to be recorded by the new caste-name, which they have selected for themselves. In 1911 and 1921 no less than 26 low castes put forward such claims, of which seven claimed to be Brahmans, sixteen to be Kshattriya or Rajput, and three claimed to be Vaishya. There are many older claims. In short, the modern *hina-jatyo* or *hina-sippani* can and do rise in the social scale by their own unaided efforts, and do not need the assistance of a social reformer to raise them. But if a low caste does not need patronage, it does need its adequate share of opportunity. It is useless for a Chamar or Pasi to give their sons a university education, if the sons can find no

market for their degrees and no sphere of action for their energies. Nothing which any social reformer could do to raise the "depressed classes" will be half so effective as a government order making them eligible for appointment to services other than menial.

28. *Political concessions.*—The present composition of the Legislative Council is abnormal, for it includes twelve members belonging to low or depressed castes who owe their election to Congress support. Every other elected Hindu member in the present Council belongs to some twice-born caste; nor can I remember a single elected Sudra member in any previous Council. The reason is simple enough. In earlier days, the Brahman was not only the priest but the leader of society. The Rajput, whether king or petty baron, was the political ruler. To every Rajput clan were attached Sudra groups that lived under its protection and served it as cultivators, artisans, or menials; the relationship is proved by the fact that many Sudra sub-castes are still called by the names of Rajput clans. And the absence of Sudras from the Council to-day merely means that such folk still prefer to be represented by their natural protectors. It is impossible to say how long this preference will last. The historical bond between the twice-born leader and the Sudra follower has already been weakened, and the time is probably not far distant when the Sudras will cut themselves adrift, and seek to elect representatives from amongst their own community; which, in rural areas, is tantamount to saying that the tenantry will cut themselves adrift from the landlords. Personally, I believe that even under the present electoral system, the Sudra tenantry would in many districts be strong enough to defeat a landlord candidate; which belief is supported by the success of the Congress in capturing twelve seats for low caste representatives at the recent election. But whether that be true or not for the present, it will certainly be true in the future, when the franchise qualification has been lowered. And that fact has an important bearing on the present discussion, for clearly any class which can secure adequate representation through the general electorate requires no special franchise concession.

29. *Coercive processes available to low castes.*—Even if the electoral system were so constructed that only the twice-born could hope to secure election to the Council, yet their Sudra or low caste constituents have means at their disposal by which to compel their representatives to respect their wishes. Such castes are almost invariably ruled by councils (*panchayat*), of which there is one to each local section or brotherhood (*biradari*). These councils are generally composed either of all adult males in the brotherhood, or of representatives selected on one basis or another, and is ruled by a small committee, of which the headman of the brotherhood (*chaudhri*) is president. This headman is usually a permanent officer, either hereditary, or elected or nominated for life. These councils have authority to investigate and punish all offences against caste custom, and also to licence acts and omissions which by custom require their sanction. They are extremely powerful. Their decrees are binding on every member of the brotherhood, and anybody who disobeyed or ignored such a decree would render himself liable to be outcasted; whilst the

decrees of one brotherhood are almost invariably observed and put into effect by other brotherhoods. Moreover these councils can and frequently do take action against other castes should a cause of quarrel arise. Their weapons of offence are the strike and the boycott; the offended council will forbid its subjects to work for, or serve, or have any intercourse whatever with, the offender until he has placated it. If, for instance, a Nai (barber) quarrels with one of his clients, the Nai *panchayat* will take the case up, and the client will go unshaven until he makes terms. Municipal scavengers have more than once organized effective strikes against an obnoxious board, whilst in one famous case there was a caste strike against Government itself. The Koiri poppy-growers, being dissatisfied with the rates paid by Government for opium, assembled in joint *panchayat*, and decided to stop growing poppy till the rates were enhanced; and Government had to give way. In short the use of boycott and strike is well understood in India; and I have little doubt that, if necessary, caste *panchayats* would not hesitate to use these weapons in the political arena,—for instance, against representatives who consistently ignored their wishes. Indeed, unless I am mistaken, they have already been so used in the sphere of local self-government; whilst the Congress are constantly advocating the social boycott of their political opponents. This too is clearly a factor of which some account must be taken, when deciding whether a particular caste does or does not require any special franchise concession.

30. *Connection between social status and civil position.*—At the present moment all the Hindu majority, consisting of the "twice-born" and all the better Sudras, are anxious to avoid the possibility of being swamped in politics by the "depressed" and "backward" classes. They realize that if they expect these groups to be swallowed up in a general electorate, they cannot reasonably exclude them from the Hindu social system. They realize, moreover, that if they persist in such social exclusion, these groups will cut themselves off from Hinduism altogether, either by way of conversion to some proselytizing religion such as Islam, Christianity or the Arya Samaj or by forming themselves into a new and individual society, such as is implied in the term "Adi-Hindu." It is for this reason that the social uplift of the depressed classes figures so prominently in the programme, not only of Hindu social reformers, but of Hindu political leaders. In short, the depressed classes are likely to obtain social salvation through the political door. There are, however, indications to suggest that the twice-born castes have allowed the propitious moment to slip by unheeded. The present reforms have awakened a rudimentary sense of political values in the lower classes, which, especially in rural areas, are also beginning to understand the advantages of economic independence. And it may prove that the social benefit which Hinduism has to offer will not prove enough to draw the depressed back to their old relations with the "twice-born". The break between the two is not yet complete, but it has begun and is continuing.

31. Ad hoc *definitions of depressed and backward classes.*—In paragraphs 25 and 26, it has been suggested that the only possible method of deciding whether a caste should be classed as "depressed" or "back-

ward", as the case may be, is to examine the circumstances of that caste in detail. I now offer the following *ad hoc* definitions as a standard of decision :—

(1) A " depressed class " is one whose social, economic and other circumstances are such that it will be unable to secure adequate representation of its political views, or adequate protection of its interests, without some form of special franchise concession.

(2) A " backward class" is one whose circumstances are such that it could secure adequate representation of its political views or protection of its political interests through the general electorate, yet is unlikely to make use of its powers.

By these definitions I hope to emphasize the political object of this inquiry, whilst using the various social criteria not as decisive but as mere clues pointing to a decision.

Detailed examination of castes.

32. The highest caste which I have ever heard described as backward is the Ahir, and I have examined the circumstances of this caste and of all others that are placed below it in Sir Richard Burn's scheme of social precedence, 157 in all. I have arranged these castes in convenient classes and groups, and in Appendix I*, I have given for each caste or group sufficient information to serve as a basis for decision regarding its social and civil position. Appendix II† is a table which shows for each group and class the population which is respectively " touchable ", " untouchable ", " not served by Brahman ", " depressed ", and " backward ". I should explain that the figures of population wherever possible are those of the 1931 census ; where these are not available, I have used the figures of the 1901 census. As there were decreases of population in each of the two decades between 1901 and 1921, and a large increase in the decade 1921—1931, the probability is that the 1901 figures are not far from correct now.

Conclusions.

33. I now summarize the conclusions of this detailed examination :—

Class A.—Peasantry.—This is a class of about 9⅓ million population. It consists of nine groups consisting of 24 castes. The principal occupation of one of these groups is cattle-owning. A second is composed of shepherds and goat-herds, whilst a third specializes in intensive cultivation of all kinds such as the growing of poppy, flowers and fruit, and market-gardening. All these three, however, have ordinary cultivation as their subsidiary occupation, whilst it is the principal occupation of the other six groups. The vast majority are tenant-farmers and a large proportion are reasonably well-to-do, notably the cattle-owners and market-gardeners. Of the total population of 9⅓ million all except 480,000 are touchable and neither depressed nor backward. I have classed some 484,000 as backward.

* Page 318. † Page 328.

Class B—Village menials, labourers and watchmen.—This class consists of ten castes with a population of 820,000. It is divided into five groups. Three of these groups and a small part of a fourth, totalling some 354,000, are depressed, of which 244,000 are also untouchable.

Class C—Riverine class and group.—This consists of seven castes with a total population of 965,000. The members of this caste are all by tradition fishermen and boatmen, and many still follow that occupation, though a considerable number have taken to cultivation. This is a difficult group to place. Their social and economic condition is certainly better than that of any other group which has been classed as backward; and they should be able to make their wishes felt through the general electorate if they combine with other similar castes. Unfortunately, the nature of their occupation sends them far afield; and combination, even amongst themselves, might be difficult. They insist that they are "backward", and though I am inclined to doubt it, I have shown them as such.

Class D—Artisans.—This class consists of twelve castes arranged in six groups, with a population of over $8\frac{3}{4}$ million, of which over six million belong to one caste, the Chamar. Of these only 5 million have been classified both as untouchable and depressed and $2\frac{3}{4}$ million as backward; just over a million consisting of the Barhai group and some weavers, are neither. In this group I have included two puzzling castes; the Kumhar which, though exhibiting every outward sign of depression, is touchable, eats clean food, and is admitted by nobody to be depressed; and a weaver group, of which five-sixths are by unanimous consent classed as both untouchable and depressed with little or no obvious reason. I have classed the Kumhar as backward.

Class E—Carriers.—This consists of only one group of three castes. The total population is only 49,000 none of whom are depressed or backward.

Class F—Domestic servants.—This class consists of eighteen castes arranged in five groups. The population is over 3 million. Of these one million are untouchable and depressed, and about 1-1/3 million are backward. The rest, consisting of two groups, are neither.

Class G—Tradesmen and manufacturers.—This class consists of twenty castes arranged in seven groups. The total population is just under 2 million, of which a small group of 4,000 has been classed as backward. The rest are neither backward nor depressed.

Class H—Dancers, singers, jesters and musicians.—This is a small class of ten castes arranged in three groups, the total population of which is under 19,000. Of these 7,000 are classed as depressed. The rest are neither depressed nor backward.

Class J—Sectarian castes.—This is a small group consisting of two castes with a population of under 38,000, which are neither depressed nor backward.

Class K—Primitive tribes.—This class consists of 32 tribes in five groups numbering in all 2-1/3 million. The whole of this group is both untouchable and depressed.

Class L—Vagrant tribes.—These consist of 19 castes arranged in four groups of which the total population is just under 112,000. The whole of these are depressed and save one small caste, 800 strong, the whole are also untouchable.

Total figures.—The population dealt with is just under 27,470,000. Of these 9,182,000 are untouchable, whilst 8,077,000 are not served by Brahmans. The number of depressed works out at 8,812,000 and of backward classes at 6,046,000.

Conclusion.—It is no part of my object in this note to suggest what special franchise concessions should be granted to the "depressed" and "backward" classes. All I need say by way of conclusion is that in my opinion the "depressed" certainly requires such a concession. As regards the backward classes, I am doubtful. *Ex hypothesi*, they are capable of obtaining sufficient representation or protection for their interests through the general electorate, but for reasons which make up their "backwardness", are not likely to use that power. They will, however, quickly learn to do so; and I consider that if any concession is given to them, it should be for a strictly limited period, which I put at not more than ten years from the first election held under the new franchise.

March 3, 1932. E. A. H. BLUNT.

APPENDIX I.

Notes.—1. Clean food consists of the following: —Grain pulse, vegetables, sugar, milk, *ghee*, butter; mutton, goat's flesh, venison and game birds. Some high castes also eat wild boar's flesh and scaled fish. Poultry are regarded as unclean, but not sufficiently so to make a caste untouchable. The flesh of the domestic pig, beef, and all animals not commonly used for food, such as field rats, tortoises, crocodiles, bear's flesh or monkey, are positively unclean, and the use of any of these meats would render a caste untouchable to a Brahman. The drinking of spirituous liquor is lowering, but by itself does not make the drinker untouchable.

2. *Service of Brahman priests* means the possession of a Brahman family priest (*purohit*), who will serve the domestic rites (*sanskara*), of which there are sixteen. The twice-born may, and should, carry out all of them: the Sudra should carry out all but the *upanayana* rite, which makes the initiate twice-born; but probably most people other than Brahmans, whether once-born or twice-born, carry out only the more important rites, connected with birth, marriage, and death.

3. *Untouchable*, save where the term is further defined, means following one of the practices described in para. 16, which formerly made a caste wholly untouchable to Brahmans.

4. *Food taboos.*—For these purposes food is divided into *kachcha*, which means food cooked with water, and *pakka*, which means food cooked with *ghee*, butter and milk. The restrictions regarding the latter are much less stringent than the restrictions regarding the former. It must be remembered that the restrictions apply, not to the donor of the food, but to the cook. The Brahman may accept uncooked food from an untouchable, and also cooked food, if the untouchable's cook is of a suitable caste.

5. *Social classes according to Sir Richard Burn's classification.*—Group VIII consists of castes from whom some of the twice-born will take *pakka* food, and all will take water.

Group IX consists of castes from whose hands some of the twice-born will take water, whilst others will not.

Group X consist of castes from whom the twice-born cannot take water, and is subdivided into three sections:

(*a*) with respectable occupations.

(*b*) with occupations considered more or less degrading,

(*c*) suspected of criminal practices.

Group XI consists of such castes as are untouchable, but do not eat beef.

Group XII consists of such castes as eat beef and vermin, and are considered filthy.

Rural groups.

A.—Peasantry.

(1) *Ahir group.—Ahar, Ahir, Bhurtiya, Harjala.*—The first two castes are closely connected, the third and fourth are offshoots of the second, which is the parent tribe in this class, descended from the Abhiras, a non-Aryan (possibly Scythian) pastoral race, and traditionally connected with the cult of the god Krishna. They are cattle owners, though many have become cultivators. The Ahir claims connection with the Rajput; all are orthodox Hindus, eat clean food, and are served by Brahman priests. The first three are in group VIII, the fourth, which has lost status by taking to begging, is in group X (*b*). The Ahir possesses a strong *panchayat*. None of these castes can be classed as either "depressed" or "backward".

(2) *Kachhi group.—Baghban, Mali, Saini, Kachhi, Murao, Koiri, Kunjra.*—All of these castes are closely connected to each other and probably to the important Kurmi tribe. They are all cultivators, specialising in market gardening, the growing of fruit, flowers poppy, and similar forms of intensive cultivation. They are all orthodox Hindus, and eat clean food, are served by Brahman priests, and as a rule are much better of than most cultivating castes. Kunjra is an occupational name (greengrocer), usually reserved for Muslims. These Hindu Kunjras are probably members of one or other of the former castes, who have taken to selling instead of growing vegetables. They are all in group VIII, and possess *panchayats*. The Kachhi has recently set up a claim to Rajput (Kachhwaha) descent. None of these castes can be classed as "depressed" or "backward".

(3) *Lodha group—Soiri, Kisan, Khagi, Lodha, Gorchha.*—These are all cultivating castes. The Soiri is probably of non-Aryan origin, whilst the Gorchha is of unknown descent. The other three are probably offshoots of the Kumri tribe. All of them, however, claim Rajput descent, which claim seems to be admitted in the first case. All of them are orthodox Hindus, eating clean food and served by Brahman priests, though some Gorchhas drink liquor. All of them are in group VII; the last three possess *panchayats*.—None of these castes are "depressed" or "backward".

(4) *Bhar.*—This tribe represents the remnants of a Dravidian and possibly autochthonous race, which once held Oudh and the eastern districts, and was dispossessed by immigrant Rajput clans which were set moving by the Muslim invasions of the mediaeval era. This race before its downfall was well advanced in civilization, but the modern Bhar is on a much lower level. One section, known as Rajbhar, is of higher social standing than the rest. He claims to be a Rajput, is served by Brahmans, and only eats clean food. The ordinary Bhar keeps pigs and eats pork, and accordingly is untouchable to Brahmans, with whom in matters of ritual he has little or nothing to do. All of them have many primitive beliefs and customs. But their social position is undoubtedly higher than that of other similar tribes. He is in group X (*a*), and has a *panchayat*. Being a cultivator of fair standing he cannot be regarded as depressed, but he must certainly be classed as backward.

(5) *Bhoksa group—Bhotiya, Bhoksa, Tharu.*—The Bhotiya caste is composed of immigrants, either from Tibet or Bhutwal in Nepal. The other two castes live in the Tarai and Bhabar which are submontane tracts below the Himalayas. The first of these is now wholly Hinduized; they eat clean food, are served by Brahman priests, and have adopted all important Hindu customs. The Bhoksa possesses legends of Rajput descent. He is an orthodox Hindu and served by Brahmans, though his food is not always clean. The Tharu varies. In some places he is as advanced as the Bhoksa; and in others he is decidedly backward, eating unclean food, possessing primitive customs and having little to do with Brahmans. Both Bhoksa and Tharu, however, live for the most part in certain Government estates, and are well looked after. All three castes are cultivators by occupation, they are placed in group X (*a*), and have *panchayats*. I do not think any of these castes can be called depressed, but the more primitive Tharus must be classed as "backward". I have taken a high estimate of over 50 per cent. as such.

(6) *Phansiya.*—The Phansiya is an offshoot of the Pasi tribe, which first came to notice as a separate caste in 1911. They were formerly hunters and fowlers, but have now settled down to cultivation and fruit selling. They eat clean food, are served by Brahmans, and imitate all the restrictions of higher castes. The caste is a good example of a rise in the social scale as a result of adopting a respectable occupation. They were not included in Sir Richard Burn's classification, as they had not then a separate existence I would put them not lower than group X (*a*). There is a strong *panchayat*. I regard them as "backward", and estimate their number at 700. No census figure is available.

(7) *Gidhiya.*—This caste came to notice for the first time in 1911. It claims to be descended from Gujarat Rajputs, but is more probably an offshoot of the

criminal tribe called Bawariya. Traditionally, they are birdcatchers and used to be criminals, but have now settled down to cultivation. They are orthodox Hindus. Their food, though they eschew pork, fowls and beef, is unclean, because they eat carrion. This caste was not listed by Sir Richard Burn, having only been subsequently formed. I should put it in group XI (*b*). There is a *panchayat*. I class the Gidhiya as depressed.

(8) *Meo.*—The other names for this caste are Mewati, Mina and Mina-Meo. There are both Hindu and Muslim branches and it is very hard to distinguish them: for many Muslim Meos call themselves by Hindu names, and also preserve various Hindu customs and beliefs. Throughout their history they have been turbulent and troublesome—the most desperate rogues in India, as one writer calls them. They are certainly not untouchable, though they are best avoided. They are placed in group X (*c*), and have a *panchayat*. They are certainly "backward", though they require rather the restraining influence of the police, than the uplift of a social reformer.

(9) *Gadariya.*—This is a caste of shepherds, goatherds and blanket weavers, the origin of which is uncertain. They are orthodox Hindus, served by Brahman priests, and are particularly careful about their food, drink and personal purity. They are in group IX, and possess a *panchayat*. The Gadariya claims to be a Pali Rajput. He is neither "depressed", nor "backward".

B.—Village menials, watchmen and labourers.

(1) *Luniya group—Luniya, Beldar, Kharot.*—The parent caste in this group is the Luniya. The common occupation is earthwork and the making of saltpetre. Most Luniyas eat clean food; the other two castes eat pork, and are accordingly untouchable. None of them have Brahman priests. Some of them have taken to agriculture, and have accordingly risen in the social scale, but the status of most of them is decidedly low. They are in group X(*b*). The Luniya and Beldar have strong *panchayats*. The Luniya can scarcely be regarded as "depressed" though he is "backward". The other two are depressed.

(2) *Arakh group—Arakh, Khangar, Kotwar.*—The Arakh and Khangar are closely connected; indeed, in some tracts they describe themselves in terms which can only mean that they are two branches of the same caste. The Kotwar is merely one section of the Khangar. As a whole, these castes appear to be offshoots of the Pasi tribe. They are employed as village menials, watchmen, and labourers. Some Khangars claim Rajput descent; and though they are certainly of non-Aryan origin, a very large body of tradition makes it plain that they did actually rule in the past. These Khangars, of course, follow all the twice-born customs of the Rajput. The rest are of lower status, but they eat only clean food, and employ Brahmans, though of somewhat inferior grade, to serve their rites. They are decidedly less backward than most of the Pasi tribes, but must be placed among the "depressed". The Arakh and Kotwar are placed in group X(*b*), the Khangar in group X(*c*), because he is suspected of criminal practices, notably, theft and burglary. Nonetheless, he is very often appointed the village chaukidar. The Arakh and Khangar have *panchayats*.

(3) *Sejwari group—Sunkar, Sejwari.*—Both these castes belong to Bundelkhand. The former are labourers, the latter serve the Bundela Rajputs as menial servants or watchmen. Though the social status of both is low, they appear to be orthodox Hindus and are served by Brahmans. Little is known of them and their customs, but the worst alleged against them is that they drink liquor. The Sejwari is placed in group IX, the Sunkar in group XI. They can be classed as "backward".

(4) *Dusadh.*—The Dusadh is a menial tribe found in the east of the provinces; whose origin is very uncertain. Some of their legends would suggest a mixed descent, but more probably they are of non-Aryan stock. At one time they seem to have been soldiers, and it is said that most of Lord Clive's army at Plassey was composed of Dusadhs. They appear to be regarded as untouchable, but it is difficult to imagine why, for they eat only clean food and follow clean occupations,

being mostly ploughmen or watchmen. On the other hand, they have no Brahman priests, and though they assert that they are orthodox Hindus, many of their deities and beliefs are decidedly primitive. An attempt has been made to connect the name with Dhusiya, which is a sub-caste of the Chamar, but the derivation is impossible, and their affinities seem to be rather with the Gond and Pasi tribes than with any occupational group. They are placed in group XI, and have a strong *panchayat*. They are " depressed."

(5) *Dhanuk.*—The origin of this tribe is unknown. One Bhangi group is called Dhanuk, but is most probably an offshoot from the parent tribe which has taken to scavenging. In some places too one of the Dhanuk sub-castes is Dusadh. Apart from this, however, it appears to have no affinities with any other castes of the same status. One early ethnologist appears to regard them as of Parthian (Pahlava) descent, on the ground that the name can be derived from a Sanskrit word meaning " archer," but the theory is scarcely convincing. By occupation, Dhanuks are village menials, day labourers and watchmen, whilst their women are midwives. They eat unclean food and drink freely of liquor, and though they call themselves orthodox Hindus, they have many primitive beliefs and are not served by Brahmans except as astrologers. They are placed in group XI, and have a strong *panchayat*. They are " depressed."

C.—Riverine.

Kewat group.—Mallah, Kewat, Bind, Sorahiya, Tyar, Chai and Kadhera.—It is difficult to decide which caste should be regarded as " parent " in this group. The title is possibly best assigned to the Kewat, who is usually regarded as the modern representative of the ancient Kaivarta. The pedigree of this caste is uncertain. According to Manu, the Kaivarta is descended from a Nishada father and an Ayogavi mother, a class itself descended from a Sudra father and a Vaishya mother,—a very low descent, since in both generations, the father was the lower of the two parents in rank. Some Puranas on the other hand, give the Kaivarta a Kshatriya father and a Vaishya mother, a far more distinguished parentage. Both Kewat and Mallah claim to be descendants of the ancient Nishadas, and it is mainly on this ground that they now insist on being reckoned amongst the " backward " classes. The argument, of course, is by no means conclusive, for groups of quite as undistinguished descent have risen in the social scale. So much, however, is certain that these groups are all inextricably linked together, for each appears as a sub-caste in one or more other groups. They also appear to be connected with the Kahar and Luniya groups. By occupation, they are traditionally fishermen and boatmen, but at the present day many are cultivators. They are all of them apparently orthodox Hindus and served by Brahman priests. For the most part also they eat only clean food, and fish, though some eat such food as tortoises and crocodiles. They are all placed in group IX, Kewat, Bind, and Chai have *panchayats* : in all probability the rest have them too, but I cannot find the fact recorded. I think they have quite enough independence to make their voice heard in a general electorate if they choose : but their occupation will make difficult any combination with other group for political purposes, and, though with some hesitation, I class them as " backward."

Rural and urban groups.

D.—Artisans.

(1) *Barhai group—Barhai, Kunera, Lohar.*—These are respectively the carpenter, the turner and the blacksmith. The Kunera is merely an offshot of the Barhai. Both Barhai and Lohar claim to be Vishvakarmabansi Brahmans—a more suitable pedigree for the Lohar than the Barhai, since Vishvakarma is the Hindu Vulcan. They are also orthodox Hindus eating clean food and served by Brahmans. All of them are placed in group VIII and have *panchayats*. They are neither " depressed " nor " backward."

(2) *Kumhar.*—The Kumhar is the village potter. He is a quiet, respectable and industrious artisan, specially fastidious in matters of food and of food taboos.

His ceremonies are orthodox, but he has little to do with Brahmans in his domestic rites, which are carried out not by a *purohit*, but by the Nai. Brahmans, on the other hand, will fix auspicious days for his ceremonies. The Kumhar's status is everywhere low, though he is trying to rise in the social scale. He is despised because he has to handle rubbish and sweepings as fuel for his kilns, and he is associated with that impure beast, the donkey. Others despise him as a kind of butcher, because he cuts the throats of his pots when he takes them from the wheel. He does not appear to be untouchable to anybody and indeed he can offer water to the twice-born, being placed in group IX. He has a strong *panchayat*. I cannot class him as " depressed," though he is backward.

(3) *Kori group—Orh, Balai, Kori.*—By tradition the members of all these castes are weavers and most of them are so still ; but many Koris have taken to agriculture or domestic service, whilst some Orhs have prospered and are now moneylenders and landholders. The parent caste in this group is the Kori, of which both the others were originally sub-castes. The Kori, as his sectional nomenclature proves, is of very mixed origin. His social status also varies according to his occupation ; those who have taken to domestic service or agriculture are regarded as considerably higher than the weavers, and are certainly touchable. The others are generally regarded as untouchable, eating unclean food, whilst Brahmans apparently have little to do with them. The Orh is of considerably higher status. He eats clean food together with fish and fowl, is served by Brahmans of a good class. He is often an orthodox Vaishnava. The Balai eats unclean food and drinks liquor but he is served by Brahmans and is often an orthodox Vaishnava. He can scarcely therefore be regarded as untouchable.

The Orh is in group X (*a*) the Kori and Balai in group XI. The Koris that have taken to domestic service should be placed as high at least as group IX. The Kori possesses a strong *panchayat*. I class Orh, Balai and the Koris of the three western divisions as neither " depressed " nor " backward." The rest of the Koris I class as " depressed."

(4) *Chamar group—Chamar, Dabgar, Gharami.*—In villages the Chamar is the currier, tanner and leather worker, and also the village drudge. He is unclean because he handles the bodies of dead animals, especially cattle. His women are the village midwives, another unclean occupation. He eats unclean food not excepting beef, whilst as a rule no Brahman priest will serve him. In some parts of the province he is compelled to live in a hamlet of his own (*chamrotia*) ; even the lowest castes regard him as untouchable. On the other hand, many Chamars have taken to cleaner occupations such as those of saddler (*zingar*), cobbler (*mochi*), groom (*syce*), whilst the extension of the leather trade at Cawnpore and elsewhere has enabled many Chamars to become wealthy, when they aim at a social status much higher than that of their village brethren. Such Chamars are generally regarded as touchable, and many change the caste name for something less ill-sounding, for instance, Kuril, Aharwar, Jatia, Dhusia and, especially, Jaiswar. The Dabgar and Gharami are small offshoots which have taken respectively to the making of leather vessels and thatching. All of these are placed in group XII, but I am inclined to think that only the village Chamars are properly placed there, whilst the rest should be placed probably as high as group X (*b*). The Chamar has a very strong *panchayat*. I class the great majority of Chamars as " depressed ". Those who have risen in the social scale to some extent I class as " backward ." I estimate the number of the latter at 2,000,000.

(5) *Khairwa.*—This is a small caste of catechu makers found in Jhansi. They are on much the same level as the Dusadh, whom in some respects they resemble. They eat only clean food, have primitive bel efs of their own, and do not employ Brahmans as priests. They are placed in group X (*b*). I class these as " backward."

(6) *Dalera.*—This is a small tribe which may be akin to Khagis. They are basket makers, labourers and thieves. They are orthodox Hindus in all respects. They are placed in group X (*c*). I class these as " backward. "

E.—Carriers.

Banjara group—Banjara, Belwar, Naik (plains).—The parent caste is the Banjara. Naik is the name of one of the sections (five Hindus and two Muslims), into which the caste is divided, whilst Belwar appears to be merely another name for Naik in some districts. They share a common occupation, the carrying trade; but many are now tradesmen or cultivators. A caste of this kind is naturally of mixed composition, but its Hindu branches taken as a whole may be regarded as entirely orthodox. All of them eat clean food, though some drink spirits, and all of them are served by Brahman priests. Indeed, the Naik and Belwar claim, apparently with good reason, to be of Brahmanical origin; in the case of the Belwar, the claim was admitted in 1911. The Banjara has a *panchayat*. They belong to group X (*a*). I class these as neither "depressed" nor "backward."

F.—Domestic servants.

(1) *Nai.*—The Nai is a village barber and performer of minor operations such as setting bones, drawing teeth and lancing boils. He is an orthodox Hindu, served by Brahman priests and eating clean food, though some drink spirits. He is an important member of the village community; his trade gives him the right of entry into all households, with the result that he has become the village news-monger whilst many caste councils use him as their messenger to summon the brotherhood together. As a village tradesman goes, he is prosperous, receiving not only annual dues from his clients, but special fees for marriages, confinements and other important occurrences. His caste has a powerful *panchayat*. He is placed in group VIII. I class him as neither "depressed" nor "backward".

(2) *Bari group—Bari, Bargahi.*—The traditional occupation of both Bari and Bargahi is the making of leaf platters, such as are used at Hindu feasts. They are, however, also household and personal servants. Little is known of their origin, and their sectional nomenclature does not help, as this consists mostly of local names. They are both orthodox Hindus, eating clean food, and served by Brahmans. At the present day, many have taken to cultivation. They are placed in group VIII; the Bari has a *panchayat*. As servants, it would be difficult for them to make their wishes heard in spite of their masters; and I class them as "backward."

(3) *Kahar group—Dhimar, Gharuk, Gond, Goriya, Kahar, Kamkar, Singhariya.*—This group requires description rather more detailed than usual, for their position is a subject of controversy. The parent caste in this group is the Kahar which has a variety of occupations, being fishermen, palanquin bearers, domestic servants, and growers of certain special crops, notably, the *singhara* nut or water caltrop. The Dhimar and Goriya are groups which specialize in fishing; and the Singhariyas, as their name implies, specialize in growing *singhara*. The rest are for the most part domestic servants, though some Gonds are stone cutters and grain parchers. The Gharuk is the Hindu "bearer," who serves Europeans. Traditionally, the Kahar is descended from a Brahman father and a Nishada or Chandala mother; which may be interpreted as connoting a mixture of Arya and non-Arya blood. The Rawani sub-caste of Kahars claims to be Chandrabansi Kshattriyas, a very high class. Kahars are orthodox Hindus, and with few exceptions eat only clean food. They are also apparently served by Brahmans, though for legendary reasons they refuse to accept Brahmans as their spiritual guides (*guru*). Those who are engaged in domestic service regard themselves as superior to the groups which follow other occupation; but all of them are placed in Group VIII, and consequently rank relatively high in the social scale. They are particular regarding their own food taboos, which is natural enough, since by carelessness they might become unfit for their principal occupation of domestic servant. I think they must be classed as "backward." They would scarcely venture to oppose their masters in politics.

(*Note.*—This Kahar Gond should be carefully distinguished from the Gond tribe of Central India, which has a few representatives in Bundelkhand.)

(4) *Dhobi.*—The social position of the washerman caste is very low. One authority writes of him "no Hindu of any caste, even the lowest, will wash his

own clothes, and so the Dhobi has been formed into a caste which will bear the impurities of all." His unpleasant occupation, especially the fact that he washes the clothing of women when they are themselves unclean, stamps him as specially impure; even the lowest castes despise him, will have nothing to do with him and, though untouchable themselves, will not touch him. This is true even of the Dom. Apart from that he eats unclean food, and except in some of his marriage ceremonies does not appear to be served by Brahmans. The fact that he occasionally, though not invariably, uses asses to take soiled clothes to the washing place and back again is also against him. Yet the highest caste regularly employ him, and cannot regard him as untouchable in the fullest sense, since they allow him to wash their clothes. Nobody of course will take either food or water from him. He is placed in group XI and has a very strong *panchayat*. I class him as "depressed."

(5) *Bhangi group.*—Strictly speaking there is no longer a Bhangi caste, if indeed there ever was one. It is a group composed of a number of castes, all of which follow the profession of scavenging; Hela, Balmiki, Rawat, Dhanuk, Turaiha, Lalbegi, are the principal groups, together with Shaikhmehtar, who call themselves Muhammadans. They are of course hopelessly unclean and untouchable to all. They are not served by Brahmans, and their beliefs are wholly their own. They are classed in group XII and most, if not all of the Bhangi castes, have strong *panchayats*. I class them as "depressed."

Urban Groups.

G.—Tradesman and manufacturers.

(1) *Sonar group—Sonar, Niyaria, Kasera, Thathera.*—These are all metal workers. The first is a goldsmith, the second a metal refiner, the other two work in brass. They are orthodox Hindus, eat clean food and are served by Brahman priests. All of them are of respectable status. Some Sonars, indeed claim Kshattriya origin. They are in group VIII, and all of them except the Kasera have *panchayats*. These are neither "backward" nor "depressed."

(2) *Barai group—Barai, Tamboli.*—These two castes specialise in the growing and selling of betel (*pan*) and are closely connected. Like most castes which are connected with the production of articles of food, they are careful to preserve their personal purity, eat only clean food and are served by Brahmans. They belong to group VIII, and have *panchayats*. These are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

(3) *Darzi Group—Bharbhunja, Chhipi, Dhunia, Patwa, Tarkihar, Darzi.*—These are all occupational castes, respectively grain parcher, calico printer, cotton Carder, braid maker, makers of palm-leaf ornaments and spangles, and tailor. All of them are orthodox Hindus eating clean food and served by Brahmans. Many Darzis claim to be Kayasthas. They are all in group IX, except the Dhunia who is in group X(*b*). The Chhipi, Dhunia and Darzi all have *panchayats*. These are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

(4) *Churihar group—Churihar, Lakhera, Manihar.*—This is a group of cognate castes; all of them manufacture glass bang'es, whilst the Lakhera also makes bangles of lac, and the Manihar makes tinfoil. Nearly all Lakheras are Hindus, but most of the other two castes are Muslims. They are orthodox Hindus, eating clean food and served by Brahmans. They belong to group X (*a*); the Chaurihar and Manihar have *panchayats*. These are neither "depressed" not "backward".

(5) *Ramaiya group—Saiqalgar, Ramaiya.*—The traditional occupation of the Saiqalgar is that of armourer. At the present day, however, they are mostly wandering knife-grinders. Most of them are Muslims. The Ramaiya's occupation is peddling and trading. He is sometimes a Sikh, sometimes a Hindu. Little is known of either of these castes, but both appear to be of respectable standing. The Ramaiya is in group X (*a*), and the Saiqalgar in group XI; both, however, are probably placed rather too low. These may be regarded as "backward."

(6) *Kalwar group—Kalwar, Teli.*—These two are occupational castes. The Kalwar is traditionally connected with the sale of liquor, though now a days he

is a general trader and moneylender. The Teli is the oil-presser. Both are orthodox Hindus, served by Brahmans and eating clean food. The Kalwar has a long standing claim to Vaishya descent. Both have been placed in group X (*a*), but at the present day that is probably too low. Both have *panchayats*. These are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

(7) *Mochi.*—The Mochi has a complicated history. Thirty-five years ago there were two kinds of Mochi; the shoemaker and cobbler who was a Chamar and the saddler and harness maker who claimed to a Srivastava Kayastha, and apparently *was* so, since he intermarried with them. The former has prospered, considerably, and for the last 20 years he has called himself Kayastha-Mochi, thus claiming to be a Kayastha, though no Kayastha will admit the claim. At the present day they are probably all orthodox Hindus and served by Brahman priests. They are placed in group X (*b*) and have a *panchayat*. These are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

H.—Dancers, singers, jesters and Musicians.

(1) *Gandharb group—Gandharb, Radha Bhagat, Paturiya, Kanchan, Naik (hills).*—The common occupations of all these castes are singing, dancing, and prostitution. Radha and Bhagat are merely two names for the same caste, whilst Naik is the name given to the dancing girls of Kumaun. All of them are orthodox Hindus, particular about their food and their personal purity, and served by Brahmans. The Gandharb, however, ranks rather higher than the rest. Amongst the Naiks, the men are cultivators and traders and actually wear the sacred thread (*janeo*). The Gandharb belongs to Group IX, the rest are in group X (*b*). These are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

(2) *Bhand.*—These are jesters and buffoons. All, but a very few, are Muslims, and it seems probable that in the case of the Hindu Bhands, the name is occupational rather than a caste name. They probably belong to the principal group in this class. They are placed in group X (*b*). These are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

(3) *Dharhi group—Dharhi, Kingaria, Pawariya.*—These are different names for the same caste, an offshoot from the Dusadh. Its occupation is dancing, singing and begging. They eat unclean food and are not served by Brahmans. Their reputation is unsavoury, because they go about with women of bad character and their social status is very low. They are in group X (*b*). These are "depressed."

J.—Sectarian classes.

(1) *Sectarian groups—Atit, Sadh.*—These are religious sects, which in process of time have become castes. Atits are orthodox Hindus in all respects. The Sadhs are a unitarian sect dating back to 1543, and originally recruited from a number of castes. They are vegetarians, followers of the simple life, and specialize in cotton printing. They are of good social status, being placed in group VIII. These are not "depressed" nor "backward."

K.—Primitive tribes.

(1) *Kolarian group—Agariya, Bhuiya, Bhuiyar, Chero, Ghasiya, Khairaha, Kharwar, Kol, Korwa, Majhwar (Manjhi), Panka, Parahiya, Patari.*—These tribes are known as the Kolarian group, found mostly in South Mirzapur, though the Kol extends also into Bundelkhand. Though some of them have in minor matters been influenced by more advanced neighbours, their beliefs, customs and ceremonies are all primitive and essentially non-Aryan. Amongst many of them, for instance, there are distinct traces of totemism. They used to be jungle tribes, but many have now taken to cultivation. With the exception of the Majhwar and the Patari, all of them eat pork, and some eat beef. With few exceptions, all their rites and ceremonies are carried out by their own priests, known as *baigas*, who generally belong either to the Bhuiyar or Patari tribes. They also employ devil priests or exorcisors (*ojhas*). Occasionally, the less backward use Brahmans, but only as astrologers.

The Benbasi section of the Kharwar tribe is much higher than the rest. Its head is the Raja of Singrauli; they now call themselves Benbansi Rajputs and not only are served by Brahman priests, but wear the *janeo*, and have actually succeeded in intermarrying with Chandel Rajputs. The Agriya and ordinary Kharwar are in group XII, the rest are in group X (*b*). Many, if not all of them, have *panchayats*. They are all "depressed."

NOTES.—(*i*) The name Bhuiyar is also used in Mirzapur for the caste elsewhere called Orh: and in the same district there is yet another group called by this name, which seems to be an offshoot of the Chamar caste that has taken to weaving.

(*ii*) The Majhwar Manjhi must be carefully distinguished from the Mallah Manjhi.

(2) *Bayar group—Banmanus, Bayar, Dhangar, Musahar.*—These tribes are of much the same status and racial affinities as the Kolarian group. They are possibly not quite so primitive, but it is a question only of degree. All of them eat unclean food. The Dhangar and most Musahars are served by *baigas* though some of the latter use Brahmans as astrologers; the Bayar, however, is sufficiently advanced to be served by Brahman priests. For the most part, they are ploughmen or villags menials. The Banmanus, which is a sub-caste of the Musahars, still lives in the jungle and makes a living out of jungle produce. The Bayar is in group X(*b*), the rest in group XII. All have *panchayats*. They are all "depressed."

(3) *Dom group—Balahar, Bansphor, Basor, Dharkar, Dom (plains), Domar.*—Domar is merely another name for Dom, used in some districts. The other four are all sections of the main Dom tribe which have settled down to some comparatively respectable occupation. All of them eat unclean food and are thoroughly untouchable, whilst none of them employ Brahmans for any purpose. They rank very low in the social scale; indeed, the Dom is probably the lowest caste in the province. The Bansphor and Dharkar are placed in group XI, the rest in group XII. All of them have *panchayats*. They are all "depressed."

(4) *Pasi group—Aheriya, Baheliya, Kabariya, Khatik, Pasi, Tarmali.*—One of the most important of our low tribes is the Pasi, which is the parent tribe in this group. It is spread all over the eastern districts and Oudh, and is probably connected with the famous Bhil tribe of Central India. It has played an important part in history, and may once have been a ruling race. The traditional occupation of the Pasi is tapping palm trees, but they are now labourers, cultivators, distillers of illicit liquor, watchmen and thieves. Tarmali is merely another name for Pasi, alluding to their traditional occupation. Aheriyas and Baheliyas are hunters and fowlers in the western districts. They are offshoots of the Pasi tribe, which are closely connected and indeed claim to be identical. The Khatik is an occupational offshoot of the Pasi tribe, whose principal business is that of a greengrocer; but some of them are also butchers. Another name for them is Chik. Kabariya is merely the name of a Khatik section. All of these groups eat pork and other unclean food, except the Baheliya. All of them, except the Khatik, employ Brahmans to serve their rites or as astrologers. All of them, of course, drink liquor. Their status is very low. The Baheliya is especially despised because his methods of snaring birds are regarded as unpleasantly cruel. Taken as a whole they are not so low, however, as any of the three former groups. All of them are placed in group XI, most of these groups have *panchayats*. They are all "depressed."

(5) *Hill-Dom group—Silpkar (hill-Dom), Saun.*—Silpkar is a name recently appropriated by the hill tribes, which were till recently called Dom. The social system in the hills is entirely different from that which we know in the plains. Apart from immigrants, there are only three main social groups, Brahmans, Rajputs and Doms or Silpkars. The two first are divided in Brahmans and Rajputs proper, and Khas Brahmans and Khas Rajputs. According to popular opinion, the Khas Brahmans and Khas Rajputs are descended from the Khasa race, which at a very early date settled in Kumaun. Dom is not the name of a tribe, as it is in the plains, but the name of an aboriginal race, popularly believed, to be descended from the Dasyu, which was enslaved by the Khasas. It is now broken up into a

variety of occupational groups; but neither the Brahman not Rajput sections nor the Dom groups can be regarded as castes. They are merely social classes. For instance, a prosperous Dom can marry his daughter to a Khas Rajput. The Khas Rajput can sometimes get a real Rajput as a husband for his daughter. The rules governing intermarriage between the various Dom occupational groups are both lax and variable. On the other hand, a definite line is drawn between Brahman and Rajput on one side and Dom or Silpkar on the other. The former are within, the latter without, the social pale. Twenty-five years ago, all Doms were regarded as absolutely impure and untouchable; many, however, have risen, many more are struggling to rise, and in time will be successful. The adoption of a new name in place of Dom is proof of their desire for social uplift. They have not been separately shown in the scheme of social precedence; at the present time, however, I should be inclined to put them not lower than group X (*b*). The Saun is merely a small group of miners, belonging to the main Dom race. They are all "depressed."

L.—Vagrant Tribes.

(1) *Habura group—Bengali, Beriya, Bhantu, Habura, Kanjar, Karwal, Sansiya.*—All these tribes are closely connected. For the most part they are vagrant criminals, though some Kanjars are comparatively respectable shikaris. They all eat unclean food, are entirely untouchable, and employ Brahmans for no purpose whatever. The Bhantu and Sansiya are placed in group X (*d*), the Bengali, Beriya and Habura XI, the Kanjar in group XII. The Karwal was not separately listed. For practical purpose all of them can be regarded as in group XII. Most of these have *panchayats*. They are all "depressed."

(2) *Nat group—Badi, Bajaniya, Bajgi, Gual, Kalabaz, Nat.*—The parent stock in this class is the Nat; the other castes mentioned are all either sections of that caste or offshoots from it. The word "Nat" means dancer, but the tribe includes dancers, tumblers, acrobats of every variety; makers of combs, articles of grass and straw and metal; conjurors, jugglers, snake-charmers, tattooers, musicians, thimble-riggers, quack doctors—in a word, all those nondescript vagrants who wander about from fair to fair in search of a living that is always disreputable and often dishonest. All of them eat unclean food, are wholly untouchable, and none of them are serverd by Brahmans. The Nat is placed in group XI, and has a *panchayat*. None of the other groups were separately recorded in 1901. They are all "depressed."

(3) *Badhik group—Badhik, Barwar, Bawariya (Boriya), Sahariya, Sanaurhiya.*—All these castes appear to be of mixed origin and to have been formed originally of outcastes and brokenmen of all kinds. The Badhiks knew little of their origin, but vaguely claim a Rajput descent. The Bawariyas (Boriyas) are scattered all over India, who claim with extraordinary unanimity to be connected with the Rajputs of Chitor, whose vassals and mercenaries they were. It was the siege of Chitor in 1305, which sent them wandering over the country as thieves and robbers. The Barwars claim to be descended from outcasted Kurmis. The Sahariya is apparently an amalgam of various Dravidian elements, whilst the Sanaurhiya is less a caste than a criminal brotherhood which recruits from all sorts of castes except Bhangis and Chamars. Their customs vary, but they have little or nothing to do with Brahmans, and for the most part eat unclean food. As vagrants they are untouchable. They are all in group X (*c*) and have *panchayats*. All are "depressed."

(*Note.*—The Bawariyas in Mirzapur must be excluded. They are orthodox Hindus, served by Brahman priests, and eat clean food. They are mostly cultivavators.)

(4) *Kapariya.*—This caste is of mixed descent. Its principal occupation is begging and selling ponies or goats. They claim to be Hindus and are touchable, but even the lowest castes despise them. They are not served by Brahmans. They are in group X (*c*) and have a *panchayat*. They are "depressed."

APPENDIX II.

Name of group.	Touchable.	Untouchable.	Not served by Brahmans.	Depressed.	Backward.
A.—Peasantry.					
(1) Ahir group	4,246,311	..	..	..	..
(2) Kachhi group ..	2,143,560	..	..	..	..
(3) Lodha group	1,434,952	..	..	..	..
(4) Bhoksa group ..	30,000	19,028	19,028	..	19,028
(5) Bhar	..	460,643	460,643	..	460,643
(6) Phansiya ..	700	..	..	..	..
(7) Gidhiya	..	191	..	191	..
(8) Meo	3,381	..	..	..	3,381
(9) Gudariya	1,000,541	..	..	..	..
Total A—Peasantry	8,859,945	479,862	479,671	191	483,052
B.—Village menials, labourers, etc.					
(1) Luniya group ..	464,162	45,473	509,635	45,473	464,162
(2) Arakh group	110,032	..	..	110,032	..
(3) Sejwari group ..	882	..	..	..	882
(4) Dusadh	..	71,340	71,340	71,340	..
(5) Dhanuk	..	127,581	127,581	127,581	..
Total, B—Village menials, etc.	575,076	244,394	708,556	354,426	465,044
C.—Riverine group ..	965,749	..	..	..	965,749
D.—Artisans.					
(1) Barhai group ..	877,812	..	..	..	..
(2) Kori group	154,867	775,839	..	775,839	..
(3) Chamar group ..	2,000,000	4,187,770	4,187,770	4,187,770	2,000,000
(4) Kumhar	760,609	..	760,609	..	760,609
(5) Khairwa	81	..	81	81	..
(6) Dalera	1,925	..	..	..	1,925
Total, D—Artisans ..	3,795,264	4,963,609	4,948,460	4,963,690	2,762,534
E.—Carrier group ..	49,269	..	..	..	..

Name of group.	Touchable.	Untouchable.	Not served by Brahmans.	Depressed.	Backward.
F.—Domestic servants.					
(1) Bari group	57,672	..	..	..	..
(2) Kahar group	1,364,094	..	..	..	1,364,094
(3) Bhangi group ..	..	*349,053	349,053	349,053	..
(4) Nai	651,436	..	..	..	..
(5) Dhobi	..	†656,913	656,913	656,913	..
Total, F—Domestic servants.	2,073,202	1,005,966	1,005,966	1,005,966	1,364,094
G.—Tradesmen and manufacturers.					
(1) Sonar group	277,041	..	..	..	..
(2) Barai group	210,567	..	..	..	..
(3) Darzi group	429,327	..	..	..	..
(4) Churihar group ..	8,074	..	..	..	..
(5) Ramaiya group ..	4,408	..	..	..	4,408
(6) Kalwar and Teli ..	984,543	..	..	..	..
(7) Mochi	5,534	..	..	..	..
Total, G—Tradesmen, etc.	1,919,541	..	..	..	4,408
H.—Dancers, singers, jesters, etc.					
(1) Gandharb group ..	11,982	..	..	..	..
(2) Dharhi group ..	..	7,599	7,599	7,599	..
(3) Bhand	129	..	..	..	..
Total, H—Dancers, singers, etc.	19,111	7,599	7,599	7,599	..
J.—Sectarian group ..	37,709	..	..	..	..
K.—Primitive tribes.					
(1) Kolarian group ..	..	128,356	125,356	125,356	..
(2) Bayar group ..	..	78,770	63,570	78,770	..
(3) Dom group ..	..	*109,906	109,906	109,906	..
(4) Pasi group ..	..	1,738,663	200,000	1,738,663	..
(5) Hill Dom group ..	..	316,012	316,012	316,012	..
Total, K—Primitive tribes	..	2,368,707	814,844	2,368,707	..

* Untouchable to all twice-born, and many lower castes.
† Untouchable to many lower castes; and to some extent to all twice-born.

Name of group.	Touchable.	Untouchable.	Not served by Brahmans.	Depressed.	Backward.
L.—Vagrant tribes.					
(1) Habura group	..	*38,325	38,325	38,325	..
(2) Nat group	..	*37,072	37,072	37,072	..
(3) Bhadik group ..	..	*35,781	35,781	38,781	..
(4) Kapariya	803	..	803	803	..
Total, L.—Vagrant tribes ..	803	111,178	111,981	111,981	..
GRAND TOTAL ..	18,288,673	9,181,315	8,076,977	8,812,560	6,046,081

* Untouchable to all twice-born, and many lower castes.

Extract from letter No. 63-B, dated 12th April 1932, from the Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, to the Joint Secretary, Indian Franchise Committee.

Mr. Blunt also wishes me to bring to the notice of the Indian Franchise Committee the fact that in Appendix 2 to the printed note which we wrote for the Committee's use on the " origin and nature of the depressed casses ", the word " untouchable," standing at the head of column 3 of that appendix, should be read along with note 3 of Appendix I on page 12 so as to make it quite clear what exactly was the connotation of the word " untouchable " as used by him in Appendix 2.

IV

Memorandum by the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee.

The following constituted the Provincial Franchise Committee :—

Nine Non-Official members of the Legislative Council, *viz.*—

1. Rai Rajeshwar Bali,
2. Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh,
3. Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain,
4. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasih-ud-din,
5. Captain Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan,
6. Rao Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh,
7. Mr. H. C. Desanges,
8. Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana,
9. Mrs. J. P. Srivastava,

three non-officials—

1. Dr. K. N. Malaviya, Advocate,
2. Mr. Ram Sahai, Plumber and Contractor,
3. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Vice-President, Servants of India Society,

and lastly two officials—

1. Mr. J. H. Darwin, I.C.S., Collector, Agra.
2. Dr. S. S. Nehru, I.C.S., Reforms Officer.

The Committee elected Rai Rajeshwar Bali as Chairman and Dr. S. S. Nehru as Secretary.

The Committee met at Lucknow on February 1—6 ; thereafter with the Indian Franchise Committee on February 7—9; then again on February 18 ; and finally on March 3—17 (excepting March 5 and 13), 1932.

The Indian Franchise Committee questionnaire has been circulated to—

	32	ladies,
	7	members of the Council.
	51	depressed class members,
	19	depressed class associations,
	7	labour associations,
and	98	other associations and general public.
Total	224	

Replies have been received from—

11	ladies.
3	members of the Council,
27	depressed class members,
12	depressed class associations,
2	labour associations,
101	1other associations and general public.
Total 156	

The Committee examined these replies and called up selected witnesses for oral examination. These included—

7	ladies,
2	members of the Council,
6	depressed class members,
2	depressed class associations.
..	labour associations,
22	other associations and general public.
Total 39	

After examining the oral and written evidence submitted, considering the results of the joint deliberations of the Indian Franchise Committee, and discussing the position thoroughly among themselves, the Committee have formulated their views on franchise questions as follows :—

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

1.—Extension of Franchise.

(*a*) What means can you suggest by which the existing franchise for the Provincial Legislature could be extended so as to include 10 per cent. of the population in the electoral roll ?

(*a*) The means suggested by which the existing franchise for the provincial legislature could be extended so as to include larger percentage of the population in the electoral roll would be the lowering of the property qualification and introduction of a literacy qualification.

(*b*) Do you consider that such an electorate will be capable of casting an intelligent vote ?

(*b*) The Committee are agreed that such an electorate would be capable of casting an intelligent vote. Any deterioration that might result would disappear very soon.

(*c*) Do you consider that such an electorate would be administratively manageable having regard to the arrangements likely to be feasible for the preparation, maintenance and revision of the electoral rolls, and for the recording and counting of votes ?

(*c*) The Committee have considered in detail whether such an electorate would be administratively manageable having regard to the arrangements likely to be feasible for the preparation, maintenance and revision of the electoral rolls, and for the recording and counting of votes. The Committee are agreed that 200 is a reasonable figure to fix for the average number of polling officers per district and that the size of the electorate should be determined by the number of polling officers available.

The Committee provisionally approved that 800 should be regarded as the minimum figure of registered voters with which a polling officer can deal. The Committee have considered the following proposal made by Mr. Darwin assuming that for voters for the future Assembly there will be the same qualifications as at present for the Council, this will use up 36 polling officers, and mean 1,500,000 voters or 31,250 per district of whom 28,000 will be non-Muslims. This leaves 164 polling officers. So enfranchised for Council persons who have sufficient qualifications to utilize these polling officers in full. 164 polling officers can deal with 6,297,600 voters in the province, which out of a population of 48 millions means 13 per cent. equal to four times the present electorate. This may go up to 14 per cent: or even more, if as is possible, more towns than at present, are regarded as urban constituencies and the percentage of voters in them is higher than in rural constituencies.

This proposal was approved with the following modifications :—

(*i*) A polling officer can deal with 900 registered voters instead of 800. This will produce 7,084,000 voters instead of 6,297,000.

(*ii*) All cities with a population of 50,000 or over shall be included in the urban constituencies. This will give 500,000 voters extra.

(*iii*) The total Non-Muslim enfranchised would roughly be $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions or 18 per cent. of the Non-Muslim population which is equivalent to more than one-third of the adult population. Similar results should be arrived at in the Muslim population.

(*iv*) It was agreed that the qualification for the rural and urban areas should be so worked out as to produce the above results.

Note.—The absence of figures more recent than and supplementary to those supplied to the Southborough Committee was a handicap to the Committee.

Note.—K. B. Hafiz Hidayat Husain does not desire more than 10 per cent. of the total population to be enfranchised.

Some of the Committee consider it unsound in principle that a person should be enfranchised on a qualification other than his own, but in view of the present position of women in these provinces, where the personal law debars Hindu women from inheriting any part of their fathers' or husbands' rights, and of the fact that no other qualification can be devised which will enfranchise a reasonable number of women and thus induce in them a sense of citizenship, the majority agree that as a special case they should, if adult, be enfranchised on

their husband's qualifications provided that this qualification is at least double the minimum required. Further, that all women should be enfranchised who themselves pay any revenue or rent, rates, or taxes whatever their amount, or are sufficiently educated to be able to read and write.

(*d*) If the answer to (*b*) and (*c*) is in the negative, what alternative qualifications for the electorate would you propose?

(*d*) Does not arise.

(*e*) If the answer to (*b*) and (*c*) is in the affirmative, do you consider that it would be practicable and desirable, having regard to the same considerations, to enlarge the electoral roll still further and, if so, what means would you suggest for the purpose?

(*e*) Does not arise.

(*f*) It has been suggested that assuming adult suffrage to be impracticable at present, all adults not entitled to a direct vote should be grouped together in primary groups of about 20 or in some other suitable manner for the election of one or more representative members from each group, who would be entitled to vote in the provincial elections either in the same constituencies as the directly qualified voters or in separate constituencies to be framed for them. The suggestion has been discussed mainly with reference to rural villages, but might be made applicable to towns also.

Do you consider that any such system would be feasible and advantageous in the areas with which you are acquainted, and, if so, would you advise that the group electors should vote in the same constituencies as the directly quali-

(*f*) Five members think that as the group system has been found to be administratively feasible it might be introduced as providing the rudiments of political education to a large number of women and depressed classes, who could not otherwise obtain the vote. Its introduction should be made supplemental to the present direct system and would not materially reduce the proportion of those who can be directly enfranchised as an estimate shows that a maximum of 800,000 (=1·6 of the total population) would obtain the direct vote in this manner.

The remaining nine members are opposed to the group system for the following reasons: (1) it will not give political education to the primary voter, because there will be no one to explain the political issues to him. Or in the alternative the worry and expense of the election will be doubled for the candidate. (2) the secondary voter will not feel any responsibility to

fied electors, or in separate constituencies composed of group electors only ?

his primary voter, particularly if the voting is by ballot, much less will the candidate owe any responsibility to the primary elector. (3) It may lead to malpractices and is liable to abuse both by the petty officials who would be responsible for its working as well as by those who hold an influential position in the villages. (4) It will give rise to many complaints and appeals and produce many administrative complications. No satisfactory method can be devised for the composition of suitable groups.

One member thinks that the group system might work if it were the only system and the direct system were abolished. In default of that he is not in favour of the group system.

(*g*) It has been proposed that in the event of separate constituencies being framed for group electors, only group electors should be qualified to stand as candidates for such constituencies ?

Are you in favour of this course ?

(*g*) Does not arise, as the majority of the Committee is opposed to the group system.

(*h*) Do you consider that it would be feasible and advantageous to abolish all the existing qualifications for voters and to extend a system of the nature described in (*f*) and to confine electorate for all constituencies to secondaries chosen by groups of primary voters ?

(*h*) A majority of the members are opposed to the group system.

(*i*) In the event of your answer to (*f*) or (*h*) being in the affirmative, what do you consider would be a suitable size for the groups referred to above ? On what basis would you constitute them, and whom would you charge with the duties of framing them ?

(*i*) Does not arise.

(*j*) Would you require any special qualification, whether property, educational or other, in the persons chosen by such groups to vote on their behalf for the election of members? If so, what?

(*j*) Does not arise.

2. Franchise qualifications.

(*a*) Do you consider that in the areas with which you are acquainted, there is any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas? If so, what measures would you suggest in order to rectify such disparities?

(*a*) The disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with the rural areas is marked but has given rise to no complaints and requires no rectification.

(*b*) It has been suggested that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers, and that the franchise system should be so contrived as to secure this result, in so far as it may be practicable. Are you in agreement with this suggestion, and, if so, what measures would you suggest for giving effect to it in your province on the assumption (*i*) that separate electorates are retained, (*ii*) of joint electorates with reservation of seats, and (*iii*) of joint electorates without reservation of seats?

(*b*) The position already is such that each community has a voting strength proportionate to its numbers. Thus the non-Muslim electorate of 1,379,754 is 3·6 per cent. of the total non-Muslim population; while that of the Muslim electorate of 229,258 is 3·5 of the Muslim population. Thus this has been achieved and there is no reason to suppose that the existing proportion will be disturbed if the qualifications are lowered.

(*c*) Is the possession of property of some kind, in your opinion, a suitable test of fitness for the franchise? (The term "property" should be understood in its widest sense as including not only the ownership of landed property but also the occupation of land or house property or the receipt of income or wages whether in cash or kind.) If so, do you consider the existing property qualification suitable? If you do not, what modification do you suggest?

(*c*) The definite aim in view being universal suffrage, the Committee cannot on principles accept property qualification as test of fitness for franchise as it is purely arbitrary but has been accepted for practical purposes. For this reason they recommend lowering the property qualifications and introducing a literacy qualification. In the case of joint Hindu families the qualification should be introduced on the lines of qualifications for such families for district board elections. This should apply *mutatis mutandis* to tenants whose names are

entered in the revenue records. They do not, however, think it feasible to include receipt of income in kind, other than produce rents.

(*d*) Are you in favour of introducing a qualification based on education, independently of property? If so, what educational qualification would you suggest?

(*d*) It was generally agreed that the minimum qualification should be a class IV certificate, or any equivalent educational qualification. This is held by the head master of the primary school and a certificate is issued by the Deputy Inspector of Schools. Standards vary from school to school, but a certain proportion of pupils is examined every year to secure uniformity. As to any possibility of corruption the certificate has no material value so far but it will acquire great value if made the basis of vote. An alternative *ad hoc* test would be too much.

(*e*) Are you in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and extending it so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces?

(*e*) The Committee are in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and extending it to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces.

3. Women Suffrage.

(*a*) The Statutory Commission proposed that the wives and widows (if over 20 years of age) of men entitled to vote under the property qualification, should be enfranchised and that in addition an educational qualification should apply to women over 21 as well as to men. In the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference it was suggested that the age-limit should be 21 for women as well as for men.

Are you in favour of increasing the women's electorate in the ways suggested or would you prefer any other method? If so, what method? To what extent would you favour increase in women's electorate?

(*a*) The Committee agreed that the wife of a husband possessing double the minimum property qualifications should have the right to vote. Opinion was, however, divided in regard to the question whether in case of co-wives only one wife was to be enfranchised or as many wives as were covered by the property qualification of the husband. It was also proposed that only the wives of the voters who pay Rs. 25 as revenue or Rs. 50 as rent should be enfranchised. But the former proposal found the larger support.

As regards widows it was agreed that they should not get the right to vote except on their own separate qualifications.

The age-limit should be fixed at 21.

As to literacy qualification for women it was agreed to enfranchise all adult women who can read and write.

The Committee realised the serious difficulties that beset the question of registration and particularly that of identification of female voters at elections. The suggestions of curtailing the cases of fraud and false personation were, firstly, that where no official can identify a female voter, who is enfranchised through her husband, she must be identified by her husband, who must take upon himself the responsibility of proper identification. Secondly, there should be heavy penalties provided in such cases of fraud and false personation. In view of the fact that the number of female voters may increase to such an extent as to prove a decisive factor in elections, no woman should be allowed to vote unless she has been properly identified.

(*b*) In the event of a system of group representation being established as proposed in paragraph 1 (*f*), do you consider that women should be formed into groups, and, if so, should separate groups be formed for women or should groups contain both men and women ?

The Committee have by majority decided against the group system.

(*c*) The suggestion has been made that at any rate as a temporary measure legislature should co-opt women members to an extent not exceeding 5 per cent. by a system of proportional representation so as to ensure some representation of women in the legislature. What are your views on this suggestion ?

The Committee have agreed with one dissentient that five seats should be reserved for women in addition to all the seats they may win in the general election. These five seats should be filled from among the women candidates who have polled the largest absolute number of votes in the constituencies. The matter is not free from difficulty but this would be much simpler than filling them from the candidates who have polled the largest proportionate number of votes. The Committee, therefore, rejected the system of co-option as suggested.

4. Representation of the Depressed Classes.

What communities would you include as belonging to depressed classes? Would you include classes other than untouchables, and if so, which?

Do you consider that the depressed classes are likely, through such general extension of the franchise as you favour, to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates, and if so, to what extent? If your answer is in the negative, what specific proposals would you make to secure their representation in legislatures? The possible application of the group system of representation to the depressed classes should be specially considered.

Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana would make "no difference between depressed and backward classes as given in Mr. Blunt's note*". They total 15,000,000. He wishes to add—

Gadaria	..	1,000,000
Bari ..	..	57,000
Nai ..	..	651,000
Darzi ..	..	429,327
Total	..	17,137,327
(about)	..	17,000,000

He would also regard the remaining castes in Mr. Blunt's list as depressed; but they have a chance of getting in the legislature through an extension of the franchise. Mr. Kunzru, Thakur Bikram Singh and Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh define depressed classes as untouchables as defined by the Simon Commission.

Mrs. Srivastava and Messrs. Hidayat Husain, Desanges and Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan's view is that depressed classes should include only those which are untouchable according to the Simon Commission. Khan Bahadur Fasih-ud-din's view is that the depressed classes should include not only untouchables but also those classes who have no chance of securing representation otherwise. This definition will apply to both Hindus and Muslims.

Messrs. Darwin and Nehru would make the criterion—

(1) untouchability,

(2) in other cases want of representation where such representation is required for the promotion of their interests.

Mr. Ram Sahai's view is that depressed classes are those castes which

* Page 303.

are subjected to the system of untouchability of the sort prevalent in the provinces, namely, that (*i*) the caste Hindus do not take water or food touched by these people; (2) the caste Hindus will not allow them entry into eating houses maintained by them for the Hindu public; (3) the caste Hindus will not allow them to stay in Dharamsalas maintained by them for the Hindus.

Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana's view is that depressed classes are (1) those castes which are untouchable in the sense of the term prevailing in the province; (2) those castes whose profession is considered degrading by high caste Hindus; (3) those castes whose general, social and economic condition is backward. He said that it is difficult to define what was meant by the untouchability of the sort prevailing in the province" but it is well known.

The Chairman agrees with Messrs. Kunzru, Hafiz Hidayat Husain and others of their view.

If depressed classes are confined to untouchables, whose touch pollutes, they will only consist of Bhangis and Doms, whose population is less than half a million.

They would, therefore, not be entitled proportionately to more than 3 seats. The Committee, however, decided to deal with the question in a more liberal spirit.

All the members of the Committee, except Messrs. Rama Charana and Ram Sahai, who refrain from voting, agree that 10 seats in a house of 250 should be reserved for such classes whether backward, depressed or untouchable, as are unable to secure promotion of their interests unless they have special representation.

This decision is unacceptable to Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana who asks for 48 seats.

The Committee is unanimous, except for the two dissenting members, that representation should not be by pure nomination. They approve of a system under which associations for depressed or backward classes, after consolidation into properly recognised bodies with registered list of members, should forward recommendations to the Governor who will select the requisite number.

5. Representation of Labour.

Assuming that such widening of the basis of suffrage in general constituencies as is found practicable does not provide adequate representation of labour what special measures would you recommend for representation of labour (*a*) where it is or can be organised as in industrial areas, (*b*) where it is unorganised as in the case of agricultural and plantation labour. On what basis would you allot representation to labour in each case ?

As the basis of suffrage is being lowered this assumption will no longer be justified in the case of both organised and unorganised labour.

The Committee recommend 2 seats in a house of 250. The Committee had not sufficient material to make detailed proposals but they suggest that some method may be devised by which a representative from Cawnpore, where labour population is at present concentrated, should get one seat out of the two. The two constituencies should be arranged by the local Government. As regards agricultural labour, special representation is not practicable.

5-A. Representation of special interests.

What are your views as to the retention of representation of special interests (Universities, Commerce, European and Indian Mining, Planting, Labour, Landholders, etc.) in the legislatures ? If you favour its retention do you consider that the existing methods of election thereto are satisfactory ? If not, what suggestions would you make ?

In regard to the retention of representation of special interests the Committee's views are as follows :—

	Present.	Proposed.	Remarks.
Chambers of Commerce.	3	3	Separate.
Universities	1	2	Subject to future modification.

Landlords.

Mr. Kunzru, Mrs. Srivastava and Mr. Ram Sahai .. 12

Mr. Darwin and Dr. Nehru 16

K. B. Maulvi Fasih-ud-din, K. B. Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Captain Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh and Rao Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh 25

The first three are prepared to reconsider the extent of representation if there is to be no second chamber.

The allocation of seats reserved for landlords would be as follows :—

B. I. Association ..	12	9	7	5 Agra.
Non-Taluqdars ..	1	1	1	
Agra zamindars ..	6	5	4	7 Oudh.
Muzaffarnagar zamindars	6	5	4	
	25	20	16	12

Each association should send its representative by a method of single transferable vote.

Those members who have voted that the number of zamindars' representatives should be 16 or less recommended 6 seats for Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians (2 each). Those who have voted that the number of landholders' representatives should be 25, recommended 9 seats.

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. Allocation of seats to British Indian Provinces.

(*a*) The Federal Structure Committee proposed that the representatives of British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by a single transferable vote. Do you agree with this proposal or have you any alternative to suggest ?

With regard to the composition of the second chamber and the franchise for it, we shall express our views after various associations have been examined on this point.

Babu Ram Sahai is of opinion that there should be direct election for the lower chamber and indirect for the Federal Upper House by the lower chamber of the provincial legislature.

Rao Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh and Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh think that election to the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be

by direct election, provided the franchise is such as to secure the attainment of the desired object.

The Chairman and K. B. Maulvi Fasih-ud-din, Mr. Desanges, Captain Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, Mr. Darwin, Mr. Kunzru and Dr. Nehru are in favour of direct election as at present, which has worked well both in the opinion of the Government of India and the Local Government.

Babu Ram Sahai would favour indirect election.

K. B. Hafiz Hidayat Husain would be in favour of direct election if, in addition to a property qualification to be decided hereafter, the additional qualifications now prescribed for voters for the Council were retained in future also.

(*b*) Do you consider that the franchise qualifications ought to be different for the Federal and Provincial Legislatures ? If so, what do you consider it ought to be in the case of the Federal Legislature ?

The franchise qualifications for the Upper Chamber shall be discussed after hearing further witnesses.

The qualifications for the present council should be the qualifications for the future Lower Federal Chamber.

(*c*) The majority of members of the Federal Structure Committee considered that election to the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would pass their vote directly for the candidates of their choice. Under a scheme of this nature, there would be more than a million inhabitants on an average in each constituency. The constituency would in some cases be of enormous size, specially if communal electorates were introduced. In view of the obvious difficulties, which must confront a candidate in canvassing and maintaining contact with such large constituencies the Committee recommended that the alternatives

The Committee unanimously decided in favour of direct election. Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh would, however, reserve to himself the liberty of altering his opinion on this and other points if there were no Upper Chamber in the Federal Legislature as qualified by him in connexion with the discussion on the franchise of the second chamber.

The Committee consider that instead of 200 the Federal Assembly should consist of 300 members. This would entitle the province on population basis to 57 seats. We think, however, that the U. P. should not be assigned less than 48 seats. The size of the constituencies in that case will be much smaller than it is now.

of direct and indirect elections should be fully explored, and suggested that while it might be possible without difficulty to adopt direct election in certain areas some form of indirect election might prove desirable in rural areas.

The Franchise Committee would be glad to have your views on this difficult question. In the event of your favouring some system of direct election, it would be very useful if you would indicate the nature of the constituency that you would form having regard to the number of seats which you consider ought to be allotted to your province.

7. Representation of women, labour and depressed classes.

Please add any further suggestions which you desire to make regarding the representation of women, labour and the depressed classes and other interests at present specially represented in the Federal Legislature.

The Committee unanimously recommended the allotment of 1 seat for women. Mr. Kunzru said that he would not allot any other seat to any other interest.

We think that no special representation of labour is required for these provinces.

As regards the representation of depressed classes, Babu Ram Sahai wants it to be as it has been laid down in the Minorities' Pact.

Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain and Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasih-uddin would give them two seats and Mr. Desanges one, while the rest consisting of Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh, Chairman, and Mr. Kunzru, as stated above, do not consider it necessary to allot any seats for the depressed classes as in their view questions relating to their rights would come within the purview of the Provincial Legislature where seats have already been allotted to them.

Mr. Kunzru, as stated above, and Mr. Ram Sahai would not give any representation to the landlords in the Federal Legislature, while the rest consisting of Mr. Desanges, K. B. Maulvi Fasih-ud-din, K. B. Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh and the Chairman would allot two seats one for the province of Agra and one for Oudh.

The majority are in favour of allotting one seat to Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

Second chamber for the Provinces.

Opinion was divided, voting—

for	*against.*
Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh.	Mr. H. C. Desanges.
Capt. Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan.	Mrs. J. P. Srivastava.
K. B. Hafiz Hidayat Husain.	Mr. Ram Sahai.
K. B. Maulvi Fasih-ud-din.	Mr. H. N. Kunzru.
Rao Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh.	
Chairman.	

Note of Dissent by Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana, M.L.C., Member, United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee.

I regret having to write this note of dissent from the decision arrived at by the majority of the members of the committee on the question of the representation of the depressed classes. The questionnaire makes it clear that the method of representation by nomination of the depressed classes is no longer regarded as appropriate and that it is generally felt that provision should be made in the new constitution for their better representation. In direct contravention of the decision of the R. T. C. and the ruling of the Chairman, Indian Franchise Committee, the majority of the members of the U. P. Franchise Committee have decided in favour of nomination. I submit that it is not within the competence of the committee to do so. The most wonderful feature of this decision is that they have proceeded to fix the number of nominated seats as ten, without deciding as to what communities should be included as belonging to depressed classes, in other words, without knowing their population. They say that the decision as to what communities should be regarded as depressed, should be done by the associations of the communities themselves. Thus they have avoided the duty cast upon them by the questionnaire. I cannot help remarking that the provision for the representation of depressed classes hits both the landlords and the High Class Hindus. The Muslim members of the committee have been probably influenced by the threat that the Hindu Muslim settlement of 1916 might be affected. This being so the majority decision of the U. P. committee is not unnatural.

I will include both touchable and untouchable communities as belonging to depressed classes. The list is given below on the line of Hon'ble Mr. Blunt's second note : —

1. Ahir group.
2. Kachhi group.
3. Lodha group.
4. Bhoksa group.
5. Bhar.
6. Phansia.
7. Gidhiya.
8. Meo.
9. Gadariya.
10. Luniya group.
11. Arakh group.
12. Sejwari group.
13. Dusadh.
14. Dhanuk.
15. Riverine group (Mallah group)
16. Barhai group.
17. Kori group.
18. Chamar group.
19. Kumhar group.
20. Khairwa.
21. Dalera.
22. Carrier group (Banjara group).
23. Bari group.
24. Kahar group.
25. Bhangi group.
26. Nai.
27. Dhobi.
28. Sonar group.
29. Barai group.
30. Darzi group.
31. Churihar group.
32. Ramaiya group.
33. Kalwar and Teli.
34. Mochi.
35. Gandharb group.
36. Dharhi group.

37. Bhand.
38. Sectarian group (Atit, Sadh).
39. Kolarian group.
40. Bayar group.
41. Dom group.
42. Pasi group.
43. Hill Dom group.
44. Habura group.
45. Nat group.
46. Badhik group.
47. Kapariya group.
48. Kurmi.

That these communities are depressed classes will appear from the following sources given in the attached note*.

1. From the speech of H. E. the Governor, who in his reply to an address put the number of the depressed classes at about twenty millions and includes castes whose occupations are regarded degrading besides the untouchables.
2. From the despatch of the U. P. Government.
3. The U. P. Muslims' memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission.
4. Council questions and answers including answers given by our Hon'ble the President of the U. P. Franchise Committee when he was a minister of the U. P. Government.
5. Local Board's records.
6. From the speech of Maharaja Darbhanga as president of the All-India Varnashram Dharam Sabha at the Patna Session.
7. Election of depressed classes members by congressmen as an act of mockery to the present council.
8. Other Sources.

The question of untouchability in this province is not acute. But the division of Hindus into high and low, twice-born and sudra is very acute. Though some castes claim to be twice-born but their claim has never been accepted by the high caste Hindus. There is a real clash of interest between the high and low class Hindus, which has exhibited itself in the formation of Hindu Backward Classes League and the Adi-Hindu Sabha and the like. There has been a clamour on the part of these classes for separate electorate. And yet, it passes my understanding when I hear the Hindu members of the committee say that there are no backward and depressed classes except Bhangis and Doms. I am sorry to remark that they have taken advantage of the difficulty of a theoretical definition being possible. But why the rise when there are the abovementioned communities who have not been able to elect representatives of their own choice hitherto, and who, with the exception of perhaps Kurmi, Ahir group, Kachhi group, Lodha group, Barhai group, Sonar group, Barai group, Kalwar group and Gandharb group, are not likely to elect representatives of their own choice in future, even if adult suffrage be introduced. Already the majority of the voters belong to the above communities and any extention of the franchise will not alter the result.

The Report on the working of the system of Government U. P. 1921-1928, Vol. III submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission

* Pages 351-360.

says at page 2 :—

"In the province as a whole the four leading castes, Brahman, Thakur, Vaishya, and Kayastha from 21·1 per cent. of the total Hindu population, but these five castes supplied no less than 93 per cent. of the Hindu members of Council. The Jat, with 18 per cent. of the population, have contributed another 5 per cent. to the Hindu membership; and all the millions included in the multitude of other Hindu castes, including the real agricultural castes, though they amount to over 76 per cent. of the Hindu population have only succeeded in supplying 2 per cent. of the representation."

Of course the result of guaranteeing representation to these classes would be to deprive the high class Hindus of the unjust and undemocratic monopoly which they have hitherto enjoyed and which they are attempting to retain by every possible means. There is absolutely no reason why over 35 per cent. population should go unrepresented when they are groaning under the prejudice of the high class Hindus.

I agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Blunt that the castes recorded as depressed and backward in the Appendix II of his second Note cannot get representation in Legislatures. But I would also add to that list the Gadariya, Darzi group, Nai and Bari group.

The speech in vernacular of Hon'ble Raja Shambhu Dayal of January 23, 1926 in the Legislative Council on the resolution regarding education of depressed classes reveals the true estimation in which the high class Hindus hold them. They regard the progress of the depressed classes as incongruous and improper as if it were tantamount to wearing the foot dress over the head. The origin of the sudra is also ascribed to the foot of the Creator.

The educational disabilities of the depressed classes can be judged by the report of 1927 of the committee appointed to enquire into and report on the state of primary education of boys of the Muslim community and of educationally backward communities in the United Provinces. Two paras. from page 8 of the report are quoted below :—

"Employers of unskilled labourers have no desire to raise literacy among their employees and create discontent. The literate members of other castes and communities are averse from increasing literacy in the depressed classes for fear of competition for the posts of patwaris, school masters, etc.

"These economic causes combined with strong social prejudice have resulted in local opposition to the foundations of special schools, which usually shows itself in refusal to supply a house or ground for the school on the part of owner's of property. In places where accommodation has been found, common methods of breaking up of schools are to threaten parents or pupils with dismissal from employment and to make the teacher so uncomfortable that he resigns."

The note on page 30 of the same report of Rai Sahib Pandit Sukhdeo Tewari, B.A., a retired officer of the Education Department

and belonging to the highest caste of Hindus says : —

" As the development of education in any country depends on its special circumstances such as old traditions, public opinion, etc., education both in rural and urban areas here was confined amongst the literary classes only. The backward communities were allowed to remain in ignorance as they were before.....The high class and literate Hindu communities, particularly the zamindars discouraged the backward classes to educate their boys as they did not like the latter to become more learned and question their authority over them. The teachers who happened to belong to literate communities did not admit boys of untouchable classes for one reason or another. Only a few boys of Kahars, Ahirs, Nais, etc., were taken in to serve as menial servants. Although the angle of vision has now changed still I believe that there is a considerable number of high class people who discourage education amongst the backward classes. .....On investigation it was brought to light that no attempt was even made to educate the depressed and other backward Hindu communities which formed a large percentage of the total Hindu population."

Instances are not wanting of local bodies who deliberately discourage education among the depressed classes. A passage relating to education of depressed class boys on page 41 of the General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces for 1926 is given below :—

" To some extent the appointment of supervisors is responsible for the decrease, but in the Benares division it is reported to be due to discouragement of this class of education by the boards, the Jaunpur district board in particular and that of Ghazipur in a less degree, obtaining discreditable mention."

The doors of public services maintained by the Government and the local bodies are banged against the qualified men of the depressed classes. They have no means to ventilate their grievances in this connection.

The areas in which they live are generally insanitary and the health department of the Government and the local bodies do not care for them.

The depressed classes are generally tenants with no fixity of tenure, no fixity of rent and therefore no freedom of vote. They are not any the less intelligent but they are not independent to vote for men of their own choice. In short the condition of the depressed and backward classes is not far from slavery.

In conclusion I need point out that as member of the U. P. Simon Committee, I agreed to 15 nominated seats out of a house of 182 for the reason that full provincial autonomy was not going to be granted and these seats I accepted for 10 years after which period I demanded separate electorate if a sufficient number of depressed classes did not get in through the general electorate.

LUCKNOW : RAMA CHARANA, (*Rai Saheb*),
Dated the 18th of March 1932. B.A., LL.B., ADVOCATE, M.L.C.,
Member, U. P. Franchise Committee.

ANNEXURE.

Note on Castes regarded as depressed in United Provinces.

[The number given in brackets after the names of castes refers to the castes of the same number in my note of dissent.]

His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the U. P. in his reply to an address from the Adi-Hindu (Depressed Classes) Association, Lucknow, March 6, 1930, said :—

> " In the term depressed classes are included now-a-days a great mass of people of varying status some of whom perhaps owe that position to the origin you suggest, while large numbers owe it to the adoption of particular trades held to be of a menial nature, and others to the fact that they are descended from people who for some reason have been definitely outcasted. If the population belonging to these various classes can be viewed as one body the total is undoubtedly large. There are in the United Provinces some thirteen million people who are included by the census among Hindus, but who for various reasons are regarded as untouchables. There are a considerable number whose occupations are classified as more or less respectable, and who come therefore under less rigid social restrictions ; but there are also a great number, amounting perhaps to about seven millions, whose occupations are definitely regarded by Hindus as degrading and placing their followers, in ordinary parlance beyond the pale of society."

EXTRACT FROM NOTE OF THE HON'BLE RAJA BAHADUR KUSHAL PAL SINGH, MINISTER FOR EDUCATION, ATTACHED TO LETTER No. 4949-C., DATED AUGUST 23, 1930, FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY OF THE GOVERNMENT, UNITED PROVINCES, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, REFORMS OFFICE.

" The importance of the depressed classes lies in the fact that they include within their fold lakhs of humble tillers of the soil and also agricultural castes such as Kachhis (2), Lodhas (3), Kurmis (48), Muraos (2), Koeri (2), Tharu (4), Bhuksas (4), etc."

In their letter to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, dated the 16th March 1908 the Government of U. P. stated that " it must be remembered that the mass of the Hindu population is to be found in the lower castes Chamars (18), Pasis (42), Ahirs (1) and the like ".

Report on the working of the system of Government U. P., 1921-1928, Vol. III, *submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission in 1928, page 2.*

" In the province as a whole the four leading castes, Brahman, Thakur, Vaishya and Kayastha form 21·1 per cent. of the total Hindu population, but these four castes have supplied no less than 93 per cent. of the Hindu members of Council. The Jat, with 1·8 per cent. of the

population, have contributed another 5 per cent. to the Hindu Membership ; and all the millions included in the multitude of other Hindu castes, including the real agricultural castes, though they amount to over 76 per cent. of the Hindu population have only succeeded in supplying 2 per cent. of the representation.

Views of the Muslims of United Provinces.

The Muslim Memorandum (otherwise known as Khan Memorandum) signed *inter alia* by Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasih-ud-din and Lieutenant Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, the Muslim members of the present U. P. Franchise Committee and presented to the Indian Statutory Commission in 1928 has the following paragraph at page 2 :—

" The present division of the population for the purpose of election is very artificial. All Indians who are neither Christians nor Moslems are included in the term 'Hindu'. This has resulted in Hindus proper representing the great mass of our population known as the depressed classes. These constitute by far the major population of our province. The population of Hindus proper in these provinces is 10,597,917 according to the census figures of 1921, the touchable depressed classes, *e.g.*, Tamolis (29), Kachies (2) and Kahars (24), etc., number 13,973,188 and the population of the untouchable depressed classes, *e.g.*, Doms (41), Bauriyas (40), Kanjars (44), Bhangis (25), etc. 14,693,816 according to the same census figures. Thus out of total population of 46,000,000 of these provinces about 28,800,000, *i.e.*, over 60 per cent. are not represented in the councils except by one nominated seat, while the Hindus proper who constitute only 25 per cent. of the population appropriate to themselves the majority of seats in the council making the beginning of an oligarchy in the province.

Our first proposal therefore is that the artificial division of the population be done away with, and representation on an adequate scale be given to the depressed classes. We advocate this also in sympathy with our Hindu brethren whose efforts for the uplift of these classes we greatly value. Our suggestion is that an appreciable number of seats be taken away from the general Non-Muslim electorate for these classes and that those seats be filled by election."

Now what castes other than those accepted by Mr. Blunt as depressed and backward go to make up the population 28,800,000 ? The simple answer is that all the castes enumerated by me in my note of dissent number about 28,800,000.

Report of Simon Committees.

Before the Simon Commission the following deputation gave evidence as representatives of the depressed classes :—

1. B. Rama Charana (Mallah) (15) B.A., LL.B., M.L.C., Advocate, Chief Court, Oudh Member, U. P. Committee, Spokesman.

2. B. Khem Chand (Jatav) (18), *ex*-M. L. C., President, All-India Sri Jatav Mahasabha.
3. B. Nanak Chand Dhusia (18), President, Adi-Hindu Sabha, U.P.
4. Munshi Hari Tamta (43), Chairman, Kamaun Shilpakar Sabha.
5. Bhagat Mullu Ram (Kuril) (8), representative, All-India Adi-Hindu Aborigines Maha Sabha, Cawnpore.
6. B. Sheo Dayal Singh Chaurasia (Barai) (29), B.Sc., LL.B., Advocate, Lucknow.
7. B. Ram Prasad (Ahir) (1), Pleader, Oudh.
8. B. Chet Ram (Pasi) (42), Member, Municipal Board, Allahabad.
9. B. Raja Ram Raikwar (24), of Kahar Sudharak Sabha.

All the castes mentioned in my note of dissent were agreed upon as belonging to the depressed classes.

The U. P. Simon Committee recommended 15 seats by nomination for the depressed and backward classes, *vide* page 72 of the report of the Committee appointed by U. P. Legislative Council to co-operate with the Indian Statutory Commission.

The Indian Central Simon Committee however split up the depressed classes into two parts and recommended 5 seats for the one part whom they classed as backward and 10 seats for the other part whom they classed as depressed, *vide* page 45 of the Report of Indian Central Committee.

The Indian Statutory Commission however without giving any reason for it took the number of depressed classes as 13 millions. But at the same time they gave the Governor the power to certify as to the member of the caste which was eligible to contest seats to be *reserved for the depressed classes in joint electorate.*

Council questions and answers.

The following questions and their answers given by the Government from time to time in the Legislative Council prove that all the castes mentioned in my note of dissent have hitherto been regarded by the government as depressed classes.

[Starred question No. 60, dated 15th December 1924.

Baboo Khemchand: Will the Government be pleased to state the names, caste, and religion of members who have been nominated by the Government to represent depressed classes on the district boards of these provinces except Agra where I am myself a member ?

The Hon'ble Rai Rajeshwar Bali: The statement asked for is laid on the Hon'ble Member's table.

Names of members nominated by government to represent the depressed classes on the district boards of the United Provinces (except Agra) referred to in the reply to starred question No. 60 for the 15th December 1924:

District.	Name of nominated member representing depressed classes.	Caste.	Religion.
PROVINCE OF AGRA.			
Dehra Dun ..	Mansa Ram ..	Gadariya (9) ..	Hindu.
Saharanpur ..	Chaudhri Mangat Singh ..	Dhiman (carpenter) (16).	Do.
Muzaffarnagar ..	B. Akhoy Chandra Bhattacharji.	*Nil*	Christian.
Meerut	Chaudhri Het Ram ..	Kahar (24) ..	Hindu.
Bulandhshahr ..	Dauji	Chamar (18) ..	Do.
Aligarh	Karan Singh	Lodha (3) ..	Do.
Muttra	Chaudhri Dalchand ..	Chamar (18) ..	Do.
Agra	(The Hon'ble member himself.)	Do. ..	Do.
Mainpuri	Chaudari Jiwan Ram ..	Do. ..	Do.
Etah	Chaudhri Kham Chand ..	Do. ..	Do.
Bareilly	Ramat Jaiswal	Do. ..	Do.
Bijnor	Mangal	Do. ..	Do.
Budaun	Net Ram	Teli (33) ..	Do.
Moradabad ..	Jiwa Ram, B.A., LL.B. ..	Baghwan (2) ..	Do.
Shahjahanpur ..	Umrai Lal	Kachhi (2) ..	Do.
Pilibhit	Mangal Sen	Mochi (34) ..	Do.
Farrukhabad ..	B. Keshri Lal Raidas ..	Chamar (18) ..	Vedri.
Etawah	Chaudhri Gyan Singh ..	Ahir (1) ..	Hindu.
Cawnpore ..	B. Ghasitay Lal ..	Chamar (18) ..	Do.
Fatehpur	B. Mullu Ram ..	Do. ..	Do.
Allahabad ..	B. Nand Kishore ..	Pasi (42) ..	Do.
Banda	L. Baldeo	Kumhar (19) ..	Do.
Hamirpur ..	L. Lallu	Teli (33) ..	Do.
Jhansi	L. Ganesh	Kumhar (19) ..	Do.
Jalaun	L. Ram Charan	Teli (33) ..	Do.
Benares	Rev. J. C. Jackson ..	..	Christian.
Mirzapur	..	..	..

Districts.	Name of nominated member representing depressed classes.	Caste.	Religion.
Jaunpur	Ram Charan	Lunia (10) ..	Hindu.
Ghazipur	B. Sheo Nath	Koeri (2) ..	Do.
Ballia	L. Sita Ram	Teli (33) ..	Do.
Gorakhpur ..	Chaudhri Baldeo Prasad ..	Kalwar (33) ..	Do.
Basti	Rev. Tafazzul Haq ..	..	Christian.
Azamgarh ..	Dwarka Nath Chaudhri ..	Mallah (15) ..	Hindu.
Naini Tal ..	Munshi Bachi Rai ...	Shilpkar (Hill Dom) (43).	Vedri.
Almora	Munshi Hari	Samla (43) ..	Hindu.
Garhwal	Rev. J. B. Thompson ..	..	Christian.
PROVINCE OF OUDH.			
Lucknow ..	Rai Bahadur Behari Lal ..	Kurmi (48) ..	Hindu.
Unao	B. Hari Shankar ..	Lodh (3) ..	Do.
Rai Bareli ..	Sheo Lal	Chamar (18) ..	Do.
Sitapur	L. Mata Prasad ..	Teli (33) ..	Do.
Hardoi	Pitun	Chamar (18) ..	Do.
Kheri	Nita Ram Saheb ..	Do. ..	Do.
Fyzabad	Rev. A. Sanderson ..	..	Christian.
Gonda	Bhagwan Das	Lodh (3) ..	Hindu.
Bahraich	Chheda Lal	Ahir (1) ..	Do.
Sultanpur ..	Mr. G. Kenyar ..	..	Christian.
Partabgarh ..	Baij Nath	Teli (33) ..	Hindu.
Bara Banki ..	Mr. S. R. Parker ..	..	Christian.

Note.—Christians in the above list were nominated because according to government suitable men from depressed classes were not available, although it is not correct.

Starred question No. 49, dated July 26, 1926.

Rai Bahadur B. Ram Nath Bhargava: (*a*) Will the Government lay on the table a statement showing separately the depressed class or classes from which the persons were nominated as members of the Municipal and District Boards of the United Provinces and in the United Provinces Legislative Council during the last two elections ?

(*b*) (Is not relevant).

Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf: (*a*) The Government do not propose to collect the information. It is known that the classes from

which the members have been nominated on Municipal and District Boards include Lodh (3), Ahir (1), Teli (33), Murao (42), Kumhar (8), Chamar (18), Carpenter (16), Kahar (24), Mallah (15), Kachhi (2), Mochi (34), Manjhi (15) and Kalwar (33).

Khan Bahadur Mr. Muhammad Aslam Saifi.—May I ask with regard to No. 49 whether Dhobies are also included ?

Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf: Yes.

Hon'ble Sir Sam O'Donnall: Nominations are not made by the Government.

Volume XXIII, Page 638, dated March 23, 1927.—B. Bhagwati Sahai Bedar :—

(1) Are the representatives of the Depressed classes in the Moradabad Municipal and District Boards members of the Depressed classes ?

(2) If so, to which class do they belong ?

The Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf: (1) The answer is in the affirmative with regard to the District Board. There is no representation of the depressed classes on the Municipal Board.

(2) The representative of the depressed classes on the District Board is Baghban (2).

Question No. 90, dated March 4, 1927.

Babu Rama Charana : Will the Government be pleased to state the castes of the depressed class nominated members shown in the statement of said answer, for 1924-25 ? (The question referred to is starred question No. 1 of Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain of June 25, 1926.)

The Hon'ble Nawab Mohammad Yusuf: Kumhar (19), Jatia (18), Kachhi (2), Pasi (42), Teli (33), Chamar (18), Nai (26) and Bhangi (25).

Question No. 101, dated June 20, 1927.

Babu Rama Charana: Will the Government be pleased to state the total number of village Panchayats in the different districts of these Provinces ?

How many Panches and Surpanches out of these belong to the depressed classes in each Panchayat ? Will the Government be pleased to give names and castes of such depressed class Panches and Surpanches ?

The Honourable Nawab Mohammad Yusuf: A statement (not printed) in the proceedings containing the information is laid on the honourable member's table.

Below is given the principal castes of the different Panches and Surpanches of the depressed classes mentioned in the above statement :—

Ahir (1)	Dhobi (27)	Khewat (15)	Mali (2)
Ahar (1)	Dhunia (30)	Khatik (42)	Mallah (15)
Baghban (2)	Dusadh (13)	Kisan (3)	Murao (2)
Barai (29)	Faqir (38)	Koeri (2)	Nai (26)
Barhai (16)	Gadaria (19)	Kol (39)	Pasi (42)
Bari (23)	Goria (24)	Kori (17)	Saini (2)
Bhar (5)	Gujar (1)	Kumhar (19)	Sainthwar (48)
Bharbhuja (30)	Halwai (30)	Kurmi (48)	Sonar (28)
Chamar (18)	Kachhi (2)	Lodha (3)	Tamboli (29)
Darzi (30)	Kahar (24)	Lohar (16)	Teli (33)
Dhanuk (14)	Kalwar (33)	Luniya (10)	Thathera (28)

Volume XLI, page 384, dated February 1, 1929.

B. Rama Charana : Who was the person nominated to represent the backward and depressed classes in the Shahjahanpur Municipal Board in last term ? When does his term expire ?

The Honourable Nawab Mohammad Yusuf :

(*a*) Bala Kachhi (2).

(*b*) On 21st May 1929.

Starred question No. 15, dated February 27, 1932.

Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana : What are the castes and number of the depressed class members nominated by the Government to the present local bodies of these provinces ?

The Hon'ble Nawab Mohammad Yusuf : Eleven Chamars (18), 1 Pasi (42), 2 Khatiks (42), 1 Bhunj (30), 1 Kumhar (19), 3 Koeris (2), 1 Barhai (16), 1 Kalwar (33), 1 Teli (33), 1 Lohar (16), 1 Mukeri (1), 1 Nai (26), and 1 Dhobi (27) were nominated to Municipal boards, and 17 Chamars (18), 4 Barbers (26), 1 Kharhera (18), 3 Kories (17), 1 Mochi (34), 1 Gohi, 2 Kalwars (33), 2 Lodhas (3), 1 Bhurji (30), 2 Doms (41), 2 Dusadhs (13), 1 Mallah (15), 1 Lohar (16), 1 Kandu (30), 1 Barhai (16), 1 Shilpkar (Hill Dom) (43), 1 Tamta (Hill Dom) (43), 2 Pasis (42), 1 Dhobi (27) and 1 Chik (46) were nominated to District boards.

Castes regarded by Local Bodies as depressed classes.

Full information is being gathered as to the castes which have been regarded as depressed classes by the local bodies of the province. Information of the Municipal Board, Lucknow, is available and is quoted below. Data from other local bodies will be submitted as soon as available.

Interpellation by B. Ram Charan, B.A., LL.B., Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow, and replied to by the Chairman, Municipal Board, Lucknow, on 13th of June 1930:

With reference to the answer to my question No. 5 of the same date will the chairman please state the names and castes of the ten depressed class teachers mentioned in the question 4 ?

Reply and also inform the Board of the reasons for such disproportion between the number of teachers of the two classes. Will it please him to consider the advisability of enquiring into the root cause of the same ? If not, why not ?

Reply 4 (*a*).—The Names of the ten depressed class teachers with their castes are given below :—

1.	Bhikhari Lal	Chamar (18)
2.	Chatter Pati	Pasi (42)
3.	Ram Lal	Kurmi (48)
4.	Rekhi Ram	Kahar (24)
5.	Kalka Prasad	Nai (26)
6.	Ajodhya Prasad ..	Teli (33)
7.	Mewa Lal	Kahar (24)
8.	Permeshwar Deen ..	Kurmi (48)
9.	Ganga Din Singh ..	Kurmi (48)
10.	Mathura Prasad ..	Kurmi (48)

(*b*) Because suitable men were not avilable.
Please see (*b*) above.

Question 10.—With reference to the answer to my question No. 11 of the same date will the Chairman be pleased to state the caste of the 4 depressed class pupil teachers and the circumstances under which only 4 out of 87 pupil teachers belonging to the depressed classes were admitted into Board's training school ?

Reply. (*a*) The names and castes of the four depressed class pupil teachers :—

Ram Lal S/o Chhotey Lal	Khewat (15)
Ram Lal S/o Balla	Kisan (3)
Ram Lal S/o Merhai	Ahir (1)
Chatter Pati	Pasi (42) (but calls himself Arya).

All-India Shraddhanand Dalitodhar Sabha on the depressed classes.

The above body is a body started and controlled by the Arya Samaj whose leaders are persons like Dr. Moonji, Bhai Parma Nand, etc., etc.

Following questions were asked in the Legislative Council (*vide* Council proceedings, Vol. XL, page 226, dated 15th December 1928):—

Ch. Dharamvir Singh: Is it a fact that the name of Mr. Dharam Singh, a Mali (2) by caste and a retired station master was submitted for nomination as their (depressed class) representative to the District Magistrate, Meerut, by the Dalitodhar Sabha, Ghaziabad, by means of a representation signed by the members of the Depressed classes of Ghaziabad, but his name has not been recommended to the Govt.?

(4) Is it a fact that in this connection the name of Dharam Singh together with the name of Mr. Nanakchand, a literate sweeper (25) and a poet, was submitted to the District Magistrate and Commissioner by Swami Rama Nand, General Secretary, All-India Dalitodhar Sabha?

(7) Has the Government received any memorial signed by a large number of members of the depressed classes of Ghaziabad praying that of the following educated and well qualified gentlemen be nominated to represent them on the local board:—

(1) Dharam Singh (Mali) (2),

(2) Mr. Durjan Singh (Jatava) (18),

(3) Nanak Chand (Sweeper) (25),

and what action is the Government going to take on this memorial?

The answers are not relevant.

Views of the All-India Varnashram Dharm Sabha.

The Hon'ble Mr. Blunt in his first note (para. 3) says that there are many groups outside the pale of Hindu Social system "and it is to these groups to which we now give the name 'depressed', the descendants of Nishadas and Chandalas of Vedic times and the *Hin Jatyo* of Budhist times". It is admitted that the above test is perfectly correct. But the question is whether the castes in question are within or outside the pale of Hindu Social system. The simple answer is this that they are outside it. See the speech of Maharaja of Darbhanga at the Patna Session of the All-India Varnashram Dharm Sabha, the translation of an extract of which is quoted below:—

Hindu Dharm and Varnashram Dharm.

"Let the reformers (with whose good work I am in agreement) understand it clearly that the term Hindu Dharm is a comprehensive one and within it the Varnashram Dharm is a special boundary. All Varnashram Dharmis are Hindus but all Hindus are not Varnashram Hindus. To intermingle these would be detrimental to both. Many castes like Bhil (39), Gond (24), Dhend (18), Dusadh (13), Chamar (18), Julaha (17), Ghosi (1), Kumhar (19), Vyadh (46), Swapach (Dom) (41), Khewat (15), Machhua (fishermen) (15), Nartak (Gandharb) (37), Napit (barber) (16), Anulom-Pratilom (Gogala), Lohar (16), Barhai (16), Kisan (3), Kanait, Dhanuk (14), Nat (39), Sapera (39), Aghori, etc., etc., are included in the term Hindu and are within its pale, but are independent of

Varnashram Dharm, sacraments of which are not applicable to them (*i.e.*, they have no right to religious sacraments of Hindus). Therefore to wean them from their Dharm would amount to undue interference with Varnashram Dharm and to cause a great harm to it (in other words, such castes may be called Hindus but they are beyond the pale of Varnashram Dharma)."

Castes regarded by the Indian National Congressmen as depressed classes.

It is well known that the Congress boycotted the legislatures in 1930. But the liberal party did not join the boycott. Offended at this the Congressmen, to annoy the liberals and others who contested in the general elections of 1930, secured the return of the gentlemen whom they considered as depressed among Hindu society. In order to annoy the dissentient party they drew upon Chamar (18), Dhobi (27), Bhangi (25), Dom (41), Gadariya (9), Nai (26) and Kahar (24) castes to fill these seats. The caricatures of these men appeared in the Hindu press with disgraceful poems added below them.

RAMA CHARANA (*Rai Saheb*),
B.A., LL.B., Advocate, M.L.C.,
Member, U. P. Franchise Committee.

18th March 1932.

V

Supplementary Questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Government of the United Provinces and the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee, dated 22nd March 1932.

1. The Franchise Committee would be glad of the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to the detailed qualifications to be prescribed for the franchise (precise rent or revenue, educational, or other qualification) on two alternative bases—

(*a*) existence of group system as a supplement to direct system,

(*b*) wholly direct system.

In recording their final proposals will Local Government/Provincial Committee bear in mind that the Prime Minister's letter emphasises the importance of securing that "the legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of the population, and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinions".

Please therefore furnish an analysis showing the distribution of voting power between the various classes and categories of the population under the proposals finally adopted by the Local Government/Provincial Committee, and indicating how the unenfranchised residuum is composed?

The analysis should, if possible, be based on a detailed examination of effect of proposals on two or three typical constituencies.

2. In this connection the Franchise Committee would be glad to be informed if possible—

(*i*) How many joint families, and to what extent, would secure representation under these proposals?

(*ii*) The extent to which sub-tenants will be enfranchised under them. If sub-tenants will be enfranchised only to a very small extent, or not at all, would it be difficult so to adjust the proposals of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to secure a larger degree of representation for them?

(*iii*) The number and percentage of—

occupancy tenants,
statutory tenants,
landless labourers,

who would be enfranchised.

(*iv*) The number and percentage (Hindus and Muslims respectively) who would be enfranchised under the Local Government's/Provincial Committee's proposals.

(*v*) The number of women who would be enfranchised.

(*vi*) The number of depressed classes who would be enfranchised.

(*vii*) The number of factory employees who would be enfranchised.

Polling machinery.

3. (*a*) What is the maximum number of votes that could be accurately polled in the province using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible :—

(*i*) if the election is spread over—

(*a*) one day,

(*b*) two days,

(*ii*) taking 800 as the average number of voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day—

(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women,

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women ?

(*b*) What percentage would this number represent of—

(*a*) total ; and

(*b*) the adult population ?

(*c*) Do you consider that a longer polling period than that suggested above would be practicable or desirable ? If so, what do you suggest ?

(*d*) In answering the above please state :—

(*i*) whether your existing polling machinery can be simplified further than by the introduction of coloured boxes and the abandonment of the requirement that an elector shall put a cross mark on the voting paper against the name of the candidate for whom he desires to vote ? If so, in what respect ;

(*ii*) whether you consider it feasible and advisable for the polling clerks in twos to issue ballot papers to voters under the general supervision of the presiding officer or whether the ballot papers should be issued by the presiding officer himself ;

(*iii*) whether on the average you consider that 1,000 registered voters could be polled [either independently or as a result of the improvements referred to under (*i*)] per day by each polling unit ;

(*iv*) what polling hours do you propose ?

4. What is the maximum personnel which could be made available and suitably used as presiding or polling officers ? The Committee would be glad to have this information under the following heads :—

(*i*) Total number of Government Officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial.

(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government Officers.

(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards Officers (superior and ministerial).

(*iv*) Total number of members of local bodies (Municipal Commissioners), Members of District and Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates, and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed. To what extent could these figures be supplemented by the use of non-official (schoolmasters, etc.)? Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose?

(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for—

(*a*) separate polling booths for women, and for women presiding officers and clerks,

(*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters?

5. What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise the maximum number of voters you consider administratively possible in reply to question 3 above? What proportion of women would be enfranchised under those qualifications?

6. Do you recommend such a maximum extension or such franchise qualifications, and if not, why not?

7. What is the approximate cost (including preparation of the electoral roll) of a general election on the present basis? What would be approximately its probable cost on the basis of the franchise finally recommended by the Local Government/Provincial Committee?

8. What is the final opinion of the Local Government as between :—

(*a*) the combination of direct voting with a group system in any form;

(*b*) the wholly indirect system, *i.e.*, abandoning direct vote altogether;

(*c*) the extension of the direct franchise to the maximum administratively practicable?

In the event of your favouring (*a*), please state whether—

(*i*) you are in favour of grouping the mukhi voters in separate constituencies to return candidates to the Council;

(*ii*) you consider that in the Eastern part of the United Provinces it would be possible to form groups of Muslim primary voters;

(*iii*) in the event of your favouring the suggestion, which has been made that the unenfranchised residuum should be grouped in groups of 10 to return secondary electors for special non-communal constituencies, what proportion of depressed class secondary electors might be expected?

9. Have you any views as to the desirability of single-member constituencies, as opposed to multi-member constituencies, electing 2, 3 or 5 members each either by the single non-transferable vote, or by any other recognised device?

Women.

10. The Prime Minister's letter emphasizes the special importance of securing a more adequate enfranchisement of women :—

(*a*) What are the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee in the light of the discussions that have taken place, as to the steps to be taken for securing an increased number of women voters ?

(*b*) The suggestion has been made that if the existing Council franchise is adopted as the future Federal Assembly franchise, the wives of future Assembly voters should be enfranchised. What is your view as to the desirability of such a suggestion in the United Provinces. How many women, approximately, would be enfranchised under it ?

(*c*) Do you see any objection to a wife qualified for the vote in virtue of her husband's property retaining the right to vote on widowhood ?

11. How many women be enfranchised under the franchise finally recommended by the Local Government/Provincial Committee ?

Methods of securing the presence of women in the Legislatures.

12. The Local Government and the Provincial Committee make slightly different recommendations to secure this object. A memorandum containing various alternative suggestions made elsewhere is attached. The Franchise Committee would be glad of the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee in the light of the discussions which have taken place, as to the method by which a small number of women should be specially elected to the Council.

Depressed classes.

13. The Prime Minister's letter draws special attention to the problem of securing for the depressed classes representatives of their own choice in the legislatures.

(*a*) Adopting the criterion of untouchability (in the sense of causing pollution by touch or approach) in the broad sense (*i.e.*, as holding good of the whole or the greater part of the Province) do the Provincial Committee agree that the castes specified in paragraph 16 of the Local Government's letter are depressed. If not, what list would they suggest ?

(*b*) The suggestion has been made that the problem of securing a larger number of depressed class voters might be solved by grouping those of the depressed classes who are not directly qualified (by property, education, etc.), for the vote in groups of 10 each to return one secondary elector who would vote side by side with other directly qualified persons on the general electoral roll. It has also been suggested that either the secondary voters belonging to the depressed classes or all

depressed class voters might be made into a special electorate returning a certain number of members direct to the Legislature by means of a second or additional vote. What are your views as to the desirability and practicability of these proposals ?

14. Please give as close an estimate as possible of the number of depressed class voters, accepting for purposes of this calculation the castes specified in paragraph 16 of the local Government's letter, who will be enfranchised under the Local Government's/Provincial Committee's final proposals.

Labour.

14A. In the light of the discussions which have taken place do the Local Government/Provincial Committee wish to modify their views as to the suitability of trade unions as the basis of representation of organised labour.

15. Do you propose that the same electoral system should be applied to town and country. Do the Local Government/Provincial Committee consider that universal direct adult suffrage would be desirable and administratively feasible in those towns in the province with a population exceeding 50,000. If so, how many days would it take to poll the adult population, and could any approximate estimate be given of the expenditure involved ?

16. Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or do you consider that the towns should have some weightage ; and if so, to what extent. Would you advise the grouping of municipalities and urban areas over say 5,000 into constituencies apart from the rural areas, as has been suggested in another Province ?

Provincial Legislature.

17. What are the final views of the Provincial Committee as to the number of seats to be reserved in the Provincial Legislature for each of the special interests they consider should be represented in it ?

Size of House.

18. What do you consider should be the size of the Provincial Legislature taking into account the necessity of making the constituencies conform to district boundaries and assuming the maintenance of separate electorates for Muslims on the present basis ?

Second Chamber.

19. What are the views of the Provincial Committee as to the desirability of a Second Chamber ? If they are in favour of a Second Chamber what should be its number, on what basis should it be constituted and what should be its powers *vis-a-vis* the Lower House. What qualifications would you prescribe for membership ?

20. Would the Provincial Committee modify their proposals about the franchise, or the representation of special interests, in the Lower House if there were a Second Chamber ? If so, in what respects ?

Federal Legislature.

21. What are the final views of the Provincial Committee as to the basis of the franchise for—

(*a*) the Senate, and

(*b*) the Federal Assembly,

and the extent to which it should be enlarged ?

22. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the Local Government would further consider the representation of women in the Federal Assembly.

23. How would you actually elect women and representatives of other special interests which you may think it desirable to include in the Federal Assembly ?

24. Would you require a literacy qualification for members of—

(*a*) the Provincial Council, and

(*b*) the Federal Assembly ?

25. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the Local Government/ Provincial Committee would state any other respects, not covered by the above questions, in which they would modify their original proposals.

VI

Memorandum by the Government of the United Provinces in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire* issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.

LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, NO. 829-R., DATED NAINI TAL, THE 8TH APRIL 1932.

I am directed to refer to the memorandum of the Indian Franchise Committee, dated the 22nd March 1932,* in which they ask that certain points relating to the franchise should be further considered by the Government of the United Provinces, and to furnish the final views of His Excellency the Governer, his Executive Council and Ministers on them.

2. Material for the replies to many of the questions, specially those which embrace rural areas, had not been recently compiled, and was not therefore available at the headquarters of Government. But the Indian Franchise Committee required the information, which would ordinarily have taken many months to collect, within a fortnight. The Government considered that the best, indeed the only, method of obtaining it would be to direct every tahsildar throughout the province to select ten typical villages in the neighbourhood of his tahsil and submit a return within the shortest time possible, embodying the necessary statitics for those villages. The returns which would give statistics for 1,800 villages would then be collated and the results applied to the provinces as a whole. Up to the time that His Excellency the Governor held his meeting with his Council and Ministers, the returns of 80 tahsils or 800 villages had been tabulated and these form the basis of the present reply. Though the number of villages is relatively small, they are situated in every part of the province and they, therefore, represent with a fair degree of accuracy the conditions of the whole. Subsequent returns in fact, which have so far been partially tabulated, indicate that there will only be a decimal variation, if any, in most of the figures which are quoted below: and they will not, therefore, materially affect the decisions which have been reached. It is proposed, nevertheless, to forward the completed† statistics, as soon as they are ready, to the Indian Franchise Committee, so that they may be able to compare them with those already forwarded and use them in any other manner they think necessary.

3. In their first question the Indian Franchise Committee have asked this Government to inform them of the degree of representation that should be accorded to the various classes and categories of the population and to state the corresponding numbers and percentages for each. These figures will generally depend on the final decisions of the Government on problems contained in later questions, particularly those relating to polling machinery, the group system and the representation of women, labour and the depressed classes.

* Pages 361-366.

† See telegram No. 967-R. of 19th April 1932 printed at page 452.

It would, therefore, seem advisable to deal with those problems first, in the order in which they occur in the questionnaire, and then to return to the first question and to dispose of that as a summary of the rest. It may be mentioned here that the memorandum referred to in question 14, containing alternative suggestions regarding the inclusion of women in the legislature has not been received and that the fourth question is missing. It is presumed, however, that the absence of the latter is due merely to a clerical mistake in the serial order of the questions.

4. The first of the problems, with which I am to deal, is that contained in question 2 and relates to polling machinery. It is presumed that in their visits to this province the Indian Franchise Committee will have gained some knowledge of the methods by which votes are at present recorded. The Government have carefully examined the proposals to abolish the existing system of identification and to substitute the use of coloured boxes for the crossmarking of ballot papers; and they agree, though with some reluctance as regards the former (in view of the probability that it is likely to increase the number of election petitions), that effect may be given to them provided patwaris and the agents of candidates are present to minimize the chances of personation. They are influenced in their decision by the fact that signature slips have not apparently been found necessary in some other provinces. They can suggest no other way in which the polling machinery can be simplified.

5. The answer to question 3 will show that an average maximum of 200 presiding and polling officers is available per district. It is on this number that the votes which can be actually polled is mainly dependent. There will be no difficulty about clerks or polling stations, because clerks can be found in the ratio of five to one to officers; while schools, which are generally used as polling stations, are more than sufficient to meet all requirements. With the abolition of the identification process and of cross-marking on ballot papers, it will be more essential than ever that only those are appointed polling officers in whom the public can place a ready and implicit confidence.

6. Under the altered methods Government have come to the conclusion that a polling officer could deal on an average with between 600 and 700 actual voters (whether men or women) in place of the present 200 or 250. The main reason why he will not generally be able to deal with more is that voting is not evenly distributed during the time the poll is open. There are usually several hours in the day during which very few votes are recorded. But even though the number of votes recorded is limited to the above figure, the number on the rolls will be considerably higher. Figures for a normal election show that the polling ranges from 45 to 65 per cent. of the electors on the roll and it is therefore not expected that more than 66 per cent. of the electors will actually poll especially on a greatly enlarged register. So the polling officer, if he records 660 votes, will be dealing with a thousand electors on the roll. A simple calculation will accordingly be all that is necessary to ascertain the maximum capacity of the polling machinery. But before they proceed to make this calculation, Government

think it necessary to make a reservation, *viz.*, that at every polling station there must, in addition to the polling officers, continue to be a presiding officer whose special duty it will be to control the arrangements, watch the ballot boxes, instruct the illiterate voters, and deal with objections regarding identification. A convenient polling unit will then consist of a presiding officer, three polling officers and from six to eight clerks, and they will between them be able to deal with 3,000 voters on the roll or to record 2,000 actual votes. With these preliminary remarks it now becomes possible to reply to the questions.

Q. 2 (a).—(*i*) The total number of polling officers available—

(*a*) If the election is spread over one day—will be 200 × 48 (the number of districts in the province) or 9,600. As one in every four will be a presiding officer, they can deal with 7,200,000 voters on the roll or with between 14 to 15 per cent. of the whole population. The number of actual votes they will be able to record at 66 per cent. comes to 4,800,000.

(*b*) An additional 50 per cent. may be added to the above figures if the elections are spread over two days. Voters on the roll will then be 10,800,000, and votes recorded 7,200,000.

It must, however, be reiterated that these are maximum figures. There are several districts in which it will not be possible to find as many as 200 presiding and polling officers, and others in which sufficient police* will not be available to post at the many more numerous polling stations that will now be required. Government have thought it most necessary to go into this matter, because unless proper arrangements are made to preserve order the whole of the machinery is likely to be thrown out of gear. They have experience of unfortunate occurrences in the past in which failure to keep the crowd in check has led to most troublesome complications. They consider that on an average a minimum force of four constables with a subordinate officer in charge is required at each polling station, and that this force can only be found if the average number of polling stations is limited to 50 per district. On this basis it will be possible to deal, as before, with 7,200,000 voters on the roll, but with the same reservation, that in some districts the staff will be under this average and that it will therefore be necessary to take a proportion of less than 14 per cent. Even so, polling will have to be extended to two days in several of the more densely populated districts. After full consideration Government have come to the conclusion that the maximum figure which can safely be taken is 6,000,000, which is equivalent to 12½ per cent. of the population, or 25 per cent. of adults, exclusive of the Muslim voters who will number another 1·3 per cent. or 624,000.

(*ii*) If 800 instead of 666 is taken as the actual number of voters with which a polling officer could deal in a day, the number of votes polled

* *Vide* Note on the subject attached, page 381.

will be 5,760,000 or 12 per cent. It is estimated that it will take a polling officer as long to deal with four women as with five men, and therefore—

(*a*) where 40 per cent. of the actual voters are women, the number of votes recorded would be 5,300,000;

(*b*) where 10 per cent. were women, the number of votes would be 5,645,000.

Q. 2 (*b*).—(*a*) In the first case the percentage will be about 11 of the total population or 22 of adults.

(*b*) In the second case between 11 and 12 of the total population or 23 of adults.

But no deduction need be made for women from the number on the rolls, because few of them are expected actually to exercise their right; and 66 per cent. the proportion of actual voters taken above, will cover them as well as men.

(*c*) Government do not consider it either practicable or desirable to increase the polling period for non-Muslims generally to more than one day, though this will be necessary in some districts. This will not only cause increased expense and inconvenience to the candidates but will also lead to apprehension of disturbances, since a candidate dissatisfied with the first day's poll may cause trouble in order to be able to file an election petition. Moreover, the additional votes which can be polled in two days will be far less than double the number pollable on one day. The first day is not likely to attract many voters, most of whom will prefer to vote on the second, in the case of a two-day poll. It is presumed that a separate day for the election of Muslims will be retained.

(*d*) (*i*) This question has been replied to above.

(*ii*) It is essential that the polling officer should himself issue the ballot papers to electors and keep his own tally of them. This work should not be entrusted to clerks who can, however, attend to all the other preliminary processes. The presiding officer will be in general charge of the polling arrangements at each station.

(*iii*) By registered voters, it is understood that electors on the roll are meant. This question has been answered above in the affirmative.

(*iv*) The present polling hours are from 7-30 A.M. to 11-30 A.M. and from 12-30 P.M. to 4-30 P.M. The polling staff has to arrive at least half an hour in advance to make preliminary arrangements and to remain for half to one hour after the close of the poll to check the issue of ballot papers, seal the boxes, and pack up the returns and paraphernalia. The staff has had a very full day when journeys to and from polling stations are taken into account. The polling hours cannot therefore be extended.

Q. 3 (*i*) *to* (*iv*).—The maximum personnel which could be made available and could be suitably used as presiding and polling officers

comes on an average to 200 per district. The following statement will provide the information required by the Indian Franchise Committee under various heads.

The Government are of opinion that the services of members of local bodies or of honorary magistrates, assistant collectors and munsifs can only be utilized with a great deal of caution. Nearly all of them will be personally interested in the elections, and they will, as landholders or otherwise, be subject to the imputation that they have influenced the voting. As regards the use of vakils and mukhtars, experience shows that the large majority of these are employed by candidates as their election agents. Persons belonging to these classes to whom these considerations do not apply have been shown in a general heading "*Other gentlemen*". It is also thought inadvisable to utilize teachers other than those in Government service in view of the part which they have played in past elections.

Statement of personnel available as presiding or polling officers in the province.

I.—Number of Government officers in various departments.

No.	Departments.	Gazetted officers.				Non-gazetted officers.			
		All-India services.		Other services.		Posts over Rs. 260 per mensem.		Posts between Rs. 250 and Rs. 100 per mensem.	
		Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.
1	Land Revenue and General Administration Department.	98	5	382	34	118	5	1,063	123
2	Law and Justice Department.	22	..	229	30	41	..	441	25
3	Public Works Department.	79	1	133	23	37	9	581	204
4	Agriculture Department.	11	..	39	8	4	..	206	9
5	Co-operative Department.	2	..	9	..	3	..	65	..
6	Veterinary Department.	1	..	3	2	..	..	19	4
7	Land Records Department.	1	..	2	2	1	..	20	3
8	Registration Department.	..	..	6	..	..	..	94	..
9	Museum Department	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
10	Education Department.	10	1	144	..	56	..	983	59
11	Excise Department	1	..	8	3	12	1	135	12
12	Stamps Department	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	..
13	Press Department	..	..	3	..	..	..	16	..
14	Industries Department.	2	..	30	2	9	1	88	2
15	Forest Department	27	..	21	4	2	..	150	3
16	Miscellaneous ..	..	..	5	..	..	..	2	..
	Total ..	254	7	1,018	108	283	16	3,864	444

Total number of Government officers—5,994.

II.—Other officials and non-officials.

1.	Officials of Co-operative Department (supervisors) ..	228
2.	Civil Government pensioners on Rs. 200 a month ..	400
3.	Court of Ward's officials— (*a*) Special managers .. (*b*) Assistant managers (*c*) Head clerks (ministerial).	63
4.	Members of local bodies	*Nil.**
5.	Honorary magistrates, assistant collectors or munsifs.	*Nil.**
6.	Vakils and mukhtars	*Nil.**
7.	Postmasters	1,200
8.	Teachers in Government High Schools	1,352
9.	Graduates and post-graduates	300
10.	Other gentlemen	1,000
	Total ..	4,543
	GRAND TOTAL ..	10,537

This will give an average of 220 per district: but 10 per cent. of this number should be deducted on account of leave, illness or other incapacity. There will then remain 200 per district.

(*v*) (*a*) It will seldom be possible to provide separate buildings as polling booths for women. Only a very limited number of tents can be made available, but it will be possible to construct thatched sheds at a moderate cost. There will not, however, be much actual demand for them because of the paucity of women who could be used as polling officers or clerks, specially in rural areas. In a few districts where missions exist, the ladies belonging to them will perhaps be prepared to undertake the duty.

(*b*) Separate compartments for women voters will only be available in the cases mentioned above, or at middle schools.

(*c*) Arrangements could be made to rope off separate entrances and exits for such voters.

Q. 5.—The franchise qualifications proposed are those which will produce a percentage of about 12·5 in rural constituencies for non-Muslims and a somewhat larger proportion in urban constituencies. This and the number of women who will be enfranchised under them will be given in reply to question 1.

Q. 6.—It will be seen that Government proposed to lower the franchise qualifications so as to admit the largest number administratively feasible.

* *Vide* foregoing observations.

Q. 7.—The approximate cost of a general election on the present basis, including the preparation of an electoral roll, is 4½ lakhs. If the present election arrangements are simplified in the manner proposed above, there will be a saving in certain items, but an additional expenditure in others. It is estimated that if 10 per cent. of the population are enfranchised, the cost of an election will be 10 lakhs; if 12·5 per cent.—12 lakhs; and if 15 per cent.—14 lakhs.

But expenditure will vary considerably according to the number of special electorates created and the introduction in whole or part of the group system.

Q. 8.—In paras. 2 and 6 of their previous letter, dated March 20, 1932, this Government have stated that they were willing to adopt the group system because it would embrace, particularly in rural areas, the elements of adult suffrage and would thus to some extent solve the problem of securing representation for women and depressed classes. They expressed this view however only with considerable hesitation and before they had received replies from all the district officers whom they had consulted. The majority of these officers do not favour the system and reconsideration of the whole question leads Government to view it with a hesitation which is even more pronounced than before. Their final opinion, therefore, is that it would be preferable to increase the electorate under the direct system, which would have the effect of bringing in more of the depressed classes, than to face the difficulties which the group system will undoubtedly present. The remaining parts of the question will thus no longer arise, though with reference to (*c*) (*ii*) it may be mentioned that there will undoubtedly be difficulties in composing groups of Muslim primary voters not only in the eastern but also in the southern parts of the province. An analysis of the Muslim inhabitants of 50 villages in the Rae Bareli district shows that there will not on an average be more than seven in each.

Q. 9.—The present feeling in the Province is certainly in favour of single, as opposed to multi-member, constituencies: and in this connection I am to refer to the previous observation which is contained in para. 7, page 565 of the Report on the working of the System of Government in the United Provinces. It is there stated that "a rural voter—and he is the average voter—finds sufficient difficulty in casting a straight vote for a single candidate. To ask him to arrange candidates in order of preference even with the existing franchise would be to try him far too highly." Moreover, if coloured boxes are used, the number of those which would be required in a multi-member constituency would add to the voter's confusion. A further argument against the multi-member constituency is that it means a bigger electorate: and this will not only increase the difficulties of canvassing but will also reduce the opportunities for personal contact between the candidates and their constituents.

Q. 10.—Government have considered further the question of securing an increased number of women voters in the light of the discussions which they have held with the Indian Franchise Committee. As a

result of the inquiries they have made they find that a proportion of 2·2 per cent. of the total female population in rural constituencies or some 500,000 women will be enfranchised in their own right, if the future qualifications are to be payment of Rs. 5 revenue or Rs. 10 rent. If, moreover, the proposal contained in para. 13 of this Government's previous letter is adopted—that in addition every woman should be allowed a vote who could produce a certificate that she could read and write—the above number, it is estimated, will be further increased by 128,000 to 628,000. Some members of Government are inclined to regard this as adequate representation. They would prefer to stop there rather than bring a large number of other woman on the roll by a qualification of which the only justification is that it will serve to enfranchise them. Other members of Government however regard this representation as inadequate and they agree with the proposal that the vote may be extended to the wives of electors who at present hold the franchise for the Council. This, it is calculated, would produce nearly a million more women voters.

Government consider it anomalous to give a vote based on a property qualification once that qualification has ceased to exist. They do not therefore approve of the proposal contained in question 10 (*c*).

Q. 11.—The total number of women to be enfranchised will be stated in reply to question 1.

Q. 12.—Government adhere to the conclusion contained in para. 14 of their previous letter that a definite number of seats should be reserved for women. They agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that 5 is a suitable number, but adhere to their previous conclusion that these should be filled from among those candidates who have polled the largest proportionate number of votes, but have not been successful in obtaining a seat. They think there is comparatively little force in the reasons which the Provincial Committee have given for their variant recommendation on this point.

Q. 13.—A reply from Government is not apparently required to the first part of this question, but I am to say that Government have considered whether the group system might be applied to the depressed classes, even if it is not generally adopted for those who will otherwise remain without a vote. They have finally decided against this suggestion, because of the difficulties and expense that it would entail. Not only are the depressed classes dispersed throughout the province but also in numerous villages there will hardly be enough of them to form a single group of adults. But even so it would be necessary, if the group system were adopted, to put officers on special duty in every district to hold the primary elections. These difficulties would not be mitigated if either of the other proposals referred to by the Indian Franchise Committee were accepted. Even on Government's classification the secondary voters would not amount to more than 300,000 : and it would hardly be reasonable to establish a separate electorate for them, when

this would require as many polling stations as for the general constituencies. Nor do Government agree to grant them a second or additional vote. Instead of abolishing the distinctions that at present exist between them and high caste Hindus (which seems to be the aim of the proposal), it would be more likely to perpetuate them, because the depressed class voters would gradually cease to take an interest in the return of candidates except from their own community. As it is, the depressed classes according to the Government's definition will have a fair amount of representation if the qualifications for voters are lowered. On a basis of Rs. 5 revenue and Rs. 10 rent they will possess 782,000 voters.

Government are informed that the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee has given a definition to the Chairman of the Provincial Committee which would confine the depressed classes to those who cause "pollution by touch or approach as it exists in this province." If so, the actual number would be reduced to 459,000, and on that definition it would be impossible to secure representation for other than those restricted classes. At the same time the local Government feel that it is necessary to take into consideration classes other than those so defined. Should this be admitted and representation is to be found for them, then, if nomination is not acceptable, Government are prepared to accept a procedure similar to that recommended for women in the answer to question 12. As regards the number of seats to be reserved for the depressed classes in the Provincial Council, Government agree with the Provincial Committee that 10 is a reasonable number. They would however be inclined to regard this as a minimum.

Q. 14.—An estimate of the number of depressed class voters who will be enfranchised under the local Government's proposals will be furnished in reply to question 1.

(*a*) Although the number of persons including women employed in factories registered under the Indian Factories Act is 92,000, more than a third of these are concentrated in Cawnpore district. Six other districts have between them another 35,000, while the remainder are distributed over 32 districts. Even this does not exhaust the problem. A certain percentage of the operatives are under 21 and a further number earn less than Rs. 15 a month or are casual labourers. When these factors are taken into account it is computed that only 38,649 out of 92,000 would be enfranchised. Government therefore propose that the qualifying wage should be reduced to Rs. 12 a month, a figure which would enfranchise 50,000 operatives. Even so, in places other than Cawnpore the operatives will find the greatest difficulty in combining to return a representative. Government think however that a beginning should now be made in accepting the principle of obtaining representation through trades unions by the reservation of a further seat for this purpose. But it must be understood that these unions should first be recognized by a tribunal such as that recommended by the Whitley Commission. Further, no union should be admitted for this purpose until the tribunal is satisfied that it embraces a number of workers so

substantial as to be representative of the interests of the industry concerned. Under the present system the proportion of the electorate is 10 per cent. in urban and 3 per cent. in rural constituencies. Under the franchise proposed for the rural areas 13·5 per cent. of the population will obtain a vote and the local Government recognize that there must also be some further enfranchisement in towns particularly as the standard of wealth and intelligence is greater in them and more interest is displayed in politics. They therefore propose that the rental qualification in urban areas which is at present Rs. 36 *per annum* should be reduced to Rs. 24. On the information available this would increase the representation from 10 to 15 per cent. of the total urban population. At the same time Government may observe that if it is decided to enfranchise women on the present Council qualifications of their husbands the electorate will be increased by another 8 per cent.

Government are not, however, prepared to agree to the grant of adult suffrage to towns in which the population exceeds 50,000. This would create a quite unreasonable disparity and, on account of the number of polling officers and of police that would be required, would mean a separate date for elections. The expense would also be high. Judging by the cost of a recent municipal election at Lucknow, this would not be less than 2½ lakhs.

Q. 16.—The present position in regard to the representation of town and country in the Council is that there are 89 general seats, 12 of which are urban and 77 rural. But while 96·7 per cent. of the total population live in rural, only 3·3 per cent. live in urban constituencies. Thus towns already have a very considerable weightage. But for the reasons given in reply to the former question, Government would have no objection to the formation of urban constituencies for all towns with a population of over 50,000. There are 17 of these in the province, with a total of close on 2 million residents. If the number of Council members is increased to 200 or more, it would seem reasonable to form at least 20 constituencies out of urban areas.

Government would not, however, advise the grouping of other municipalities or urban areas with a population of over 5,000 into separate constituencies, owing to the distances that often exist between them. It has been stated in para. 177 of the Report on the Working of the System of Government in the United Provinces that it would be necessary to group a considerable number together, and the constituencies thus formed would be entirely lacking in community of local interests.

Qs. 17 to 21.—Questions 17 to 21 are addressed to the Provincial Committee, and, having now given their views on all the main problems of franchise for the Council, Government are in a position to deal with the first question. But before doing so they think it would be as well to complete the remaining answers to the questionnaire, which relate mainly to the Federal Assembly.

Q. 22.—Government agree with the recommendation of the Provincial Committee that one seat should be reserved for women in the Federal Assembly. In para. 22 of their previous reply they expressed the view that representation to that Chamber should be through an electorate consisting of members of district and municipal boards. A Bill is now before the Provincial Council which, if it passes into law, will authorize Government to nominate one woman member to each of these boards in future. Government have accordingly considered the suggestion that all the members of these boards, or alternatively the women members only, should between them elect one woman as their representative in the Federal Assembly. They have, however, ultimately discarded it, because that method would mean the return of a representative by electors who would, in the first alternative, depend for her seat on the votes of what was almost entirely a male electorate and in the second, of those who were themselves nominated members. As both these methods are open to criticism, they would prefer an arrangement under which the woman who stands first under the system proposed in the reply to question 12 should be given the option of taking her seat in the Federal Assembly. If she did not exercise that option, her place would go to the woman standing next on the list.

Q. 23.—The method for electing a woman representative to the Federal Assembly has been discussed in reply to the previous question. In addition to this, the Government consider that special representation should be afforded to Trade and Commerce, as the bulk of legislation affecting these interests will be in the Federal Assembly and not in the Provincial Council, and it is doubtful whether these special interests will be sufficiently voiced by representatives elected through the ordinary channels.

Landlords should also obtain some special representation partly on general grounds and partly because their interests would be affected if the Federal Assembly introduced such measures as the extension of income-tax to agricultural income.

In the case of Trade and Commerce the number of representatives should be two, who would be elected, one by the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, and the other by a panel of other Chambers. In the case of landlords there should be two representatives, one of whom would be elected by the British Indian Association of Oudh and the other by the Agra Landlords' Association.

Q. 24.—Government are of opinion that a literacy qualification is required both for members of the Provincial Council and of the Federal Assembly. Literacy should be regarded as ability to read and write with facility either English or one of the vernaculars of the province. In view of past difficulties in the interpretation of a similar provision in the District Boards Act they think it essential that, if any question arises whether a candidate has the qualification, the test should be placed

in the hands of an absolutely impartial authority, as for instance a High Court Judge, whose decision will be final.

Q. 25.—In their last question the Indian Franchise Committee have asked whether the local Government wish to modify their original proposals in any other respect. The Government have held a further discussion regarding the special representation of landowners concerning which they made certain recommendations in para. 21 of their previous reply. Before they express any final opinion on this point, they wish to make a further inquiry as to the number of "superior revenue payers" not belonging to the British Indian Association of Oudh.

Q. 1.—Having now disposed of all other matters referred to them, Government are able to furnish the estimates for which the Indian Franchise Committee have asked in the first of their questions. It may be as well, however, in view of the fact that their recommendations will determine these estimates, to recapitulate as briefly as possible what these recommendations are on the more important points. Government have finally decided not to adopt the group system either for the unenfranchised residuum or for the depressed classes, but to base the suffrage on a widening of the electorate under the wholly direct system. They find that in the case both of women and of depressed classes, a fair measure of representation will be granted if the qualifications are reduced to the extent now proposed: and they have at the same time suggested means by which a further extension of the franchise may be given to women. Apart from this a method has been recommended by which these interests will secure a sufficient proportion of seats in the Legislative Council and the Federal Assembly. The reduction of qualifications will secure for the rural areas an electorate of approximately 13·5 per cent. of the population as compared with the existing 3·6 per cent. and for the urban constituencies of 15 per cent. (or if women are included some 23 per cent.) as compared with the present 10 per cent. This, Government think, is the limit indicated by the capacity of their polling machinery and the other arrangements which they can make for the conduct of elections. They regard these factors as of such primary importance that they have been at special pains to analyze them. This analysis is furnished partly in reply to questions 3 and 4, and partly as an appendix in which they have described the arrangements that could be made for policing an increased number of polling stations. Before the actual figures of representation are quoted, I am to deal with the two preliminary points contained in (*i*) and (*ii*) of the question.

It is not possible to provide any estimate of the joint families who would be included or of the extent to which they would secure representation. In the case both of joint families and of joint tenancies the practice has so far been to enfranchise only the head of the family or tenancy.

This position is well accepted in the province. It is difficult to devise any system for the accurate division of shares in a joint family,

which comprises infants as well as adults, and the local Government agree with the Provincial Committee in considering that sufficient allowance has been made for other than the head of the family by the creation of the literacy qualification.

Nor do Government think it necessary to grant representation to sub-tenants. The great majority of sub-tenants in this province are also tenants-in-chief. Statistics in fact show that if the franchise qualification is reduced to Rs. 5 revenue and Rs. 10 rent, only 520,000 sub-tenants in rural constituencies will not also have rights as tenants-in-chief.

In answering (*iii*) I am to say that Government have grouped all occupancy and statutory tenants together, because there is no fundamental difference in their status for the purpose of enfranchisement. If, as Government now finally propose, the rental qualification is reduced to Rs. 10, the percentage and number of enfranchised tenants-in-chief will be 11·3 per cent. of the total population in rural constituencies, or 5,198,000.

Apart from this, if the revenue qualification is also reduced to Rs. 5, a further proportion of 2·2 per cent. or another million will be enfranchised as landholders. Thus tenants-in-chief and landholders will between them secure a representation of 13·5 per cent. or 6,200,000.

"Landless labourers" number 11 per cent. or just over five millions of the total population in rural constituencies. They, however, include the adult relatives of all tenants and landholders in joint families and holdings, most of the members of backward and depressed classes, and village artizans. They will be sufficiently represented by the tenant vote and by the special arrangements that are proposed for giving the depressed classes a certain number of seats in the Legislative Council.

(*iv*) The percentage and numbers of non-Muslims and Muslims enfranchised in rural constituencies on a basis of Rs. 10 rent and Rs. 5 revenue would be (including the depressed classes)—

Non-Muslims	.. ..	12·4 per cent. or 5,700,000
Muslims	.. ..	1·1 per cent. or 500,000

of the total population of the rural constituencies.

(*v*) The number of women enfranchised in rural constituencies on their own qualifications on the above basis would be 500,000, or 1·1 per cent. of the total population.

If they are also enfranchised on the present Council qualifications of their husbands, the number would increase by a million roughly. The total would then probably be in the neighbourhood of 1,500,000 in rural constituencies.

(*vi*) The number of depressed classes enfranchised in their own rights would be 782,000 or 1·7 per cent. of the population in rural constituencies.

(*vii*) The number of factory employees ultimately enfranchised under Government's proposals may be taken as about 50,000.

The unenfranchised residuum of adults which will be composed of—

(1) landless labourers,

(2) village artizans,

(3) dependents,

will number 17¾ millions, which is equivalent to nearly 38·5 per cent. of the total population in rural constituencies.

Police arrangements for elections.

Government have made an inquiry into the number of police available for maintaining order at polling stations. The average number of polling stations per district is 30 at present: and this will often have to be doubled if the electorate is to be tripled or more. It is stated on page 171 of the Report on the Working of the System of Government that as a general rule one station can deal with an electoral roll of 2,000 to 2,500: this might however be stretched somewhat further to a maximum of say 3,000. On the basis of past figures it may be taken that not more than 66 per cent. of this maximum or 2,000 would actually come to the polls.

The non-Muslim population of the Province is 40,900,000, and if 15 per cent. are to be enfranchised, and the average number of polling stations per district is taken at 50, the average number of registered electors for each will be 2,550.

The strength of the district police force in the province is 29,633. Inquiry shows that a *maximum* of one-half of these could be made available for work at polling stations. This gives roughly 300 men per district, which would allow five men (a sub-inspector, head constable, or naik, and four constables) to a polling station; and that is the average minimum which Government consider necessary. The police would have to be on duty for ten hours on polling days and could hardly work the whole of this time without relief. Subsequently, they would have to transport the polling boxes to headquarters. Under the proposed system it will be a matter of first rate importance to guard against any tampering with them. At some polling stations, particularly in towns, five men will be quite inadequate: but rural polling stations could often do with less and make up the balance with chaukidars, who will in any case have to supplement the police units. The number of chaukidars in the province is now roughly 33,000.

Police arrangements can thus be made for polling 15 per cent. on an average, but it would hardly be safe to utilize the whole of the available force. There is also much unevenness in the distribution of the police force and of the population between the various districts. By way of illustration the cases of districts—Agra, Budaun, Hamirpur and Gorakhpur (which have been taken more or less at random) may be cited.

Agra contains a city of 205,000 inhabitants and is accordingly exceptionally well staffed. The constabular force available there is 342. The number of non-Muslim voters on a 15 per cent. basis would be 153,750, which means 2,562 voters for each polling station, if the number of these is increased from 30 to 60. There would thus be on an average five to six men for each. This number is not more than sufficient, as city polling stations will require more than four constables.

In Budaun, if the number of polling stations is increased from 23 to 46, four constables could, by a similar calculation, be found for each.

In Hamirpur, where only 110 constables are available, if the number of polling stations is increased from 18 to 25 only, there will be 2,816 voters and four constables for each.

Thus in the above three districts police arrangements could just be managed for 15 per cent. of the population, but there would be little or no margin for reserve.

The state of affairs is very different in Gorakhpur. The constabular force available there is 225. The number of non-Muslim voters on a 15 per cent. basis would be 478,000. If there were 90 polling stations instead of the present 45, the average number of registered voters would be 5,310, which is excessive. The number of polling stations might be increased to 150, which would give an average of 3,186 voters. But in that case even two constables would not be available for each. The only solution here is to leave the number of polling stations at 90; utilize all the chaukidars available and hold elections on two days. There are a few other districts, particularly, Basti, Azamgarh and Gonda in which a two days' election will be required.

From the police point of view the general conclusion then is that a percentage of under 15 per cent. of the population should be taken as electors, if there is to be a reserve for emergencies. Thirteen to fourteen per cent., would be a much safer figure, and that is between three and four times the present number of the enfranchised population.

In the above examples the constabular force in particular has been considered. Sufficient inferior police officers would generally be available in the ratio of one to four.

VII

Memorandum by the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire* issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.

The United Provinces Franchise Committee was constituted under G. O. No. 23-R., dated February 5, 1932. The Committee met at Lucknow from February 1 to 6; thereafter with the Indian Franchise Committee on February 7 to 9, and again separately on February 18. They held their meetings subsequently from March 3 to 17, excepting March 5 and 13, to examine witnesses and formulate conclusions. These meetings were held mostly in the afternoons on account of the Legislative Council being in session. The two Committees in joint session examined witnesses and held discussions from March 19 to 21. The Committee held their final meetings at Lucknow from April 1 to 3 to consider the subsequent questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee and discussed their report at Naini Tal on April 7 to 9.

The original questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee was circulated by the Provincial Committee to 32 ladies, 17 members of the Council, 51 depressed class members, 19 depressed class associations, 7 labour associations and 98 other associations and general public. Replies were received in time from 11 ladies, 3 members of the Council, 27 depressed class members, 12 depressed class associations, 2 labour associations and 101 other associations and general public. The Committee examined 7 ladies, 2 members of the Council, 6 depressed class members, 2 depressed class associations and 22 persons, representing other associations, official opinion and the general public (*vide* Appendix A†).

Witnesses were also examined in joint session of the two Committees (*vide* Appendix B‡).

The Committee were greatly handicapped in their work by the lack of accurate statistics which could be supplied only during the April meetings.

Adult suffrage the goal.—The Prime Minister's letter to the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee starts by referring to the decision of His Majesty's Government that "The Governor's provinces are to become responsibly governed"; and in view of this, emphasizes that "it is clearly necessary to so widen the electorate that the legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of population and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinions." He has further reminded us that at the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, whose discussions related "primarily to the provincial electorates", "it was generally held that adult suffrage was the goal which should ultimately be attained"; but the majority of the Sub-Committee considered that "it was only practicable to reach that goal by stages," and that "the immediate increase" should not be less than 10 per cent. and not more than 25 per cent. of the population. The Indian Franchise

* Pages 361—366. † Page 405. ‡ Page 407.

Committee have laid down that these figures limit the scope of our possible recommendations.

The United Provinces Franchise Committee fully endorse the view that adult suffrage should be our aim and are definitely of opinion that it should be attained as early as practicable. The stability of a responsible constitution rests mainly on the extent to which it can make every one of its citizens feel that he or she has some voice in making it function; and it is for this reason that in no truly democratic State to-day any adult of sound mind is left without the right to vote. In this way there is created in every individual an interest in its proper governance. But it is obvious that there are practical difficulties in giving effect to this much desired aim. The difficulties relate, in our opinion, not to the incapacity of the voter to exercise his new power, nor to the inability of the candidate to handle a large electorate; but mainly to the administrative difficulty of enabling a large mass of the population to record its vote in a fair and satisfactory manner.

As vast numbers of voters are brought to the poll in other countries by means of adult suffrage, a question that needs to be answered is why a similar task is well nigh impossible in the immediate future in India. The same conditions prevail more or less all over India but we are at present chiefly concerned with our own province. This province is densely populated and covers a vast area; and our voters are not to any appreciable extent concentrated in big cities as in some other countries. The twin problems of providing enough polling officers to record votes and sufficient police to maintain order gain added force if more than 90 per cent. of the voters of the province have to go to booths scattered far and wide over the interior of the country. In cities there is always a reserve of police available, but only a small part of this can be used at one time. Similarly, in the bigger cities though there are many responsible citizens prepared to take up the work of polling at the centre where they reside, most of them will be unwilling to go out a long distance off. Thus the distribution of our large rural population over an extensive area produces a problem which is not always to be found in other countries where adult suffrage obtains. But by far the most disturbing factor which makes the problem bristle with difficulties at the present moment is due to the colossal illiteracy of the people. The polling officer in this country has to deal with voters, more than 90 per cent. of whom are illiterate, and in the recording of whose votes malpractices are possible. Thus the responsibilities of a polling officer are fairly heavy and onerous; and people ought to repose a certain amount of trust in him. This restricts choice to a limited class. Then we have to remember that owing to the peculiar political conditions of the country politics attracts a very large number. The educated people in a district, small in number though they be, are generally actively and openly identified with the interests of one candidate or another; and thus do not possess that independent and neutral frame of mind which is so essential to the discharge of a polling officer's duties. Past experience has shown that, apart from the bigger cities, it is not at all easy to find for this class of work a sufficient number of non-officials

to whom objection would not be taken by one party or the other. Similar considerations preclude the appointment of Government servants below a certain status.

Polling officers.—The Committee discussed the classes of officials and non-officials who could, in view of the consideration given above, be entrusted with the work of a polling officer. In the case of Government servants the Committee have decided to include all gazetted and non-gazetted officers who draw a salary of Rs. 100 per mensem and over, leaving out the officers of the police, medical and jail departments, who may not be available for more reasons than one. Officers taken from 16 Government departments total 5,994 in the whole of the province. Other sources from which polling officers can be drawn are supervisors of co-operative societies; civil pensioners of Government drawing a pension of Rs. 200 a month and over, the superior and ministerial staff of the Court of Wards, members of local bodies, honorary magistrates, honorary assistant collectors and munsifs, advocates and vakils (one-fourth of the total strength), postmasters (half of the total strength) on holidays, teachers of Government high schools, and finally the post-graduate students of Politics, Civics, Sociology and Economics, studying in the five universities of the province. It is estimated that at present the number of people available in the twelve categories mentioned above will be in round numbers 14,600 (*vide* Appendix C*). But many of them will not be available for some reason or other, as for instance leave, sickness, etc. Thus, it will be found that it will not be safe to presume that more than 10,000 officials and non-officials will be available for doing the work of polling officers for rural constituencies in the 48 districts of the province or an average of about 200 officers per district. Under the existing system of recording votes one polling officer cannot deal with more than 500 voters on the roll. Thus all the available polling officers would not be able to deal with more than 4,800,000. But this figure would include the voters for the Federal Assembly also. Thus hardly 10 per cent. of the population would be enfranchised.

As the Committee were anxious to bring in as large a number of voters as possible, they examined the question of simplifying the present machinery for the recording of votes in order that a polling officer might deal with larger numbers. They compared the system of this province with those of other provinces and after an examination of the evidence of competent and experienced Government officials, they are in a position to recommend a simpler method which will save a considerable part of the polling officer's time.

Polling machinery.—We consider that the tedious process of identification may be done away with generally, unless a voter's identity is challenged by the agent of a candidate. This process is not in existence in the majority of provinces and the manner in which even in these provinces identification takes place makes its *utility* in checking cases of personation doubtful. We are, at any rate, convinced that it does not produce results commensurate with the time wasted. The Committee

* Page 408.

further propose that the cross-marking done at present by the polling officer in the case of illiterate voters should be dispensed with, the voter may simply be given a ballot paper to be put in one of the coloured boxes (which will have distinctive symbols) for the candidate for whom it is meant. We do not think that the recording machinery can be simplified any further unless some mechanical device is introduced. In any case the system of coloured boxes will save so much of the polling officer's time that he will be able to record five or six times as many votes. We calculate that in future he will be able to deal with 1,000 voters on the roll if not more than 66 per cent. of them present themselves at the polls. In some districts at least more than 66 per cent. of votes have been actually recorded in the past, but the provincial average does not come up to that figure. In our opinion, the actual voting for some time to come at least will seldom exceed this percentage even in a fairly contested constituency, as among other reasons the voters will include a large number of women.

According to the calculations mentioned above it will be possible to bring on the roll about 9,600,000 voters. From these are to be deducted about 1,800,000 voters whom we propose to enfranchise under our scheme for the Federal Assembly. We are thus left with 7,800,000 voters for the Provincial Legislature. This is the highest number for whom polling arrangements can be made on one day. Allowing some margin for safety, our scheme should not exceed a figure of about 7 million voters. This will apply to non-Muslim voters only. Muslims, it is presumed, will retain a separate day for their elections.

The Committee considered the possibility of extending the franchise still further by other administrative expedients. It was proposed that the elections should be spread over more than one day, thus enabling the same administrative machinery to deal with larger numbers. Several objections may be urged against this proposal. Elections take place even now on two days, one for the non-Muslims, and another for the Muslims, and these days are treated as treasury holidays. If another day was added, it would mean excessive dislocation of public business and of the work of Government servants. It would also entail an excessive strain on the candidate, his supporters and workers besides adding to the expenditure of the State. It would further open the way for influential leaders with party organizations to throw in their weight at different places on different days and thus turn the scales in their favour in constituencies which they could not otherwise have captured. It is mainly for this reason that the general election is always held on one and the same day in all countries.

It was also suggested that it might be possible to enfranchise more people for the Provincial Legislature, if the Federal Assembly elections were held on a different day. The Committee rejected this proposal as in their view it was undesirable to ask the voters for the Assembly to go to the booths twice. These voters will, in a number of cases, have to travel long distances to reach the polling booth and it will be too much to expect them to spend two days over the elections. After all, we should do our best to encourage newly enfranchised voters to exercise their rights.

Thus it will be seen that so far as the direct vote is concerned, administrative arrangements cannot be made for recording the votes of more than 15 per cent. of the non-Muslim rural population on one day. If we add to it 1·4 per cent. for the Muslim population, the figure goes up to 16·4 per cent. In other words, one in every three adult persons gets a vote. No doubt this is yet far from adult suffrage, still it is at least a great improvement over the existing position.

There is not the same trouble about finding polling clerks as polling officers; and sufficient buildings are available for all the polling stations required. The Committee realize that it will be very difficult to arrange for recording the votes of *pardah* women, but think this should be done where feasible, especially in urban areas where polling officers may be available. Separate entrances and exits should however be provided.

Group system.—The extension of the franchise so as to include 25 per cent. of the population raises the question of the means by which it should be secured—should it be obtained by the extension of the present system of direct voting or should it be superseded or supplemented by the group system, as suggested in the questionnaire. The letter of the Prime Minister to the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee appears to rule out the replacement of the system of direct election by one of indirect election. "It is the wish of His Majesty's Government" wrote the Prime Minister to the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee, "that your Committee should consider in the first place what extension of the franchise for the Provincial Legislatures is desirable and administratively feasible and the possibility of supplementing direct representation by a system of group representation or otherwise." We have been asked to consider [question 1 (*h*), Part I] whether it would be desirable to abolish the existing system and to confine the electorate to secondaries chosen by groups of primary voters. But the Prime Minister's letter appears to require not only the maintenance but the extension of the system of direct voting.

Considering the question on its merits, the United Provinces Franchise Committee do not think that it would be either feasible or advantageous to do away with direct voting. Such a step is certainly to be regarded as retrograde by public opinion which will suspect the motives of the Government and it will be very difficult to withdraw the direct vote from those who already enjoy it. Mr. Panna Lal, I.C.S., a witness of some importance, who preferred the indirect to the direct system, clearly stated that the abolition of the present system would create discontent against the administration.

The examples of the countries in which elections take place by two stages (Turkey, Egypt, Syria and Iraq) are not such as to encourage us to follow in their footsteps. None of them controls its own destiny except Turkey, and Turkey can scarcely be regarded as Democracy. In Egypt the indirect system was introduced in 1930 not to prepare the way for direct suffrage but in order to do away with it and has been severely criticized by the political opponents of the party in power.

While the group system, as the sole method of enfranchisement, has nothing to recommend it, its adoption as a supplement to direct representation seems to have obvious advantages. It is *prima facie* a form of adult suffrage and enables us to enfranchise indirectly all those whom the existing system cannot bring within its fold. On closer examination, however, it appears that it can be introduced only at the expense of the direct system. We have already calculated the number of voters that could be handled at the polling booths with the resources at present at the disposal of the authorities, whatever form the franchise may take. As the number is independent of the qualifications that may be laid down for a voter, and, as according to the Prime Minister's letter, the direct franchise ought to be widened, there appears to be no reason why all the practicable addition to the existing electorate should not be based on the present system of direct voting. There is thus no room left for the introduction of the group system. It can be introduced only if the extension of the direct franchise is deliberately restricted in order to provide an opening for it.

If the group system is introduced, it is doubtful whether it will arouse interest among the masses. The official witnesses were divided in their views on the subject. The prestige which superior officers enjoy in rural areas makes it likely that if they themselves conduct the primary elections, villagers will assemble in large numbers ; but it is not likely that many such officers will be available for this particular work : and if it is left to inferior officers not only will the interest be less, but the results also far less reliable.

The value of the group system as a means of giving political education to the masses has been carefully considered by the Committee. Such political education as elections to the legislatures provide at present is due to direct contact between the voters and the candidates. The rival candidates approach the voters, explain the political situation to them and canvass the merits of their respective creeds and programmes. The primary elections will be held many months before a general election takes place. If a person has made up his mind so early to seek election and tries to influence the primary elections in his favour, he will be faced with the expense and worry of having to run two elections. In all probability however there will be no candidate in the field at this stage. The primary electors will therefore have no opportunity of receiving a political training by exercising their judgment on concrete issues : their task will only be to elect without reference to any political principle or platform a secondary elector who will owe no responsibility to them for the use he makes of his vote. Owing to the system of voting by ballot his " constituents " will have have no means by knowing for which party or individual he voted. They will, therefore, neither acquire any knowledge of the practical issues, which the legislators will have to deal with, or will they be in a position to influence their solution by the pressure which direct voters can exercise on those who seek their support. All the zamindar representatives that appeared before the Indian Franchise Committee, including those of the British Indian Association which

at first favoured the group system, have for this reason opposed its adoption.

Two other questions should also receive consideration in any examination of the desirability or otherwise of the group system. In the first place it will provide a strong temptation for the manipulation of the primary electors by those who wield power. Even if they resist this temptation, they will be suspected of attempting to misuse their influence and will be constantly exposed to hostile criticism. In the second place grouping may accentuate communal differences. Most of the supporters of the group system think that geographical divisions should be followed in the formation of groups. But as members of various castes not unoften live in separate localities forming compact blocks of their own, the geographical divisions may indirectly become communal and thus strengthen separatist tendencies.

For the reasons given above, the Committee are strongly of opinion that the group system should not be introduced in these provinces. Its introduction may retard the progress of the direct system. So long as any portion of the population remains unenfranchised, the pressure of public opinion will compel the Government in power to take steps to remedy this deficiency. But the group system may delay this consummation by creating a false impression that universal suffrage is already in existence.

Rural franchise.—The Committee having expressed themselves strongly in favour of completing the election to both the Federal Assembly and the Provincial Council on one day, and having rejected the scheme of supplementing the direct representation by the indirect through the group system, proceeded to consider the qualifications which would enfranchise 15 per cent. of the rural non-Muslim population.

They unanimously agree that this should be done, first by fixing a minimum property qualification, and secondly by introducing a literacy test. As regards the latter, they recommend the possession of an upper primary examination certificate or its equivalent for the male voters, and mere ability to read and write for the female voters.

In the case of women, it should be enough if the voter either satisfies the election officer or any other officer appointed by him for that purpose that her application for enrolment has been written by her, or produces a certificate to the effect signed by the mistress of a recognized school or a gazetted officer. It is obvious that this low literacy test will create administrative difficulties ; but the Committee recommend it as the cases to be dealt with under this qualification will not be large. As regards men, after examining the Director of Public Instruction the Committee were satisfied that their proposal would work well. Though the certificate is given by a low paid teacher, its authenticity may be relied on because a certain proportion of results is checked every year by

the higher inspecting staff. An objection has been raised that the certificate might not infrequently be lost ; but copies would generally be obtainable and the standard of education provided by the certificate is so low that it would never be difficult for a person whose inclusion on the roll was challenged on this ground, to prove that he possessed it. Moreover, the Committee are satisfied that the percentage of persons who will be enfranchised by the literacy qualification alone will be so small that cases of hardship due to the loss of certificate will be very few indeed.

On property qualifications alone, the required number of voters can be secured by prescribing the following qualifications for rural areas which the Committee unanimously recommend :—

(1) Payment of land revenue—Rs. 5 and above.

(2) Payment of rent—Rs. 10 and above.

(3) Enfranchisement of wives of those electors who possess the property qualifications demanded at present from a voter for the Provincial Legislative Council.

The Committee further recommend that in the case of joint families as many members as hold the minimum qualifications should get the vote, provided their names are recorded in the village papers.

It is calculated that among the non-Muslims, 5,700,000 persons or 12·4 per cent. of the population will be enfranchised under the first two heads ; and about 1,100,000 women or nearly 2·2 per cent. of the population will be enfranchised under the third head ; making a total of 6,700,000 voters or 14·6 per cent. of the non-Muslim rural population.

Similar figures for the Muslims under the above heads are 500,000 persons or 1·1 per cent. of the population under the first two heads : and 150,000 women or ·3 per cent. of the population under the third head. The total number of Muslims enfranchised will thus be 650,000 or 1·4 per cent. of the total rural population.

It will be seen that the percentage for Muslim and non-Muslim voters reflects satisfactorily the proportion of Muslims and non-Muslims to the total rural population ; there is therefore no need for prescribing different qualifications for them.

As for the depressed classes it is enough to say, that their number is confined to a little over half a million in this province, as has been unanimously agreed to by the Committee, on the basis of the definition given by the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee. However, it is important to mention that, among the three castes which the Committee regard as depressed, namely, sweepers, Doms and Dhanuks, sweepers and a considerable portion of Doms live chiefly in urban areas, and would therefore benefit by the scheme of adult suffrage which the Committee have recommended for 17 cities in the province.

An analysis of the figures given above will show that the voting is distributed between males and females in the following manner :—

(*a*) *Males.*—All payers of revenue and rent	..	5,700,000
(*b*) *Females.*—(1) All payers of revenue and rent in their own right.		500,000
(2) Wives of the present Legislative Council electors.		1,250,000
(3) Qualified as literates	..	128,000
Total of (*b*)	..	1,878,000

Thus women will form 25 per cent. of the total electorate.

Before coming to the classes still left unenfranchised it would be desirable to refer briefly to the two alternative proposals for the enfranchisement of women which were placed before the Committee.

One proposal was to enfranchise the wives of those who possessed double the minimum property qualification and the other to enfranchise the wives of those only who are at present voters for the Provincial Legislative Council. The Committee accepted the latter proposal for the following reasons :—

(*a*) The acceptance of the former would have necessitated the raising of the qualifications prescribed for tenants and that would have meant a corresponding reduction in the number of the latter. After a careful examination, the balance of advantage, in the Committee's opinion, lay in bringing in a larger number of the smaller tenants who represent a new class and who were more likely to exercise their rights than women.

(*b*) The effect of lowering the qualifications is that a much larger number of women has become directly enfranchised in their own right. Their percentage amounts to 1·25 of the population.

(*c*) Under the Committee's proposals, about 25 per cent. of the electorate will consist of women voters as compared with ·1 per cent. previously. This compares very favourably with the increase in the case of male voters.

Reference should be made to another proposal also which did not commend itself to the Committee. It related to the enfranchisement of sub-tenants. The large majority of the sub-tenants also hold rights as tenants-in-chief. In fact the number of those who have no rights other than those of sub-tenants compose the very small percentage of 1·5 per cent. of the population, but even this figure is misleading to a great extent.

It is necessary now to see what classes are included in the residuum of the population, which the Committee's scheme of franchise does not reach. This residuum will consist chiefly of the following classes :—

(*a*) payers of rent and revenue below the proposed minimum,
(*b*) sub-tenants who are not tenants-in-chief,
(*c*) village artisans and shopkeepers,
(*d*) landless labourers, and
(*e*) dependants.

With the proposed lowering of rent and revenue qualifications, it can safely be said that a substantial majority of tenants and landholders have been enfranchised. The same may truly be said of the sub-tenants also.

Again a village artisan is very often a tenant also. In many parts of the province, it would be difficult to find an artisan in an ordinary village who is not a cultivator. The dependence of this class on cultivation has lately added to the pressure on land. During the war and the post-war period of high prices, a villager with no land found it particularly difficult to maintain himself. Hence it is clear that representatives of this class will be found in fair numbers in the list of general rent-payers. It is difficult to prescribe any special qualification for them as they customarily receive payment in kind. Landless labourers may be divided into two classes—(1) those who reside in cities or towns which are included in the municipal, notified areas forming part of rural constituencies and (2) those who live in villages, and form the bulk of the labouring class. It should be noted that in villages, it is the dependants of tenants—their brothers, sons and female relations—that form the majority of landless labourers. Families, with no tenancies of any sort of their own, which depend entirely on labour for their maintenance are so few outside the urban areas mentioned above that they can safely be omitted.

Thus, while it would have been desirable to extend the franchise still further, had the polling machinery so permitted, there is no class of people whose interests will be completely neglected in our scheme. The main interests of the rural areas are those connected with the landlord and the tenant : and their qualifications have been so much lowered as to include a substantial section of persons on the lowest rung of the ladder, for those who earn not a rupee a month in the countryside through its chief industry, hardly deserve any other description.

Urban franchise.—There are at present 17 cities in the province with a population of over 50,000 (*vide* Appendix D*). The Committee by a majority consider that it is administratively possible to arrange for the polling of the adult population in those places ; therefore they recommended its immediate introduction.

The Committee do not consider that this can be objected to on the ground of the undesirability of introducing two different systems in the

* Page 410

urban and rural areas ; on the other hand, they consider that it will make the attainment of the ultimate goal easier. The experiments in the cities will demonstrate its political and educational value and strengthen public opinion in support of its extension to the villages. It may be noted that out of the 17 cities referred to above there are only five cities (Lucknow, Cawnpore, Benares, Agra and Allahabad), where the total number of voters in the non-Muslim electorate will be above 60,000. Cawnpore will have most (roughly 77,000 voters). Of these four are seats of Universities ; and in the fifth, there are a number of important educational institutions. Thus 60 to 70 additional men will be easily available from these sources to act as polling officers, besides Government servants of miscellaneous departments, who are not to be found in small districts. The other twelve cities too possess important educational institutions ; one, a University ; six, one or more degree or Intermediate colleges each ; and the rest more than one high school each.

Thus the total number of voters that will be brought on the roll as a result of our recommendations for both rural and urban areas will be as follows :—

Rural constituencies—6,200,000 ; of these 5,700,000 will be non-Muslims, and 500,000 Muslims.

Urban constituencies—1,000,000 ; of these 620,000 will be non-Muslims and 380,000 Muslims.

Qualification of candidates.—The Committee are unanimously of opinion that candidates for the Provincial Council should be required to be literate.

Representation.

Size of Council.—The size of a constituency is too big at present to allow a member to keep in touch with his constituents. The enlargement of the electorate will make this task more difficult still. It is, therefore, obvious that the number of constituencies must be considerably enlarged. The rural electorate is being enlarged from 3 per cent. of the rural population to 16·5 per cent. or by 450 per cent. ; and the urban from 10 per cent. of the urban population to 50 per cent. or by 400 per cent. Therefore, if the increase in the size of the House were to keep pace with the increase in the size of the electorate, we should have 500 to 550 members. But bearing in mind other considerations which are no less relevant, the Committee unanimously recommend that the new House should consist of 250 members. These seats have to be divided between the urban and rural constituencies and the special interests.

Distribution of seats between urban and rural areas.—The Committee discussed the question of the weightage which cities are getting at present over the rural area in the matter of seats allotted to each of them. They agree by a substantial majority to allow them to retain their present weightage, because, after all, they will continue, for at least some time to come, to be the main nerve-centres of all activities for the advancement of the people, as it is there that men with education, intelligence

and wealth mainly reside. The Committee further agree that municipal and other areas with a population of less than 50,000 should continue to be included in rural constituencies. That would, in a large number of cases, entail the joining together of areas, which were so far off from each other as to make the task of the candidate in approaching his constituents extremely difficult. Moreover, there is not much disparity between their interests and those of rural areas proper.

Size of Constituencies.—After deducting the proportionate number of urban constituencies from the proposed total strength of the House, it would be easy to calculate the size of an average rural constituency and the average number of voters to be found there. But accurate calculation is not possible as the acceptance of the majority or minority recommendations (or the adoption of an intermediate course) will affect the total number of seats available for general constituencies. It may be safely presumed, however, that the average area of a future general constituency will in any case be less than half the average area at present; and that the average number of voters will be between 60 and 70 thousand.

Single-member or multi-member constituencies.—This leads to the discussion of the question whether it is desirable to have multi-member or single-member constituencies. The Committee favour the latter Course. They are fully aware of the advantages which a multi-member constituency gives to the minorities in securing their effective representation; but the illiteracy of the average voter will make such a system unworkable. He will find it impossible to remember the names of the candidates or their colours.

Representation of women.—A number of lady witnesses who appeared before the Committee strongly held the view that women should be able to enter the legislatures without any artificial aid. They considered the provision of special facilities as derogatory to their self-respect, or at any rate as prejudicial to their claim of equality with men. But the committee consider that in the present circumstances provision should be made for a minimum number of women whose presence is essential in all progressive legislatures.

The Committee, therefore, recommend that five seats should be specially provided for them in addition to those which they may be able to secure from general constituencies.

The Committee wish to make it clear that they have asked for only five seats to be reserved for women on the distinct assumption that a large number of women would be enfranchised on the property qualifications of their husbands as recommended elsewhere. If, however, it is decided to confine the vote to those women who possess property in their own right the number of women enfranchised will be so greatly reduced as to make it negligible in comparison with the total number of electors. It must not be forgotten that by Hindu Law the vast majority of women are debarred from possessing property in their own names and that being so the property qualification operates most unfavourably for

Hindu women. In point of fact even women belonging to other communities, *e.g.*, Muslims, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, etc., do not in the vast majority of cases possess property in their own names but there is no legal bar to their acquiring proprietorship of their husbands' property or that of other relatives of theirs. It is understood that if the vote is given only to those women who possess a certain literacy qualification or own property in their own names the number of women enfranchised in the whole province would not exceed 6 lakhs. This number would be scattered over all the Muslim and non-Muslim constituencies of the province so that in any constituencies the number of women voters would be so small as to make the women's vote wholly ineffective. The Committee hope that in fairness to the women of the province they will be given the vote on their husbands' property qualifications if they pay as land revenue Rs. 25 a year or as rent Rs. 50, for that seems to be the only method by which a fair number of women can be enfranchised. Should however this recommendation not find favour, the Committee would in that case recommend that instead of five seats as above recommended, a larger number of seats should be reserved for women.

The Committee is strongly opposed to the nomination or co-option of women members by the legislature. The objections to nomination are obvious. The objection to co-option is that the legislature would at that stage be composed entirely of men and so would naturally not command the confidence of the women of the province. Nor would co-option give a fair chance to women who had not the good fortune of being known to the members of the Council. Quiet workers who do not possess social influence or a high provincial reputation will thus be placed at considerable disadvantage. It may be stated with a fair degree of confidence that, as a rule, those women who were chosen under a system of co-option would not be those who were elected to the Council under a system of popular election. Seats are being reserved in the legislature for a limited number of women so that these latter may truly represent and give expression to the points of view of women. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that those who fill the seats reserved for women should be able to say they have been sent there by the general body of women themselves. In other words, they should not be men's women but women's women.

The Committee, therefore, after examining carefully all alternative methods, recommend that of the women who contest the general constituencies and are defeated, those who poll the highest number of votes should be declared elected up to the required number. A question arises here whether the highest absolute number or the highest proportionate number of votes should determine the success of a candidate. Defects are inherent in both methods, but as it is simpler to take absolute figures, the Committee consider that the balance of advantage lies in accepting the absolute number of votes as the test of success.

Depressed classes.—Before the problem of the depressed classes can be dealt with it is necessary to decide what communities should be regarded as depressed. "The phrase 'depressed class'," says Mr. Blunt in his note on the origin and nature of the depressed and backward classes, "is of comparatively recent coinage. It is not to be found in Crooke's great work (Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Province and Oudh). It was not used by Sir Richard Burn in the Census Report of 1901; nor was it used in the Census Report of 1911. It seems to have found its way, probably from Madras into the United Provinces about 1920. . . it does not translate any vernacular term." As no precise meaning has been attached to the word "depressed" the inclusion of a particular caste under this category is a matter of individual judgment. The population of the classes called depressed has, therefore, been differently estimated from time to time by different authorities and even by different departments of the same Government. This fact should be clearly borne in mind in considering the figures relating to the population of the depressed classes, which are often referred to in discussions on this subject. The absence of an exact definition deprives them of much of their value, and makes it highly unsafe to base any conclusions on them.

Various criteria of what should cause a class to be regarded as depressed were suggested to us by the witnesses that represented the classes whom they called depressed. The representative of the United Provinces Adi-Hindu (depressed classes) Association practically proposed that the classes from whose hands the higher castes would not take food or water should be regarded as depressed. These restrictions are applied only by the orthodox sections of the higher castes but however regrettable they may appear, they cannot be made a ground for according special representation.

The caste system may be regarded as an obstacle to progress by the social reformer, but its existence cannot be considered to be a reason for differentiating politically between the various classes composing the Hindu community. The object of the present inquiry is not to alter the religious beliefs of the Hindus or to reform their social organization, but to prevent the imposition of civic disabilities on any section of the people. Again, the so-called depressed classes observe the caste rules quite as strictly as those of the twice-born castes. As Mr. Blunt says in his note, "many low castes are quite as particular as high castes regarding these food taboos".

Dr. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan submitted a scheme for the protection of the depressed classes to the Minorities Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference in 1930. Its object was stated to be the abolition of untouchability and creation of equality of citizenship, but it apparently made no demand for the elimination of the caste system. It suggested that in order to give effect to this the denial of certain rights should be made legally punishable, but the list of rights enumerated in it makes no reference to temple entry or food or water taboos.

The United Provinces Hindu Backward Classes League would make the word " depressed " synonymous with " backward ". It suggests that all those classes should be treated as depressed which are not likely to send representatives " of their own choice " to the Legislative Council, and submits a long list of the castes which would come under this definition, and which form about 60 per cent. of the population of these provinces. It asks that all such classes should be called backward and not depressed and says expressly that " untouchability as prevailing in these provinces is very little—almost nominal ". Its representative said in his oral evidence, " Untouchability does not exist in these provinces at all. It is only among the *bhangis* ". The " Adi-Hindus " contest the validity of this claim and their representative, Babu Ram Sahai, says in his minute of dissent that the " touchable *Sudras* " should not be allowed to call themselves depressed, and that " the term ' depressed classes ' be strictly defined as meaning persons belonging to the communities which are subjected to the system of untouchability of the sort prevalent in the province ". It is obvious that if the ingenious definition of the Backward Class League were accepted, the depressed classes, properly so-called, would be as far from securing protection for their rights as they are now.

Before considering further the position taken up by the Backward Classes League it is necessary to remove a misunderstanding created by paragraph 28 of Mr. Blunt's note. After referring to the election of the members of the " low or depressed castes " to the present Council owing to Congress support, he says " Every other elected Hindu member in the present Council belongs to some twice-born caste ; nor can I remember a single elected *Sudra* member in any previous Council ". The fact, however, is that since 1921 there has been no Council without some members who did not belong to the twice-born castes. The present Council also contains such members, excluding those who owe their election to the efforts of Congressmen to discredit the Council.

If the test laid down by the Backward Classes League be accepted, the major portion not merely of the Hindu community but also of the Muslim community would consist of the depressed classes, and among the Hindus practically all castes other than the twice-born would have to be labelled as depressed. In discussions regarding the depressed classes, references are often made to the investigations of Sir Richard Burn as Superintendent of Census Operations in the United Provinces in 1901, regarding the position of caste in the social heirarchy. He divided the Hindus into thirteen groups after taking their castes into consideration, and the Muslims into four on the basis of their social status, according to the social precedence of the classes mentioned in each group. It will be apparent from an examination of the tables given in the Census Report of 1901, Volume I, that quite as large a percentage of the population has remained unrepresented in the Legislative Council among the Muslims with their freer social outlook as among the caste-ridden Hindus. With notable exceptions, the classes mentioned in the last three Muslim

groups, which constitute about 66 per cent. of the Muslim population, have been unable to send representatives " of their own choice " to the Legislative Council. If the criterion referred to above be sound, not only in India but probably in many advanced Western countries also the larger portion of the population will have to be classified as depressed. The problem of the depressed classes is considered to be peculiar to India and the Hindu community. We must, therefore, discard the above test and all those based on educational or economic backwardness, which are universal phenomena, and seek for some definition which would bring out the special nature of the problem we are dealing with.

In Madras Presidency, to which we owe the word " depressed ", the classes to which this epithet is now applied were formerly known as " untouchables ". This designation was dropped and a less opprobrious nomenclature adopted out of regard for the susceptibilities of those to whom it applied, but this change of name ought not to make us oblivious of its real significance. It connotes untouchability and it is the fact of untouchability, advertised far and wide, that has led its peculiar significance to the question of depressed classes in the eyes of the world. It is in this light that the matter has been discussed since the appointment of the Simon Commission. The Indian Franchise Committee confined the use of term " depressed classes ", to those who are untouchables. The Simon Commission, agreeing with this view, adopted the test of " causing pollution by touch or by the approach within a certain distance " to distinguish the depressed classes from the rest of the population. The test of untouchability was laid down by Dr. Ambedkar also at the minority Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, and, as pointed out by Babu Ram Sahai in his minute of dissent, " All the discussions in regard to these classes at both the sessions of the Round Table Conference at London took place on the basis of untouchability." The Indian Franchise Committee, in its revised questionnaire (question 13), also has adopted the criterion of untouchability in this sense defined by the Simon Commission, that is, causing pollution by touch or approach.

The United Provinces Franchise Committee, which has investigated this matter carefully, is in agreement with the views expressed above. It is of opinion that only those classes should be called " depressed " which are untouchable. Judged by this test, the problem of untouchability is non-existent in these provinces except in the case of Bhangis, Doms and Dhanuks whose total population, including those sections which are touchable, is only 581,000. Rai Ram Charan Sahib and Babu Ram Sahai questioned the correctness of the Indian Franchise Committee's ruling but, if it is final, they, too, agree that only the three castes mentioned above fall under the definition of " depressed".

As the number of untouchables is too small and scattered to enable them to make their influence felt in the elections of members of the Legislative Council, the Committee recommend that they should be represented in the Council by a nominated member chosen from among themselves.

In order to get a complete view of the question of the depressed classes, we may well consider whether there are no other classes on which social custom imposes disabilities similar to those associated with untouchability. It is not possible to deal with all the allegations made in this connection, but two of them are important enough to demand consideration here. It has been frequently asserted that there are a number of castes which, although they may not be theoretically untouchable, are not allowed to draw water from wells and find it very difficult to get their children admitted into public schools.

With regard to the first point, the trend of the evidence received by the Committee is to the effect that generally the low castes are not prohibited from drawing water from the wells used by the " twice-born ". This was testified to by the executive officers examined by the Committee. Mr. Blunt also states in his note that the reports received at the Census of 1931 that " this restriction is disappearing rapidly and that for the most part untouchables are as free to use the common well as anybody else ".

As for education, the memorandum submitted by the local Government to the Simon Commission shows clearly that, taken as a whole, the children of the low castes can gain admission freely to public schools; while in special schools the increase in the number of such children is only 57 per cent. that in ordinary schools is 2·75 per cent. Every official who appeared before the Committee stated that he had experienced no difficulty in regard to the admission of Chamar boys to primary schools in rural areas. Mr. Panna Lal, I.C.S., expressing his individual opinion very strongly on this point and referring to the depressed school said, " the desire which exists for separation on the part of the leaders was responsible for such institutions ". He believed there was no real need for them. The Director of Public Instruction in his report on " Public Instruction " for the year 1929-30 says, " the tendency is still for an increase of depressed class children in the ordinary schools. The prejudice against association with the depressed classes has broken down so much that 'boys of high caste attend depressed class schools where such have reasonably good teachers'. Only occasional and exceptional instances occur, in which the depressed class boys find it difficult to get education in places, where schools are available which they desire to attend. Many districts have awarded scholarships to depressed class boys to enable them to continue their studies in the vernacular middle schools. These scholarships, in addition to encouraging the intelligent depressed class boys to finish their secondary education, help in the supply of teachers from the depressed classes. Most districts employ supervisors of depressed classes schools.....Most boards are anxious to educate the depressed classes. The fact that the rate of their progress in education has not been more rapid is due largely to their poverty and apathy. Compulsory education is likely to help them." The same authority observes in his report for 1930-31. " It is notable that, while the number of the depressed classes special schools is decreasing, the number of children of

these classes in ordinary schools is increasing.....The higher castes are more inclined than they were to remove untouchability for political and social reasons, and it is now rare that cases of refusal of admission of these boys into the ordinary public schools occur..... Special consideration was given to the candidates of the backward communities during the current year in deputations to Government training institutions. Satisfactory reports in this connection have been received from almost every division."

It is clear from what has been said above that the problem associated with the depressed classes is in fact as well as in name confined to the untouchables. Strictly speaking, therefore, the task of the Committee ends with the consideration of the case of the untouchables, but, as special stress has been laid by the Indian Franchise Committee on the necessity of all classes of the community being provided with the means of voicing their views, and as there are various classes at present which have no opportunity of doing this because of their educational backwardness and the poverty of their civil condition, the Committee are of opinion that nine seats may be allotted to these classes, provided that this principle is followed in other provinces also. These nine seats should be filled in the same manner as those set apart for women. The candidates desirous of coming within this category should obtain a certificate to that effect from the Governor. The necessity for this certificate is due to the fact that a caste which may answer the above description at one election may not do so at another. This conclusion was arrived at unanimously but at the time of the signing of the report Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana and Babu Ram Sahai dissented from it.

Labour.—The total number of persons employed at factories registered under the Indian Factories Act is about 92,000. The Provincial Committee propose that all such employees should be enfranchised, provided they are 21 years of age, draw a pay of not less than Rs. 10 per mensem, and have been in regular employ for the previous six months. This, it is estimated, should produce about 30,000 voters at Cawnpore and 20,000 at other centres where labour is concentrated, *i.e.*, Lucknow, Gorakhpur, Aligarh, Allahabad, Agra and Jhansi. There should be two constituencies, one confined to operatives who are living at Cawnpore, and one for members of trade unions elsewhere. These trade unions must, however, be registered and be properly representative of the interests concerned.

Special interests.

Landlords.—The Committee have discussed at great length the special representation of landlords in the Council. They are unanimous in thinking that this should continue, but vary as to number of seats to be allotted. Their opinions ultimately crystallized themselves into three different proposals. Six members (Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh, Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, Rai Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh, Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasih-ud-din

and Mr. H. C. Desanges) were in favour of allotting to the landlords 29 seats in the following manner :—

Non-taluqdars, Oudh	1
Agra Zamindars' Association	8
United Provinces Zamindars' Association	8
British Indian Association	12
	29

Four members (Mr. H. N. Kunzru, Dr. K. N. Malaviya, Mrs. Srivastava, and Babu Ram Sahai) proposed to give them 12 seats in the following manner :—

Non-taluqdars	1
Agra Zamindars' (general constituencies)	7
British Indian Association	4
	12

The first group, composed mainly of landlords, thought it essential that they should have a full opportunity for the presentation of their case, and that they should on occasions be able to make their weight felt in the House because of the importance of the interests they held in the country and of the part they had played in its progress. This was all the more necessary in view of the risks to which they were exposed by a wide extension of the franchise which was being recommended and the transfer of power to popular control.

The second group thought that the risks were exaggerated. In the past the landlords had secured representation quite out of proportion to their numbers and even in the last Council they had formed 45 per cent. of the elected members. It was most unlikely that, at any rate, for some time to come, they would lose their influence to such an extent as not to retain their strong position. The grant to them of so many seats, if a second Chamber were also established, would enable this one interest to dominate the legislature.

The remaining members (Rai Rajeshwar Bali, Mr. J. H. Darwin and Dr. S. S. Nehru) took an intermediate view and suggested the following distribution of seats :—

Non-taluqdars	1
Agra Zamindars' Association	4
United Provinces Zamindars' Association	4
British Indian Association	7
	16

It was agreed by a majority in the case of British Indian Association of Oudh and of the Agra and United Provinces Zamindars' Associations, that election should be by the method of the single transferable vote; and in the case of the non-taluqdars of Oudh, that those paying revenue of a thousand rupees and over should form the electorate.

Commerce and Industry.—The Committee recommend that four seats should be allotted to Chambers of Commerce in the following manner:—

Two seats to the Upper India Chamber of Commerce.

One seat to the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce.

One seat to other bodies representing Indian Commerce.

Universities.—The Committee recommend the allotment of two seats to the Universities, one to the Allahabad University and the other jointly to the Lucknow and Agra Universities.

Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians.—The Europeans are represented at present in the Legislative Council by an elected member, and the Indian Christian and Anglo-Indian communities by a nominated member each. The Simon Commission recommended in effect that the representation of Europeans and Indian Christians should be doubled, while that of the Anglo-Indian community should be maintained at its present figure and that election should take the place of nomination. The local Government proposed in its Despatch on the Simon Report that all the three communities should be allotted two representatives each. The Committee recommend by a majority the allotment of three seats to each community.

Federal Legislature.

Federal Assembly.—The Committee unanimously agree that the election to the Federal Assembly should be by the direct method. The question has a history behind it. While the Montford Report expressed its preference for it, the Franchise Committee presided over by Lord Southborough recommended a system of indirect election. Their recommendation was in agreement with the views of a majority of local Governments, including our own; but ultimately direct election was adopted and this is still in force. The Simon Commission re-opened the question, and advanced a number of arguments in favour of indirect election, one or two of which contained a certain amount of plausibility. We do not propose to examine them here as they have been dealt with in an able and convincing manner in paras. 126 to 137 of the Government of India's Despatch on proposals for constitutional reforms. We are in full agreement with the many arguments advanced therein. The Committee would only add that if, after the critical and masterly analysis to which the proposal of the Simon Committee has been subjected in the above mentioned Despatch, the Government of India or the higher authorities still accept it, public opinion in the country will entertain serious misgivings about the intentions of Government. The present system has worked as well as political conditions prevalent during the period would permit. The Assembly has established a definite position for itself and no one can seriously suggest that it has not been representative of the people. Nor can it be said that

its members have been unmindful of provincial interests; on the contrary, they have given good proof of their desire to protect them, as, for instance, in connection with the remission of provincial contributions.

The Committee consider that the proposed size of the Federal Assembly should be increased from 300 to 400. They presume that under the new scheme of a responsible Federal Assembly there will be no room for the nomination of official and unofficial members. Thus the chief reason for the Government of India's proposal to limit the size no longer holds good. A larger House will make it further possible to reduce the size of constituencies and widen the franchise. Nor does a House of 400 seem too large, when the size and population of this vast sub-continent is compared with those of other countries with Central Legislatures of an equal or even larger size. The Committee would, however, insist that the Lower House should be at least double the size of the Upper House. The relative strength of the two Houses in other Federal countries such as Australia and South Africa strengthens this claim.

Another point to which the Committee attach much importance is the allocation of seats to this province. It was proposed in 1918 to allocate less seats to this province than to the three presidencies; but on the grounds "of population and general position in the country" among other reasons, it ultimately obtained equal representation with all presidencies except Bengal. The Committee urge that on these grounds, it is entitled to 48 seats. Representation in the Lower House of the Central Legislature should be on the basis of population.

With an increase in the number of seats, the franchise could be extended. The Committee unanimously agree that—

(1) the franchise qualification for general constituencies of the Federal Assembly should be the present Provincial Council qualifications;

(2) in addition, the wives of the present voters for the Assembly should be given the vote.

It is estimated that on the above qualifications, 1,800,000 voters will be enfranchised.

The Committee agree that special interests should be represented in the Federal Assembly in the following manner:—

One seat for landlords as before.

One seat for Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

One seat for women to be elected in the same manner as for the Provincial Legislative Council.

One of the two members for the depressed classes on the Committee would also like to have a seat provided for the members of the classes whom he calls backward. The other member would abide by the London Minorities Pact.

Upper House.—The Committee, in the case of the Upper House also, unanimously agree that direct election should continue. The system has worked well in this case also; and both the local Government in their previous recommendations and the Government of India in their Despatch on the Simon Commission's report support its continuance.

The Committee further suggest that more seats should be allotted to these provinces in the Upper House as well.

The Committee recommend the widening of franchise on the basis of the following qualifications :—

(*a*) payment of land revenue of Rs. 2,000 and above.

(*b*) payment of income-tax on an income of Rs. 4,000 and above,

(*c*) all the other present qualifications for the Council of State to be retained,

(*d*) possession of the degree of doctor in Arts, Science and Law, and

(*e*) the wives of all the above voters.

The Committee unanimously agree that no interests should receive special representation in this House.

Qualifications of candidates.—The Committee are unanimously of opinion that, as in the case of the Provincial Council, candidates for either House of the Federal Legislature should be required to be literate.

RAJESHWAR BALI.
H. CECIL DESANGES.
HIDAYAT HUSAIN.
JAMSHED ALI KHAN.
BIRKAM SINHA.
(MRS.) KAILASH SRIVASTAVA.
FASIH-UD-DIN.*
RAM SAHAI.*
S. S. NEHRU.
J. H. DARWIN.
HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU.
KASHI NARAYAN MALAVIYA.
RAMA CHARANA.*

NAINI TAL :

April 9, 1932.

*Subject to Notes of Dissent.

APPENDIX A.

List of witnesses who appeared before the United Provinces Franchise Committee.

March 7, 1932.

1. Mrs. Maya Das, Cawnpore.
2. Mrs. A. C. Banerji, Allahabad.
3. Mrs. Raj Dulari Nehru, Lucknow.
4. Mr. E. Ahmad Shah, Lucknow.
5. Mr. J. G. Ryan, Upper India Chamber of Commerce, Cawnpore.
6. Mr. P. K. Banerji, Ex-Chairman, Municipal Board, Firozabad.

March 8, 1932.

7. Mr. Baldeo Prasad Jaiswara, of Allahabad.
8. Mr. Hari Tampta, of Almora (Spokesman) and four others.
9. Rai Uma Nath Bali, Chairman, District Board, Bara Banki.
10. Nawab Mirza Murtaza Hussain Khan Sahib, Lucknow.
11. Khan Bahadur Razi-ud-din Ahmad, of Gonda.

March 9, 1932.

12. General Secretary, United Provinces Backward Classes League, Lucknow.
13. Khan Sahib M. Afzal Hussain, All-India Constitutionalist League, Fyzabad.
14. Sahu Jwala Saran, M.L.C., Moradabad.
15. Mr. A. P. Sen, Lucknow.
16. Mr. B. R. Sahney, Lucknow.
17. Dalit Jat Sudharak Sabha, Gorakhpur.

March 10, 1932.

18. Lady Wazir Hasan, Lucknow.
19. Miss Vincent, Lucknow.
20. Begam Habibullah, Lucknow.
21. Mrs. Nanavatti, Lucknow.
22. Rai Bahadur Thakur Mashal Singh, Hardoi.
23. Pandit Sheo Karan Nath Misra, Fyzabad.

March 11, 1932.

24. Secretary, United Provinces Zamindars' Association, Muzaffarnagar.
25. Secretary, British Indian Association, Lucknow.
26. Mr. Brij Chand Sharma, Revenue Minister, Rampur State.
27. Pandit Rameshwar Dayal, District Magistrate, Benares.

March 12, 1932.

28. Mr. E. H. H. Edye, I.C.S., Gorakhpur.
29. Mr. Panna Lal, I.C.S., Budaun.
30. Rai Bahadur Babu Chimman Lal, New Delhi.
31. Pandit Raj Nath Kunzru, Agra.

March 13, 1932.

32. Mr. Mukandi Lal, Lansdowne.
33. Pandit Rahas Behari Tewari, Lucknow.
34. Mr. Ishrat Husain, Deputy Collector, Saharanpur.
35. Mr. Ram Saran Nigam, Deputy Collector.
36. Babu Jangi Lal Chaurasia, Lucknow.
37. Babu Ram Adhin, Lucknow.
38. Babu Gauri Shankar, Lucknow.
39. Babu Ishwar Din Pasi, Lucknow

APPENDIX B.

List of witnesses who appeared before the Joint Session of the two Committees.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ismail, M.L.C., and Khan Bahadur M. Fazlur Rahman Khan, M.L.C. (Muslims); Mr. J. H. Darwin, I.C.S., Mr. Panna Lal, I.C.S., Dr. S. S. Nehru, I.C.S., two Deputy Collectors, (Mr. Ishrat Husain and Mr. Sheokaran Nath Misra) (officials); Miss Vincent (All-India Women's Conference); Mrs. B. M. J. Gupta (Lucknow Women's Association); Pandit Brijnath Shargha (United Provinces Dharma Rakshan Sabha); Mr. T. Gavin Jones (European Association, Cawnpore); Mr. J. G. Ryan (Upper India Chamber of Commerce, Cawnpore); Rai Sahib M. Das (Bengal and North-Western Railwaymen's Association); Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh (British Indian Association of Oudh); Major D. R. Ranjit Singh (Agra Province Zamindars' Association, Allahabad); Lala Hari Raj Swarup, M.L.A. (United Provinces Zamindars' Association); Mr. P. N. Sapru (United Provinces Liberal Association, Allahabad); Mr. Ram Das Jiwit (Dalit Jat Sudharak Sabha); Mr. Gauri Shankar Pal (United Provinces Hindu Backward Classes League); Mr. Baldev Prasad (United Provinces Adi-Hindu Depressed Classes Association); Mr. O. M. Chiene (Anglo-Indian Association, Allahabad); Mr. S. R. Sharma; Khan Bahadur Masudul Hasan; Rai Bahadur Babu Vikramajit Singh (United Provinces Chamber of Commerce) and Mr. J. L. Sathe, I.C.S., (Director of Industries).

APPENDIX C.

(TO BE SUBSTITUTED FOR STATEMENT ALREADY SUPPLIED.)

Possible Presiding Officers in the United Provinces.

1.—Number of Government officers in certain departments.

No.	Departments.	Gazetted officers.				Non-gazetted officers.			
		All-India services.		Other services.		Posts over Rs. 200 per mensem.		Posts between Rs. 250 and Rs. 100 per mensem.	
		Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.
1	Land Revenue and General Administration Department.	98	5	382	34	118	5	1,063	123
2	Law and Justice Department.	22	..	229	30	41	..	441	25
3	Public Works Department.	79	1	133	23	37	9	581	204
4	Agriculture Department.	11	..	39	8	4	..	206	9
5	Co-operative Department.	2	..	9	..	3	..	65	..
6	Veterinary Department.	1	..	3	2	..	..	19	4
7	Land Records Department.	1	..	2	2	1	..	20	3
8	Registration Department.	..	..	6	..	..	..	94	..
9	Museum Department	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
10	Education Department.	10	1	144	..	56	..	983	59
11	Excise Department	1	..	8	3	12	1	135	12
12	Stamps Department	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	..
13	Press Department	..	..	3	..	..	..	16	..
14	Industries Department.	2	..	30	2	9	1	88	2
15	Forest Department	27	..	21	4	2	..	150	3
16	Miscellaneous ..	..	..	5	..	..	..	2	..
	Total ..	254	7	1,018	108	283	16	3,864	444

Total number of Government Officers—5,994.

II.—Co-operative societies officials (supervisors) ..	228
III.—Government pensioners—Civil (drawing over Rs. 200 per mensem).	400
IV.—Court of Wards' officers	
Superiors—(*a*) Special managers ..	28
(*b*) Assistant managers ..	7
Ministerial—Head clerks	28
V.—Members of local bodies—(*a*) Municipal boards ..	1,189
(*b*) District boards ..	1,503
VI.—Honorary magistrates	960
VII.—Honorary assistant collectors	100
VIII.—Honorary munsifs	117
IX.—Advocates and vakils	1,200
X.—Post offices (Postmasters on holidays)	1,200
XI.—Teachers (Government high schools)	1,352
XII.—Post graduate students (in faculties of Economics, Civics, Politics and Sociology)	100
Total ..	14,606

APPENDIX D.

	Total.	*Non-Muslims.*	*Muslims.*
1. Lucknow	250,939	149,266	101,673
2. Cawnpore	219,189	153,729	65,460
3. Benares	201,037	139,171	61,866
4. Agra	205,487	133,438	72,049
5. Allahabad..	173,095	119,706	54,189
6. Bareilly	134,179	64,375	69,804
7. Meerut	91,181	46,446	44,730
8. Moradabad	110,562	46,852	63,710
9. Shahjahanpur	79,316	36,004	43,312
10. Jhansi	64,591	48,971	15,620
11. Saharanpur	78,655	32,308	46,347
12. Koil-Aligarh	63,832	47,894	35,938
13. Gorakhpur	59,369	37,847	21,522
14. Fyzabad	59,827	44,745	15,082
15. Mirzapur	61,184	48,908	12,276
16. Muttra	60,559	47,881	12,678
17. Farrukhabad	56,503	40,446	16,057
Total ..	1,990,305	1,237,987	752,318

(1) Minute of dissent by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasih-ud-din.

A scrutiny of the figures of the population of the various municipalities in these provinces shows that there are three districts ; the populations of the municipalities of each of those districts exceeds 50 thousand and these three districts too require to be added to the 17 municipalities in question. The following is the detail :—

(1) Bijnor ..	Nagina	18,736
	Chandpur	11,032
	Najibabad	18,504
	Dhampur	7,448
	Bijnor	18,095
		73,853
(2) Budaun ..	Budaun	39,118
	Sahaswan	15,972
	Ujhani	11,186
		66,176
(3) Bulandshahr ..	Bulandshahr ..	19,509
	Sikandrabad ..	16,857
	Khurja	25,729
		62,095

None of the municipalities in each group of a district possess features of rural area more than the 17 municipalities already selected and many of them are historically important as seats of Hindu and Muslim Provincial satraps and still continue to possess importance from the point of view of trade and culture.

As to the 17 districts we have already allotted 18 seats to them, *viz.*, six for Muslims and 12 for non-Muslims. Three more may be allotted on account of the addition of three more districts, *viz.*, one for Muslims and two for non-Muslims.

The groups for the seven Muslim seats according to the population and the allocation of the municipalities should be as follows :—

Name of municipality.	*Number of seats.*
Lucknow	1
Benares, Gorakhpur, Mirzapur and Fyzabad	1
Agra, Muttra, Farrukhabad, Aligarh and Jhansi	1
Cawnpore and Allahabad	1

Name of municipality.	*Number of seats.*
Meerut, Saharanpur and three municipalities of Bulandshahr	1
Bareilly, Moradabad and six municipalities of Bijnor	1
Shahjahanpur and three municipalities of Budaun	1

A calculation of the population figures of the above municipalities shows that the average total population of each Muslim constituency will be about 105,000 and of the non-Muslim population it will be 104,000.

FASIH-UD-DIN.

(2) Explanatory note.

Under the changed circumstances introduced by the ruling of Lord Lothian regarding the definition of " depressed classes, " our Committee's recommendation of nine extra seats for the so-called backward classes, and the Government expert's report about the limited facilities available for recording votes, I have decided not to dissent from the rest of the Committee on the question of group system. With other conclusions arrived at in the Committee's report, I am in agreement.

KASHI NARAIN MALAVIYA.

NAINI TAL ;
April 9, 1932.

(3) Note of dissent by Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana.

The United Provinces Franchise Committee have not themselves defined the term " depressed classes " but have requested the Chairman, Indian Franchise Committee, to give a ruling on the subject. A ruling has been received which is construed to contain a definition of the term. But I submit that the ruling does not give a definition at all. Lord Lothian says—" It is clear that I cannot authoritatively interpret what His Majesty's Government precisely means by the term ' depressed classes ' in the Prime Minister's letter to me." The ruling simply asks the Chairman of this Committee to interpret it for the purpose of the present inquiry as meaning untouchability, that is to say, pollution by touch or approach, as it exists in the United Provinces.

The following communities, both touchable and untouchable, have hitherto been regarded as depressed classes in these provinces :—

(1) Ahir group.
(2) Kachhi group.
(3) Lodha group.
(4) Bhoksha group.
(5) Bhar.
(6) Phansiya.
(7) Gidhiya.
(8) Meo.

(9) Gadariya.
(10) Luniya group.
(11) Arakh group.
(12) Sejwari group.
(13) Dusadh.
(14) Dhanuk.
(15) Riverine group (Mallah group)
(16) Barhai group.
(17) Kori group.
(18) Chamar group.
(19) Kumhar group.
(20) Khairwa.
(21) Dalera.
(22) Carrier group (Banjara group)
(23) Bari group.
(24) Kahar group.
(25) Bhangi group.
(26) Nai.
(27) Dhobi.
(28) Sonar group.
(29) Barai group.
(30) Darzi group.
(31) Churihar group.
(32) Ramaiya group.
(33) Kalwar and Teli.
(34) Mochi.
(35) Gandharb group.
(36) Dharhi group.
(37) Bhand.
(38) Sectarian group (Atit, Sadh).
(39) Kolarian group.
(40) Bayar group.
(41) Dom group.
(42) Pasi group.
(43) Hill Dom group.
(44) Habura group.
(45) Nat group.
(46) Badhik group.
(47) Kapariya group.
(48) Kurmi.

That these communities are depressed classes will appear from the following sources given in the attached note* :—

(1) From the speech of His Excellency the Governor, who in his reply to an address puts the number of the depressed classes at about 20 millions and includes castes whose occupations are regarded degrading besides the untouchables.

(2) From the Despatch of the United Provinces Government.

(3) The United Provinces Muslims' memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission.

(4) Council questions and answers including answers given by our Hon'ble the President of the United Provinces Franchise Committee when he was a Minister of the United Provinces Government.

(5) Local Boards' records.

(6) From the speech of Maharaja Darbhanga as President of the All-India Varnashram Dharm Sabha at the Patna Session.

(7) Election of the depressed classes members by Congressmen as an act of mockery to the present Council.

(8) Other sources.

* Printed on pages 351-360.

So the position now is that although in actual practice as I had shown above as well as in my supplementary memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission in 1928 (copy herewith attached) both touchable and untouchable castes enumerated above have been regarded as depressed (*a*) by the champions of these classes including Mr. M. R. Jayakar and the Hon'ble Chairman of this Committee, (*b*) by the Government itself, (*c*) by the Census authorities, and (*d*) by the so-called untouchables themselves, *vide* memorandum of Dhan Singh, L.H.M.S. (Homoeo), President, All-India Jatav (a sect of Chamar) and other Depressed Classes Association of Shahganj, Agra, to the Simon Commission, referred to in my supplementary memorandum to the Simon Commission (copy herewith attached), yet now when responsible Government is going to be introduced it is said that no caste is depressed except Bhangi, Dom and Dhanuk.

It is said that the Simon Commission laid down untouchability only as the test of depression in the sense of causing pollution by touch or approach. But I respectfully submit that it is not so. Observations of the Simon Commission on page 40 of volume I of their report, which is relied on in support of this proposition, do not bear it out. Far from prescribing " untouchability " as the test of depression they clearly state two other tests, *viz.*, denial of access to the interior of ordinary Hindu temples and admission or refusal of children to schools. They emphasize that " these considerations must be borne in mind if any question arises of making a list of individuals who belong to the depressed classes as for example for election purposes ". They admittedly made an estimate of untouchables only " in the first of the above senses " excluding aboriginals.

The Commission themselves make the point quite clear by what they observe on page 67 of the same volume I.

They remark—" It will plainly be necessary, after the main principles of the new system of representation have been settled, to entrust to some specially appointed body (like the former Franchise Committee) the tasks of drawing up fresh electoral rules to carry these principles into effect and one of the tasks of such a body will be to frame for each province a definition of ' depressed classes ' (which may well vary, some time even between parts of the same province) and to determine their numbers so defined ".

Therefore the contention of some of the members of the United Provinces Franchise Committee that exactly the same criteria should be applied to the definition of the term " depressed classes " hardly holds water.

Therefore it is the task of the Indian Franchise Committee to define the term and they cannot take untouchability only in the sense of causing pollution by touch or approach as the test. They have also to take into account the other tests, *e.g.*, degrading profession criminal tribes, etc., which the local Government have themselves accepted, *vide* para. 23 of their letter no. 4949-C., dated August 23rd, 1930, from the Chief

Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, to the Joint Secretary, Government of India, Reforms Office.

The Simon Commission through their telegram, dated October 3rd, 1928, asked the Government of India to be supplied with a critical account of the total number of the depressed classes in British India, province by province, and they suggested that the account should distinguish between and explain the various categories (giving number of each) which have been included from time to time amongst the depressed classes both by champions of these classes and Government itself, Census authorities and responsible bodies such as the Southborough Franchise Committee (*vide* memorandum of the Government of India No. E. Ind.-282, submitted to the Simon Commission)..

In reply the Government of India expressed their inability to comply with the request of the Commission owing to the very short time allowed for the purpose. In para. 2 of the memorandum reference is given of a resolution moved in 1916 in the Imperial Legislative Council on the definition of the depressed classes, and the tenor of the discussion in the Imperial Council was to include in this expression—

(1) criminal and wandering tribes,

(2) aboriginal tribes, and

(3) untouchables ;

which definition the Government of India accepted and proceeded to inquire local Governments on its basis.

It is clear from the foregoing remarks that in the United Provinces at least untouchability and specially in the sense given in the ruling of the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee cannot be the criterion of depression, for it would defeat its own object, namely, to secure adequate representation of communities who have not hitherto been able and who are not likely to be able to do so in the future so much so that the United Provinces Government have been compelled to resort to nomination to provide representation for them even in local bodies what to speak of the local legislature.

That both touchable and untouchable communities should be regarded as depressed classes in these provinces is further corroborated by the replies to the questionnaire received from—

(1) Pandit Sheo Karan Misra (Brahmin), B.A., Deputy Collector, Fyzabad,

(2) Pandit Suraj Nath Sapru (Brahmin), Deputy Collector, Aligarh,

(3) The United Provinces Backward Classes League, Lucknow,

(4) The United Provinces Kahar Sudharak Sabha, Cawnpore,

(5) The Dalit Jat Sudharak Sabha of (*a*) Gorakhpur, (*b*) Azamgarh, and (*c*) Basti,

(6) All-India Bhurji Maha Sabha, Lucknow,

(7) The Mallah Panchayat, Benares, and others,

many of whom have been examined before the joint session of the Indian and the United Provinces Franchise Committees.

The United Provinces Government appointed Hon'ble Mr. Blunt, the Finance Member, to make an exhaustive examination of the subject. He has arrived at certain definition given on page 10 of his second note on depressed classes, and has given in appendix II the names and numbers of the depressed and backward classes which amount to about 15 millions. It is very curious indeed that the local Government have not accepted even this figure coming as it does from a very experienced member of the Government.

Applying the three tests culled from the discussion of the Imperial Legislative Council the Riverine group satisfies all the three conditions, that is to say, the group even to-day traces its descent from the aboriginal Nishadas of the Vedic period. *Bind, Chain* and *Tyar* of this group are untouchables; the *Chain* sect of the group is further treated as criminal tribe by the Government. The Kahar group also traces its origin from the aboriginal Nishadhas and their profession is considered degrading. The Hon'ble Mr. Blunt, I beg to submit, should have classed the Reverine and Kahar groups as depressed and not backward. However, the distinction is unimportant for the political purpose for which this inquiry is made. But if for any reason a distinction is to be made, I would in that case submit that backward classes should receive exactly the same protection as the depressed classes, for it would be very unfair to deprive the former of the protection which they have been rightly receiving, by mere change of nomenclature for no fault of theirs. These backward classes are composed of communities which are purely untouchable in the sense given by Mr. Blunt and partly untouchable as well as criminal and aboriginal tribes (though not generally untouchable). It cannot be gainsaid that they are, not only, not any the less educationally and economically backward but also socially so. In one sense their condition is more deplorable, for untouchables are spared from the menial services which are forced upon the backward classes. The yoke of slavery is tighter upon them for the mere reason of their touchability. The non-Brahmins in the Madras Presidency are given reservation of seats although their condition is far more superior to the backward classes of these provinces. There is no reason whatsoever that these classes should not get the same protection specially when their condition is exactly equal to that of the depressed classes. I have received copies of resolutions and representations sent to this Committee of the backward classes from almost all the districts of these provinces emphatically demanding reservation of seats.

The question of untouchability in this province is not acute. But the division of Hindus into high and low, twice-born and Sudra is very acute. Though some castes claim to be twice-born but their claim has never been accepted by the high caste Hindus. There is a real clash of interest between the high and low class Hindus, which has exhibited itself in the

formation of Hindu Backward Classes League and the Adi-Hindu Sabha and the like. There has been a clamour on the part of these clashes for separate electorate. And yet it passes my understanding when I hear the Hindu members of the Committee say that there are no backward and depressed classes except Bhangis and Doms. I am sorry to remark that they have taken advantage of the difficulty of a theoretical definition being possible. But why theorize when there are the above-mentioned communities who have not been able to elect representatives of their own choice hitherto, and who, with the exception of perhaps Kurmi, Ahir group, Kachhi group, Lodha group, Barhai group, Sonar group, Barai group, Kalwar group and Gandharb group, are not likely to elect representatives of their own choice in future, even if adult suffrage be introduced. Already the majority of the voters belong to the above communities and any extension of the franchise will not alter the result.

The Report on the Working of the System of Government, United Provinces, January 19th, 1928, volume III, submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission says at page 2 :—

"In the province as a whole the four leading castes, Brahman, Thakur, Vaishya and Kayastha, form 21·1 per cent. of the total Hindu population, but these five castes have supplied no less than 93 per cent. of the Hindu members of the Council. The Jat, with 1·8 per cent. of the population, have contributed another 5 per cent. to the Hindu membership ; and all the millions included in the multitude of other Hindu castes including the real agricultural castes, though they amount to over 76 per cent. of the Hindu population have only succeeded in supplying 2 per cent. of the representation."

Of course the result of guaranteeing representation to these classes would be to deprive the high class Hindus of the unjust and undemocratic monopoly which they have hitherto enjoyed and which they are attempting to retain by every possible means. There is absolutely no reason why over 35 per cent. population should go unrepresented when they are groaning under the prejudice of the high class Hindus.

I agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Blunt that the castes recorded as depressed and backward in Appendix II of his second note cannot get representation in legislatures. But I would also add to that list the Gadariya, Darzi group, Nai and Bari group.

The speech in vernacular of Hon'ble Raja Shambhu Dayal, of January 23, 1926, in the Legislative Council on the resolution regarding education of depressed classes reveals the true estimation in which the high class Hindus hold them. They regard the progress of the depressed classes as incongruous and improper as if it were tantamount to wearing the footdress over the head. The origin of the Sudra is also ascribed to the foot of the Creator.

The educational disabilities of the depressed classes can be judged by the report of 1927 of the Committee appointed to inquire into and report on the state of primary education of boys of the Muslim community

and of educationally backward communities in the United Provinces. Two paragraphs from page 8 of the report are quoted below :—

" Employers of unskilled labourers have no desire to raise literacy among their employees and create discontent. The literate members of other castes and communities are averse from increasing literacy in the depressed classes for fear of competition for the posts of patwaris, school masters, etc.

These economic causes combined with strong social prejudice have resulted in local opposition to the foundation of special schools, which usually shows itself in refusal to supply a house or ground for the school on the part of owners of property. In places where accommodation has been found, common methods of breaking up of schools are to threaten parents or pupils with dismissal from employment and to make the teacher so uncomfortable that he resigns."

The note on page 30 of the same report of Rai Sahib Pandit Sukhdeo Tewari, B.A., a retired officer of the Education Department and belonging to the highest caste of Hindus, says :—

" As the development of education in any country depends on its special circumstances such as old tradition, public opinion, etc., education both in rural and urban areas here was confined amongst the literary classes only. The backward communities were allowed to remain in ignorance as they were before . . . . . The high class and literate Hindu communities, particularly the zamindars, discouraged the backward classes to educate their boys as they did not like the latter to become more learned and question their authority over them. The teachers who happened to belong to literate communities did not admit boys of untouchable classes for one reason or another. Only a few boys of Kahars, Ahirs, Nais, etc., were taken in *to serve as menial servants.* Although the angle of vision has now changed still I believe that there is a considerable number of high class people who discourage education amongst the backward classes . . . . . On investigation it was brought to light that no attempt was even made to educate the depressed and other backward Hindu communities which formed a large percentage of the total Hindu population."

Instances are not wanting of local bodies who deliberately discourage education among the depressed classes. A passage relating to education of depressed class boys on page 41 of the General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces for 1926, is given below :—

" To some extent the appointment of supervisors is responsible for the decrease but in the Benares division it is reported to be due to discouragement of this class of education by the boards, the Jaunpur district board in particular and that of Ghazipur in a less degree, obtaining discreditable mention."

The doors of public services maintained by the Government and the local bodies are banged against the qualified men of the depressed classes. They have no means to ventilate their grievances in this connection.

The areas in which they live are generally insanitary and the health department of the Government and the local bodies do not care for them.

The depressed classes are generally tenants with no fixity of tenure, no fixity of rent and therefore no freedom of vote. They are not any the less intelligent but they are not independent to vote for men of their own choice. In short the condition of the depressed and backward classes is not far from slavery.

Number of seats to be allotted to Depressed and Backward Classes.

The Committee during my unavoidable absence decided that one seat should be given by nomination to Bhangis, Doms and Dhanuks (as according to the ruling of the Chairman these castes alone are depressed classes), and nine seats should be reserved in joint electorates for the backward classes. While I am thankful to the Committee that they have kindly recognized the necessity of special protection being provided for the backward classes (hitherto regarded as depressed), I differ from them on two points, namely, (1) that they have conditioned their allotment of seats to the principle being followed in other provinces, and (2) that the number of seats allotted is only 9. My reasons are—

As to the condition precedent:—The Committee have recognized the stress which has been rightly laid by the Indian Franchise Committee on the necessity of all classes of the community being provided with the means of voicing their views in the Provincial Legislature and also the fact that there are various classes at present which have no opportunity of doing this because of their educational backwardness and the poverty of their civil condition. This being so, I cannot follow the necessity of the proviso which has been attached. As I have said above that in spite of the fact that their voters are in a majority under the present franchise, no caste given in Appendix II of Mr. Blunt's second note except Ahir and (Kurmi) have been able to send representatives of their own choice. Excluding these two castes, and Bhangi, Dom and Dhanuk the population of such unrepresented castes is 21,652,594.

Now allotment of nine seats for such a large population is much too small. Even if I exclude, by hoping against hope, that Kachhi group, Lodha group, Barhai group, Sonar group, Barai group and Gandharb group will get their representation in general electorate through the extension of the franchise, the number is still considerable, that is, about 17 millions. Nor will the position be altered even if we take the number of castes described by Mr. Blunt as depressed and backward classes after deducting Bhangi, Dom and Dhanuk. We are faced even then with a population which comes roughly to 29 per cent. of the whole population of the United Provinces. There is absolutely no reason why we should go lower down this figure. Mr. Blunt has given very good reasons for his opinion that this population of the province will not be able to secure representation of their own choice. I therefore beg to submit that nine seats would hardly do justice to such a large population. The Provincial and Central Simon Committees recommended 15 seats out of a House of 182 and for a constitution under which Government was not going to be responsible to the legislature. I agreed to this number of 15 for ten years only at the expiry of which period I claimed representation on population basis. Even if recommendations of these two committees are to be

accepted the number of seats should be at least 21 out of a House of 250 now proposed.

The Simon Commission turned down the recommendations of the two Simon Committees and recommended reservation of seats on three-fourth of the population (which they took at 13 millions) yielding 40 seats, *vide* letter No. 4949-C., dated August 23, 1930, from the Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces to the Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Reforms Office. The Local Government have not approved of the 40 seats, *vide* paragraph 23 of the letter because they say that the number of seats has been based by the Simon Commission on the total strength but not on the electoral strength. But as I have already submitted that the electoral strength of the depressed and backward classes (even if we take only classes now described by Mr. Blunt as depressed and backward) will be considerable even under the present narrow franchise and in order to prove this statement of mine to the hilt I put certain questions in the last session of the Legislative Council, *vide* question No. 8 (starred), dated March 12, 1932. The Government ordered the district authorities to collect the figures but afterwards when the figures were ready, in many districts at least, the Government wired to stop the collection of the information for the reasons best known to them.

It is regretted that in paragraph 14 of their revised questionnaire, the Indian Franchise Committee has asked for what the number of depressed class voters would be accepting, only the castes specified in paragraph 16 of the local Government's letter. They have not asked for the present electoral strength under the present constitution. I do not know why the number of the voters of the backward castes as found by Mr. Blunt is not necessary. These castes have not in the past got and cannot in future get representation of their own choice and nobody challenges this finding of Mr. Blunt. The only reason I can conceive of is that there is nobody to represent the backward classes on the Indian Franchise Committee to espouse the cause of these classes who have now been turned into backward classes. I would very strongly, though humbly, request the Indian Franchise Committee to get the necessary information now, which is ready almost in every district. The United Provinces Franchise Committee has avoided giving the voting strength even of the castes mentioned in paragraph 16 of the local Government's letter.

Therefore I will not be satisfied unless at last 48 seats calculated on the line of the Simon Commission which is based on three-fourths of the population estimated at 13 millions as against over 14 millions now found by Mr. Blunt, is conceded. There is no difficulty to fill up these 48 seats by fully qualified men in no way inferior to the generality of the members hitherto returned to the Council from among the high class Hindus. I also want adequate representation in the Federal Assembly and also in the Second Chamber of the local Legislature, if formed.

NAINI TAL ;
April 7, 1932.

RAMA CHARANA,
Member, Franchise Committee,
United Provinces.

Enclosure No. 2 to Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana's note of dissent.*

Supplementary Memorandum.

FROM RAI SAHIB BABU RAMA CHARANA, B.A., LL.B., NOMINATED MEMBER OF THE UNITED PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL TO REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES, TO THE CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION, CAMP INDIA.

In continuation of my memorandum on the subject of the " depressed classes," I beg to submit the following as a supplement thereto in view of the fact that I have not given the strength of the depressed classes of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in that memorandum.

The necessity of mentioning the numerical strength of the depressed classes becomes all the more important in view of the facts—

(*a*) that all the estimates hitherto made are open to the common objection that they include untouchable classes only in spite of the admitted fact that in the United Provinces at least the extent of the depressed classes includes many touchable classes who are generally regarded as Sudras like the untouchables ;

(*b*) that the United Provinces Government have always shrunk owing to " the extreme delicacy of official sentiment " from attempting even a rough estimate ;

(*c*) that the Government of India have observed in their " Note on the Depressed Classes " prepared at the request of the Statutory Commission that " there has accordingly been no official definition of any castes or tribes of the community as depressed classes and the question whether or not any group of the community is socially depressed or treated as untouchable is a matter of local custom. If therefore the Commission desire to investigate the question whether any particular caste or tribe should or should not be described as ' depressed ', their inquiries would presumably be made in the provinces concerned ";

(*d*) that the estimates in the Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education, 1912—1927, are open to the objection that " we are left without precise information of the particular data on which Mr. Sharp relied when reaching a decision whether to include or to exclude any particular caste ";

(*e*) that the estimates based on the Census Report, 1921, according to Mr. Marten " do not include (1) the full strength of the castes and tribes concerned, and (2) the tribal aborigines more recently absorbed in Hinduism, many of whom are considered impure ";

* Enclosure No. 1 not printed being identical with the note on pages 351—360.

(*f*) Mr. Bajpai's figures were contested by Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, M.L.C., in a letter to the *Times of India*, dated May 15, 1928 ; and

(*g*) that the Franchise Committee's estimates of 1919 are inaccurate due probably to the fact that the Committee " were not setting themselves to the task of reaching any authoritative total of what might be called the depressed class. They made a very rough division of Hindus into Brahmans, non-Brahmans, and others ".

I have stated above that the United Provinces Government have always shrunk from defining the extent of the " depressed classes ". The reasons is not far to seek. The word " depressed " does not literally mean untouchable but in course of time it has associated with it the idea of untouchability. It is because of this idea of untouchability in the term " depressed " that the Government shrunk to call any caste " depressed ". Many castes also who are undoubtedly depressed in the proper sense of the term do not like to call themselves depressed for the same reason. It is imperative that a suitable term acceptable to all concerned be coined. I would suggest that the term " Hindu backward classes " be adopted.

We all know what castes in these provinces are considered as depressed classes by " champions of these classes and by Government itself ". It is in its original literal sense that the word has been used by the Government of these provinces. This Government has never used untouchability as the test of depression, and rightly too. In other words, political as opposed to social depression has been the test with the United Provinces Government. If the Government were to adopt untouchability as the test many castes who though not untouchable but who are as depressed as untouchables, would not be covered by the term. What the Government wants to do is to give protection to the classes who are politically backward either due to untouchability or any other causes. Political rather than social reform is the aim of us all.

Leader like Mr. Jayakar, M.L.A., also used the term to include both touchables and untouchables as is apparent from his resolution in the Assembly to the effect that special educational facilities be given to untouchables and *other depressed classes*.

The next question that arises is whether there are concrete instances in which this Government has actually acted upon its secret definition, *i.e.*, have regarded as " depressed classes " both touchable and untouchable classes, generally regarded as Sudras. To answer this question we shall have to refer to the nominations the Government have made from time to time for the depressed classes. Take the instance of the village *panchayats*. I reproduce below the question which I put to the Government on June 20, 1927, in the Legislative Council and the reply of the Government given in its answer :—

Question No. 101.—Will the Government be pleased to state the total number of village *panchayats* in the different districts of these

provinces ? How many *panches* and *sarpanches* out of these belong to the depressed classes in each *panchayat* ? Will the Government be pleased to give *the names and castes of such depressed class panches and sarpanches.*

The Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf : A statement (not printed in the Proceedings) containing the information is laid on the honourable member's table.

It would appear that the statement was not printed in the Proceedings of the Council because it is very big and unwieldy containing 102 foolscap pages. It was put on my table and I will place it in original before the Commission at the proper time. I give below the principal castes of the different *panches* and *sarpanches* of the depressed classes mentioned in the statement. They are as follows arranged in alphabetical order according to the arrangement of castes given in table XIII-A and C, part II, volume XVI of the Census Report, 1921 :—

(1) Ahir.	(19) Gadariya.	(36) Kurmi.
(2) Ahar.	(20) Gond.*	(37) Lodha.
(3) Baghban.	(21) Goria.	(38) Lohar.
(4) Barai.	(22) Gujar.	(39) Luniya.
(5) Barhai.	(23) Habura.*	(40) Mali.
(6) Bari.	(24) Halwai.	(41) Mallah.
(7) Bhangi.*	(25) Kachhi.	(42) Murao.
(8) Bhar.	(26) Hill depressed classes.	(43) Nai.
(9) Bharbhunja.		(44) Nat.*
(10) Bhoksha.*	(27) Kahar.	(45) Pasi.
(11) Chamar.	(28) Kalwar.	(46) Saini.
(12) Darzi.	(29) Kewat.	(47) Sainthwar.
(13) Dhanuk.	(30) Khatik.	(48) Sonar.
(14) Dhobi.	(31) Kisan.	(49) Tamboli.
(15) Dhunia.	(32) Koeri.	(50) Teli.
(16) Dom (Plains).*	(33) Kol.	(51) Tharu.*
(17) Dusadh.	(34) Kori.	(52) Thathera.
(18) Faqir.	(35) Kumhar.	(53) Others.

I have not mentioned in the above list the names of sub-castes and minor castes entered in the Government statement as they are covered by one or other of the castes mentioned above or are covered by No. 53. The castes marked * are not in the Government statement because no member of them has been admitted to any village *panchayat* as their position in a society is very low and some of them are gipsies and considered as criminal tribes. The Hill depressed classes mentioned at No. 26 are not included in the Government statement because the Government

have not nominated members of the Hill depressed classes to any *panchayat* about which there is a just grievance and a point has actually been made by Munshi Hari Tamta, member, district and municipal boards, Almora and Chairman of the Kumaun Shilpkar Sabha (Union of Industrial Workers), Almora, United Provinces, India, in paragraph 4 of his memorandum submitted to the Commission.

Similar instances are found in the nominations made by Government to district and municipal boards and also to the Council, *e.g.*, my question No. 90 put on March 4, 1927, in the Legislative Council and its answer by Government reproduced below :—

Will the Government be pleased to state the castes of the depressed class nominated members shown in the statement of the said answer for 1924-25 ? (The answer referred to is starred question No. 1 of Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain of June 25, 1926, regarding the strength of the Hindu, Muslim, Indian Christian and depressed class members of different local boards, which is printed in Appendix A, pages 1 to 3 of the Representation of the Muslims of the United Provinces to the Commission.)

The Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf: Kumhars, Jatiya, Kachhi, Pasi, Teli, Chamar, Nai and Bhangi.

Of these 1, 3, 5 and 7 are touchable and the rest untouchable depressed classes.

As regards instances of the nominations to the Legislative Council the rule is that the Governor will nominate a member representative of the classes who in his opinion are depressed classes. Here again the rule has been framed in such language because of the delicacy of official sentiment. I am the present member of the Council and I belong to the Mullah caste which is touchable. Mr. Khem Chand who preceded me belongs to Jatiya, a sub-caste of Chamars.

Thus there is no doubt that the castes given above are depressed classes. None of these castes except Bhangis are strictly speaking untouchables. In these Provinces untouchability of the type obtaining in Madras is unknown. Here nobody considers himself polluted by the shadow of anybody nor even by touch except that of Bhangis. Here we have very little or no untouchability and that also is fast dying out. But the privilage of touch has nothing to do with political rights. Kahars have been touchables always but they are as backward politically and economically as are the Chamars. Then again the same caste which is touchable in one place is untouchable in another place. In the Kumaun division all castes except Brahmans, Thakurs and Baniyas are untouchables, while most of these are touchables in the plains. In this connection the following remarks in the memorandum of Mr. Ram Prasad, Ahir, Pleader, Tulsi Ram's compound, Sultanpur, Oudh, are very important :—

> " (1) The majority of the population of India is made up of Hindus which consists of various castes, which can easily be divided politically into two classes—the higher (*i.e.*, those

who wear sacred cord) and the lower (*i.e.*, those who do not wear sacred cord) including Chamars and sweepers.

(2) (*a*) Really speaking the lower classes as defined in paragraph 1 above, have politically the same disabilities, as against the higher classes such as Ahirs, Gadaryas are labourers in the field just as a Chamar is ; they are all subject to *begar*. The former are in this line put to more work than the latter, because they can touch and carry eatables and draw water for the higher classes.

(*b*) It may be said that the lower classes are made up of the middle classes and the lower castes—amongst the former may be mentioned the Ahirs, Gadariyas, Kurmis, etc., and among the latter the Chamars, Sweepers, Dhobis, etc., but this classification is a thing of the past and cannot be made castewise now-a-days, for now the Brahmans and Kshattriyas have taken to agriculture leaving their own occupation—the major portion of the land in the villages is under their cultivation, the lower classes have usually small holdings.

The British officers in the Civil and Military employ/employed sweepers and Chamars as their bearers and 'Ahahs' and thus raised the status of many of their families.

On the other hand Chamars have thriven by hide work and many of them are amongst the first class rich families—such as in Cawnpore Rai Sanwal Dass family and others."

These castes are considered depressed not only by Government but by the so-called untouchables and the so-called high class Hindus. Dr. Dhan Singh, L.H.M.S. (Homœo.), President, All-India Jatao (a sect of Chamar who are untouchables) and other Depressed Classes Association, Shahganj, Agra, in his memorandum to the Commission at page 4 remarks :—

"As a matter of fact there does not appear to be any earthly reason why 60 per cent. of the total Hindu population will allow themselves to be ill-treated by 40 per cent. caste Hindus."

The 60 per cent. depressed classes referred to in the above observation are composed of as follows according to Census of 1921 :—

Touchable depressed classes, *e.g.*, Tamolis, Kachhis and Kahars, etc.	13,973,188
Untouchable depressed classes, *e.g.*, Doms, Bhangis, etc.	14,693,816
	28,667,004

Raja Bahadur Kushal Pal Singh, M.A., LL.B., M.L.C., Minister for Education, and Member, United Provinces Simon Committee, speaks exactly of the same percentage 60 in his memorandum at page 12 to the Statutory Commission.

It will thus be seen that both touchable and untouchable castes mentioned above have been considered as depressed classes in these provinces both by champions of these classes and also by Government itself and census authorities.

The enumeration of castes given by United Provinces Government published at page 5 of the Note on Depressed classes submitted to the Government of India is admittedly a list of untouchable depressed classes only, *vide* page 2 of the Note. Secondly it does not exhaust all the castes that are considered untouchable in these provinces, *e.g.*, Pasi, Dusadh, Habura, Gond, Kol, Nat, etc., have been omitted.

I have said in my previous memorandum that the depressed classes are regarded as Sudras by the so-called high class Hindus, but as a matter of fact they are the descendants of the aborigines of India who had a civilization of their own. All the castes which make up the Sudra class have certain customs which are common to them all, but they have nothing in common with the high class Hindus.

The custom of widow remarriage, the *panchayat* system and worship of family gods is common to all the so-called Sudras but is not found among the high classes. Widow remarriage is actually prohibited by the religious books of Hindus. It is true that a few men of some of these castes have recently started Sabhas and claim to be Kshattriyas, Vaishyas and even Brahmans, *e.g.*, some Jatiya Chamars have started their Sabha under the name of Jatava Maha Sabha and claim to be Kshattriyas. Some members of Nai (barber) caste claim to be Brahmans. Some Telis and Bhurjis claim to be Vaishyas. But these claims have never been accepted by the high class Hindus. Only recently at Rajapur in the district of Banda some Kalwars who claim to be Kshattriyas had put on sacred thread in obedience to a resolution of their Maha Sabha. They were subjected to various sorts of indignities by the high class Hindus, a report of which appeared in several newspapers. I myself had put certain questions about it in Council but they were disallowed on technical grounds. In this connection the remarks of Mr. Ram Prasad Ahir, Pleader of Sultanpur (Oudh), are pertinent and are quoted below :—

> (2) (*c*) " All the castes which make up the lower classes, as defined in paragraph 1 above have certain customs (social and religious) which are common to them all, but they have nothing in common with the higher classes.
>
> These are as under :—
>
> (*a*) All these castes (*e.g.*, those who do not wear the sacred cord) drink wine. I mean by usage, there is no prohibition and consequently no fear of being outcasted like the higher castes. It is quite a different matter that some personally for some reason or other may not drink.
>
> (*b*) Remarriage (widow) is allowed.
>
> (*c*) There are caste *panchayats.*

(*d*) Twice at harvest season each of these castes worship their family gods which is mostly common to each. At this worship no Brahman can preside and the gods worshipped find no place in the Brahmanical dictionary.

The question then arises why others are regarded (socially) to be a little better than the other. The reason is not far to seek—and it is that the former have placed themselves a little under the Brahman influence, the latter did not yield to Brahmanical pressure—the former invite Brahmans to solemnize marriages, the latter perform marriages by themselves.

All these settle their matrimonial and social disputes by themselves by their caste *panchayats* and a Brahman has no hand in it. Supposing an Ahir *panchayat* admitted a Chamar into his brotherhood, all that a Brahman or with him the higher castes now can do is that they may refrain drinking water touched by the Ahirs, and the Brahman may refuse to solemnize marriages, none of which would be of any consequence whatsoever, for that is the case with Muhammadans and others as well.

It is true that some selfish persons instigated by the like of the higher class have started Sabhas wherein some of these castes claim to be 'Kshattriyas'. To make claim on religious grounds is one thing, the present worth, the present position as acknowledged by the rest of the population is another and is what has to be taken into consideration.

It is clearly to the advantage of higher classes that when the question of entry into legislature comes they may tell that some of these castes are 'Kshattriyas' because in that way they would be able to go there to the entire exclusion of these castes who are far inferior to them in education, money and other requisites, and cannot compete with them and thus they would succeed in keeping these castes behind as before.

If these castes were acknowledged to be Kshattriyas, the Kshattriya Sabha would have absorbed their Sabha, and they would exist no more. On the contrary in the Kshattriya Sabha, no Ahir, Gadariya, Kurmi or any member of the lower class was ever invited. There is a proverb running :—

Ahir, Gadaria, Pasi,

Tinon Satya Nasi,

meaning Ahir, Gadariya, Pasi, all the three are the destroyers of the truth.

Those who do not wear the sacred cord are enjoined not to read the *Vedas* and are classed as Sudras. There is a proverb running :—

Gagri Dana,

Sud Utana."

As soon as a Sudra has a goblet full of corn he becomes proud, that is to say, he must be constantly kept to live from hand to mouth (lest he might go on strike).

Born and brought up with these ideas how can the higher classes have any sympathy with the lower classes ?

It would be worth while to inquire what treatment is meted out to these castes by the higher classes :—

(*a*) In villages.

(*b*) By the higher class men, who alone occupy the public offices when they deal with the lower class men in their official capacity.

(*c*) In how many cases when redress is sought by the lower classes against a higher class man, the case never comes to court at all, owing to undue pressure of the higher classes.

I have said in my previous memorandum that the root cause of the degradation of the depressed classes is not due to any inherent defect in them. They are as strong in intellect as the high class Hindus and the Muslims are. Very little or no opportunity of education has been given to these classes yet I can point out scores of graduates and at least about two dozen lawyers. It is an indication of ignorance or even selfishness on the part of those who say that they are not strong in intellect. Even in British *raj* the depressed classes have been given very little opportunities for education and the high class Hindus have not failed to discourage their education whenever and wherever they can. I quote below the remarks of Rai Sahib Pandit Sukhdeo Tewari, B.A., a member of the Educational Services of these Provinces and a gentleman of the Brahman class. The remarks quoted below were made by him as a member of the Committee appointed by the United Provinces Government to inquire into and report on the state of primary education of boys of the Muslim community and of educationally backward communities in the United Provinces :—

" As the development of education in any country depends on its special circumstances such as old tradition, public opinion, etc., education both in rural and urban areas here was confined amongst the literary classes only. The backward communities were allowed to remain in ignorance as they were before . . . . . The high class and literate Hindu communities, particularly the zamindars, discouraged the backward classes to educate their boys as they did not like the latter to become more learned and question their authority over them. The teachers who happened to belong to literate communities did not admit boys of untouchable classes for one reason or another. Only a few boys of Kahars, Ahirs, Nais, etc., were taken in to serve them as menial servants."

Add to this the instance from the Government Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces for the year ending March 31, 1926, page 41, mentioned in my previous memorandum, showing that even district and municipal boards, who are charged with the duty of diffusion

of education among depressed classes, discourage the same. There is another instance of a member of the Legislative Council publicly ridiculing the attempt of the nominated depressed class representative to get a resolution passed through the Council recommending the grant of certain scholarships for the children of the depressed classes. He considers the imparting of education to depressed classes as objectionable as it is to put on foot leather dress on head and the headdress on foot.

Therefore the charge of weakness of intellect in the depressed classes is unfounded. They have not been given opportunities of developing their intellect.

It has been suggested by some that depressed classes are a disorganized body. Cohesion is wanting in them. No one man can represent their views. To such criticism my answer is that this ground is directed against suitability of democracy itself to Hindus in general. Hinduism is only another name of communalism. A Brahman cares for a Brahman, a Kshattriya for a Kshattriya, and a Bania for a Bania. Nepotism is the rule with Hindus. Sangathan movement is a proclamation of want of homogeneity among the Hindus.

Then it is said that depressed classes will be in the hands of Swaraj-*cum*-Nationalist party if they are given separate electorates. My humble submission is that the depressed classes want their separation from Hindus, who are mainly responsible for suppression of these classes, even according to the Nehru Committee it is unreasonable to suppose that they will side with Swaraj and Nationalist parties which are composed mainly of high class Hindus.

Enclosure No. 3 to Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana's note of dissent.

The depressed classes.

The problem of the representation of the depressed classes is one of vital importance and requires immediate attention. Its importance will fully appear from the following very pertinent observations of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru :—

> "I do say what is my most sincere conviction, that unless you are able to solve your own social problems about the depressed classes and the untouchables, I do not see any real prospect for real genuine constitutional advance, and any constitution that you may get will certainly not arouse any interest in me, because I do feel, howsoever good, howsoever perfect, howsoever ideal your constitution may be unless you have got the support of the minorities and unless you command the confidence of those whom in your vanity you may describe as depressed classes, your constitution will not be worth a day's purchase."

The depressed classes have not yet taken to the art of canvassing. They are a heterogeneous group and there is no cohesion among them. In the present state of things it would be unwise to give elected seats to them, for it would scarcely be possible for all the various sub-castes who form the depressed classes to agree upon a representative of their interests. The elective system is bound to cause internal dissensions and instead of being a blessing it will be a veritable curse to them. No single person can adequately represent the views of various communities scattered over a very wide area. The present franchise is not at all suited for the proper representation of the depressed classes, the majority of whom are neither zamindars nor tenants. Adult suffrage would be too unwieldy to be thought of. In view of the backward condition of the depressed classes a separate electorate is certain to pass under the control of those professional agitators who shed crocodile tears for them, and the inevitable result would be that the representative of the depressed classes would be the nominee and a servile follower of the Nationalist-*cum*-Swaraj party. Legal practitioners, who are generally Nationalists, will exercise most unwholesome and deadening influence on the electoral body. They will influence zamindars and money-lenders who will influence voters residing in their villages. In fact the depressed classes will be more subservient to their zamindars and money-lenders than high caste Hindus. The persons elected will neither reflect the opinion and views of the depressed classes nor support Government. They will be pliant tools in the hands of the Swaraj-*cum*-Nationalist party who will use them as a weapon to embarrass Government. Thus the sympathies of Government, which the depressed classes need most in their present condition, will be alienated. It is therefore imperative that the representation of the depressed classes should be secured through nomination. So far as they are concerned the elective system is entirely unsuitable. The person nominated to represent the depressed class must himself belong to that class. Nationalists are already exploiting the depressed classes for their own benefit. Unless the present constitution is so changed as to give all classes a recognized voice in the affairs of their country and thereby rouse their sub-conscious self-respect, the actual position and standard of life of the depressed classes would remain very much what it is at present. The rise of man of humble origin to power and affluence improves his social relations with high caste Hindus. It would be idle to attribute the depression of the depressed classes to the religious and social system of the Hindus. If Government improve their political status by giving them honorary offices, representation on local bodies and legislatures and in public services, commensurate with their numerical strength, their social position would automatically improve and social injustice will become a thing of the past. Caste Hindus are jeered at for giving better treatment to the members of the depressed classes when they embrace Islam or Christianity. The change of religion does not improve the social position of these unfortunate persons. The majority of Bhangis in the north of Firozabad tahsil are Christians but their social position is much the same as it was before their conversion to Christianity. Their social position rises *pari passu* with the rise in their economic condition.

It is not enough for Government to make them equal in the eye of law or to give them equal opportunities with caste Hindus. It is the duty of Government to place them in such a position as would enable them to avail themselves of these opportunities. It is then and then alone that the social position of the depressed classes will approximate to the level of that of the high caste Hindus. Nationalists want to derive full benefit from the numerical strength of the depressed classes. Their leaders profess great solicitude for them, and promise them equality of treatment on condition of their siding with them. The depressed classes as a whole must be made to realize, as some of them are realizing at present, that equality of treatment is their birthright. As a matter of fact there does not appear to be any earthly reason why 60 per cent. of the total Hindu population will allow themselves to be ill-treated by 40 per cent. caste Hindus. There are 60 seats allotted to Hindus in the United Provinces Legislative Council. If the Nationalists want to be just, let them give them half the number of seats. The leaders of the Nationalist party want representation to be on the population basis. If this principle is accepted, the depressed classes will naturally claim very large increase in the number of representatives as they form the bulk of the Hindu population in the United Provinces. For the sake of political education it is necessary that the depressed classes should remain included among Hindus. It is not desirable to break up the solidarity of the Hindu population. In order to give some voice to the depressed classes, 15 members of this class should be appointed nominated members to represent their views. In making nominations, due weight should be given to the recommendations of really representative associations. Since they form the bulk of the Hindu population they insist on their adequate representation on local bodies, public services and also on legislatures and honorary offices—a desire which is perfectly legitimate. I suggest that at least 15 seats in the United Provinces Legislative Council be allotted to nominated representatives of the depressed classes. The Reforms Inquiry Committee recommended that the representation of the depressed classes in the Provincial Council should be increased and that further representation could only be secured by nomination.

DR. DHAN SINGH, L.H.M.S. (HOMŒO.)

President,

All-India Jatav and Other Depressed Classes Education Association, Shahganj, Agra.

(4) Minute of dissent on franchise and the representation of the depressed classes by Babu Ram Sahai, member, representing the depressed classes on the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee.

Franchise.

1. I stand for universal adult suffrage not as the ultimate goal but as the immediate objective. I am of opinion that unless adult suffrage is introduced, power will not be transferred to the people as a whole but will pass into the hands of a section of the people. In order therefore that the people should have their real voice, I strongly advocate the introduction of adult suffrage.

Definition of "Depressed Classes".

2. During the course of our discussion, difficulties have been raised as to who exactly constitute the depressed classes. The terms "depressed classes" and "backward classes" are bandied together and cause confusion. It is of paramount importance that the term "depressed classes" be defined and the meaning of the expression be fixed. The vagueness of the expression has been most prejudicial to the interests of the classes who ought really to have been covered by it and efforts to ameliorate their condition by allotting seats to them in legislatures or statutory local bodies were neutralized by the claims of other communities to be included among them on the score of their backwardness in education.

3. The first attempt to enumerate these classes was made in the Census report of 1901. The next report of 1911 showed that the classes (untouchables) who came under the category of "depressed classes" number 55 millions of the total Hindu population. The report of 1921 puts the figure at a low and conservative minimum of 43 millions in British India, it being added that "we may confidently place the numbers of the depressed classes all of whom are considered impure at something between 55 and 60 millions in India proper". In January 1929 the provincial Governments were circularized by the Indian Central Committee asking for the latest figures and the number of the depressed classes (untouchables) was given as 44½ millions. In the case of the United Provinces the figures given by the local Government showed the depressed classes as 13 millions. Further, both the Simon Commission and the Indian Central Committee reports confined the term "depressed classes" to those who are classed as "untouchables", and all the discussions in regard to these classes at both the sessions of the Round Table Conference at London took place on the basis of untouchability. This clearly shows that this has been the principle of enumeration of these classes from the very start up till now.

4. The lines of division which mark off the depressed classes from the rest of the Hindus are clear and unmistakable. Leaving aside the

numerous disabilities from which they suffer the following tests as regards untouchability may be applied so far as this province is concerned :

(*i*) Will a caste Hindu take water touched by a person belonging to the depressed classes if he comes to know his caste ?

(*ii*) Will caste Hindus allow him entry into eating houses maintained by them for the Hindu public if his caste is known ?

(*iii*) Will caste Hindus allow him to stay in *dharamsalas* maintained by them for the Hindus if his caste is known ?

5. As regards their condition the depressed classes belong to the lowest rung of the Hindu social ladder. Treated as helots and subjected to every conceivable mark of humiliation by the upper classes, they have remained the submerged tenth of the population. Everywhere in the province they live segregated in mohallas termed as "Chamrauti", "Pasiana", "Koriana", "Khatkana", etc., pursue the lowly calling of their forefathers and were till recently content to lead their scheduled and degraded lives—contented because they were told that their present condition was but the logical sequence of their sins in the past lives, that they were assigned the position of slaves and serfs by the Creator himself and that any deviation from that would mean eternal perdition to them. Reconciled to the irredeemable *karma*, despised and downtrodden, they eke out their little lives by engaging in servile and inoffensive pursuits.

6. Though technically a Hindu, a member of the depressed classes cannot venture to enter into the precincts of the *Bishwanatji* temple at Benares or of any *thakurdwara* anywhere in the province. He cannot bathe on the *ghats* at Benares which are under the control of the municipal board nor can he draw water from the municipal wells in that place (*vide* "The *Hamdam* and *Oudh* of 11th March 1932, and "*The Haqiqat*" of 15th March 1932). Caste fury assumed a grave aspect when an untouchable woman was discovered walking in the streets of that holy city. The offended Hindus belaboured her most mercilessly (*vide The Aj* of 26th October, 1927).

The *barat* (marriage procession) of a wealthy member of the Jatia (Chamar) community was not allowed by the Hindus to pass through the public thoroughfare in Agra because the bridegroom was on horseback (*vide* evidence given by the depressed classes representatives before the Simon Commission at Lucknow in November 1928). A similar *barat* procession of a *Shilpkar* (hill Dom) was stopped and looted in Kumaun.

A fairly educated member of the Chamar caste happened to get up on the platform of the Hindu Mahasabha. The moment his caste was known there was a pandemonium that the Sabha was defiled by the intrusion of the Chamar and the confusion did not subside until the untouchable stepped out.

Only recently a Pasi student in the district board vernacular school at Amethi, Lucknow, was subjected to all sorts of persecution by the orthodox headmaster of the school. Firstly his name was struck off from the register for absence due to illness and he was told to carry on his own occupation. After moving the higher authorities the boy was re-admitted but was given a sound beating. He was medically examined and a report made to the educational authorities concerned. The headmaster resented this and did not send up the boy's name for the ensuing examination. After great effort and lot of correspondence with the higher authorities the boy has now been allowed to appear in the examination. Depressed class students are similarly persecuted elsewhere (*vide The Oudh* of 16th March, 1932).

In Etawah on the occasion of the *Holi* festival every year a Chamar woman is sent for from her home by the caste Hindus and in the name of immemorial custom all sorts of abuses and ndignities are heaped upon her, her helpless father, brother and even husband being passive onlookers. Could these privileged people venture to meet out similar treatment to the womenfolk of any community other than the depressed classes ?

In the last election a few persons from amongst the depressed classes were sent to the provincial Council by the hoodwinking of the Congress Committees and the caste Hindus as their dummies, not on account of any sympathy for them. They were sent up with proclamation in the streets that the Council had become such a contemptible institution that it was only fit for the depressed classes. This is the real value the caste Hindus attach to these classes.

7. Such is the condition of the depressed classes and the treatment meted out to them in this province. But since proposals for the future constitution of the country and of sharing of the political power by the people are being thrashed out, the political value of the depressed classes has grown in the eyes of our caste Hindu brethern as well as the touchable *Sudras* who are labelled as the " Backward Classes". In order to retain their overwhelming majority and hold upon the depressed classes as hitherto, efforts are being made by the former to minimize the number of the depressed classes as much as possible and to show that there is no untouchability and no disabilities in this province.

The " backward classes " on the other hand who would have nothing to do with these untouchable classes are now anxious to come under the category of the depressed classes in order to usurp the small slice of political rights that may fall to the lot of these unfortunate people for the amelioration of their condition. The depressed classes can certainly not compete with the former nor with the latter.

8. The above conclusively shows that it is imperative that the untouchable castes among the Hindus be grouped together and the term " depressed classes " be strictly defined as meaning persons belonging to

the communities which are subjected to the system of untouchability of the sort prevalent in the province and which should be enumerated by name in a schedule to be prepared for electoral purposes. On this basis the United Provinces Adi-Hindu Depressed Classes Registered Association which has been striving for the uplift of these classes for the last ten years has prepared a list and submitted to the Provincial Committee. I endorse the list which is reproduced below :—

List of castes which form the depressed classes in the United Provinces.

The list consists of the castes which are subjected to the system of untouchability of the sort prevalent in the province and has been based on the following test :—

(1) The caste Hindus do not take food or water touched by these people.

(2) The caste Hindus will not allow their entry into eating houses maintained by them for the Hindu public.

(3) The caste Hindus will not allow them to stay in *dharamsalas* maintained by them for the Hindus.

Abbreviations used : D=Depressed, ND=Not depressed, DB=Dubious, NL=Not listed, DF=Doubtful.

Serial No.	Communities.	According to Census, 1901.	According to Mr. Blunt's first note.	According to United Provinces Depressed Class Committee.	According to Adi-Hindu Depressed Class Registered Association.
1	Agariya	D	D	D	D
2	Aheriya	D	D	DF	D
3	Arakh	D	D	NL	D
4	Bhar	D	D	DF	D
5	Raj Bhar				
6	Beldar	D	D	NL	D
7	Bhuinyan	D	D	D	D
8	Bhuinyar	D	D	NL	D

Serial No.	Communities.	According to Census, 1901.	According to Mr. Blunt's first note.	According to United Provinces Depressed Class Committee.	According to Adi-Hindu Depressed Class Registered Association.
9	Byar	D	D	D	D
10	Badhik	D	D	D	D
11	Barwar	D	D	D	D
12	Bhantu	D	D	D	D
13	Balai	D*	DF	NL	D
14	Bahaliya	D	D	DF	D
15	Beriyas	D	D	D	D
16	Bengali	D	D	D	D
17	Bansphor	D	D	D	D
18	Bajgi	D	D	DB	D
19	Bhangi	D	D	D	D
20	Balsher	D	D	D	D
21	Basor	D	D	D	D
22	Bhogsau	D	ND	NL	D
23	Bawariya	D	D	D	D
24	Cheru	D	D	D	D
25	*Chamar*—Kuril, Aharwar, Jatiya, Dhusiya, Dohar, Jaiswar, Gharami.	D	D	D	D
26	Dharhi	D	D	NL	D
27	Dalera	D	ND	D	D
28	Dhobi	D	D	DF	D
29	Dhanuk	D	D	DF	D
30	Dusadh	D	DF	DF	D

Serial No.	Communities.	According to Census, 1901.	According to Mr. Blunt's first note.	According to United Provinces Depressed Class Committee.	According to Adi-Hindu Depressed Class Registered Association.
31	Dharkar	D	D	D	D
32	Dhangar	D	D	D	D
33	Domar	D	D	D	D
34	Dabgar	D	D	NL	D
35	Fakir	D	NL	NL	D
36	Dom	D	D	D	D
37	Hill Dom	D	D	D	D
38	Ghasiya	D	D	D	D
39	Habura	D	D	D	D
40	Kharot	D	D	NL	D
41	Khairaha	D	D	NL	D
42	Khairwa	D	D	NL	D
43	Kol	D	D	D	D
44	Khangar (excluding K. Rajputs).	D	D	D	D
45	Kapariya	D	D	D	D
46	Kori	D	D	NL	D
47	Khatik	D	D	D	D
48	Kanjar	D	D	D	D
49	Korwa	D	D	D	D
50	Kharwar (excluding Banbansi).	D	D	D	D
51	Majhwar Majhi ..	D	D	D	D
52	Musahar	D	D	D	D
53	Meo	D	ND	D	D

Serial No.	Communities.	According to Census, 1901.	According to Mr. Blunt's first note.	According to United Provinces Depressed Class Committee.	According to Adi-Hindu Depressed Class Registered Association.
54	Nat Group	D	D	D	D
55	Parahiya	D	D	NL	D
56	Pahri	D	NL	D	D
57	Panka	D	D	D	D
58	Patari	D	D	D	D
59	Pasi Tarmali	D	D	D	D
60	Raji	NL	D	NL	D
61	Saun	D	D	NL	D
62	Sansiya	D	D	D	D
63	Sahariya	D	D	D	D
64	Tharu	D	DF	NL	D

9. After discussing the tentative report of the United Provinces Franchise Committee and in the light of the results of the deliberations of the Indian Franchise Committee with the Provincial Committee on the one hand and the local Government on the other, the Indian Franchise Committee in paragraph 13(*a*)* of their note forwarded with Local Reforms Department letter No. 719-R., dated March 25, 1932, have asked for the final views of the Provincial Committee as to whether they agree that the castes, specified in paragraph 16 of local Government's letter No. 104-CX., dated March 20, 1932, to the Secretary, Indian Franchise Committee, are depressed and if not, what list they would suggest. The Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee has also given a ruling in this connection asking the Chairman of the Provincial Committee to interpret the term " depressed classes " as meaning untouchability, that is to say, pollution by touch or approach *as it exists in the United Provinces.*

10. On this point my reply is as follows :—

I do not accept the list given by the Government in paragraph 16 of their letter. I accept the second note† on the question of the depressed classes prepared by the Hon'ble Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, Member, Executive Council, and the list of such

* Page 364. † Page 303.

classes appended thereto (which confirms in the main with that submitted by the United Provinces Adi-Hindu Depressed Classes Registered Association and endorsed by me in paragraph 8 above) subject to the following :—

Mr. Blunt in the list appended to his second note (Appendix II*) has shown certain classes as " touchables " which are universally regarded as " untouchables." In other words he has shown the " Arakh group ", the " Kori " of the three western divisions, the " Chamars " in urban areas and the " Kapariyas " as touchables. With regard to these I have to state as follows :—

(1) *Arakh group.*—The Arakh group is a part of the Pasi tribe and is untouchable. This group is placed in group X in Sir Richard Burn's table of classification of social classes.

(2) *Kori.*—The Koris are of a very low status and are untouchables everywhere in the province. They are in group XI.

(3) *Chamar.*—The very name of " *Chamar* " connotes abomination and is a byword for untouchability and degradation not only everywhere in this province but in the whole country. He is regarded with loathing and disgust by the caste Hindus everywhere. Except when it is absolutely necessary a high class Hindu will not visit his quarters in villages as well as in towns. In villages he is the currier, tanner and dealer in hides ; in towns he is the tanner, leather worker, saddler and shoemaker. Sections thereof are grass-cutters and grooms and menial and domestic servants for Europeans. Their women work as *dais* or midwives, which is considered a very degrading profession in India. He is subject to the social disabilities everywhere. A wealthy member of the Kuril (Chamar) community in Cawnpore ventured to offer himself for election to the local municipal board, but the social prejudice of the caste Hindus would not tolerate the election of a Chamar and he was badly defeated at the polls. The 2,000,000 Chamars who are omitted by Mr. Blunt are certainly untouchables and must be included in the depressed classes list. They are placed in group XII.

(4) *Kapariya.*—This is a small caste. The Kapariyas are greatly despised and are untouchables. They are in group X (C).

11. Mr. Blunt has also made a distinction between untouchables and the depressed classes. Some of the untouchables he says are not depressed and he does not count them for the purpose of representation as for instance " Bhar". Bhar is an untouchable, as has been shown in Mr. Blunt's note, and is the other name for Pasi. He is certainly depressed. In certain places they are called Pasis, while in others they are termed as Tarmali, Arakh or Bhar.

* Page 328.

12. All untouchables suffer from social disabilities and therefore must be taken into account for political purposes and reckoned as depressed. The total population of the untouchables in this province according to my calculation would be—

Total according to Mr. Blunt	..	9,184,315 Untouchables.
Add	..	110,032 Arakh group.
		140,267 Kori (excluding Orh and Balai).
		2,000,000 Chamar group.
		803 Kapariya.
Total according to my calculation		11,435,417 untouchables.

13. The following schedule shows the untouchable classes and their population in this province in the order in which they are shown in Appendix II to Mr. Blunt's note :—

(1) Tharu	19,028
(2) Bhar	460,643
(3) Gidhiya	191
(4) Beldar, Kharot	45,473
(5) Arakh group	110,032
(6) Dusadh	71,340
(7) Dhanuk	127,581
(8) Kori	916,106
(9) Chamar group	6,187,770
(10) Bhangi group	349,053
(11) Dhobi	656,913
(12) Dharhi group	7,599
(13) Kolarian group	128,356
(14) Byar group	78,770
(15) Dom group	109,906
(16) Pasi group	1,738,163
(17) Hill Dom group	316,012
(18) Habura group	38,325
(19) Nat group	37,072
(20) Badhik group	35,781
(21) Kapariya	803
Total ..	11,435,417

Representation of the Depressed Classes.

14. I am of opinion that the depressed classes cannot secure representation in the general electorates much less can they secure representation of their own choice even if there was adult suffrage. The reasons are as follows :—

(*a*) In every territorial constituencies the depressed classes are in a minority of the population and will be a minority of voters in the electorates much too small to win a seat for themselves.

(*b*) Owing to social prejudice no voter of the high caste will vote for the depressed classes candidates.

(*c*) On the other hand owing to economic dependence on the higher castes and the religious and social influence of the high castes many depressed classes voters may be led to vote for a high caste candidate as against a candidate of his own caste. No depressed class man has ever been elected to the legislature. At the last election 11 were elected by the Congress to bring the Council into ridicule and contempt.

These handicaps in the way of a depressed class candidate will be greatly increased if the franchise was limited although an extension of the franchise will not remove these handicaps owing to the reasons mentioned above. The only method therefore open to the depressed class to secure representatives of their own choice is by means of separate electorates. In order that they may have an independent, effective and potential voice for their protection against discrimination and oppression as hitherto on the part of the caste Hindus, and in order that they may be able to organize themselves to come up to the general level to an appreciable extent, I strongly advocate that separate electorates should be created for them at least for 20 years in any case.

15. I am happy to find support for this view from the Government of the United Provinces in their despatch No. 4949-C., dated Naini Tal, August 23, 1930. The Government of the United Provinces expressed itself as follows on the recommendation made by the Simon Commission in regard to the representation of the depressed classes.

* * * * * * * *

This Government also disagree with the Commission in regard to the method of election. They agree that it is desirable to introduce some system of election in place of nomination, but they dislike the proposal that the election should be made by the non-Muslim electorate to a number of reserved seats. As explained in the extract which will be found in the appendix from a note by Raja Bahadur Kushal Pal Singh this is not what the depressed class leaders themselves ask for and it is not likely to satisfy them. The commission themselves admit that separate electorates are more likely to secure the return of an adequate number of persons who enjoy the confidence of the depressed classes. That admission suggests the vital objection to their proposal, namely, that in the

general non-Muslim constituencies the depressed class voters will be far outnumbered by the other voters and the members returned will be those who are supported by the majority of voters as distinct from the depressed class voters. The Commission's proposals will not in fact give the depressed classes members who will be trusted by them to represent their special interests. The alternative is separate electorates. These no doubt have their own disadvantages but if the initial difficulty of creating an electorate can be overcome, this Government consider that these classes should not, on a purely theoretical ground, be denied a privilege which has already been given to Muslims and Europeans and which it is proposed to give to Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. The objection that such an electorate will involve stigmatizing each elector and will militate against his rise on the social scale is not one that is likely to weigh with those principally concerned and if the representatives in the legislatures must be stigmatized, and even the Commission's proposal involves this there seems no reason why the voters should not be. It is at least arguable also that the position of these classes is more likely to be improved by securing real representation in the local legislature than by the ineffective form of representation suggested by the Commission.

Extract from the Note of Raja Bahadur Kushal Pal Singh.

. . . . The importance of the depressed classes will fully appear from the following very pertinent observations of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru :—

> " I do say what is my most sincere conviction, that unless you are able to solve your own social problems about the depressed classes and the untouchables, I do not see any real prospect for real genuine constitutional advance, and any constitution that you may get will certainly not arouse any interest in me, because, I do feel however good, however perfect, however ideal your constitution may be, unless you have got the support of the minorities and unless you command the confidence of those whom in your vanity you may describe as depressed classes, your constitution will not be worth a day's purchase."

So far as my information goes, suitable representatives of the depressed classes will be forthcoming to fill 40 seats on the Council.

The Simon Commission admit that most of the depressed class associations which appeared before them favoured separate electorates with seats allocated on the basis of population. The United Provinces Adi-Hindu (Depressed Class) Leaders Conference was held at Allahabad on July 23rd,—" This Conference while thanking the members of the Indian Statutory Commission for taking a keen interest in the cause of the depressed classes strongly protest against their recommendation of a joint electorate system and is of opinion that nothing short of a separate electorate would ameliorate the social and political status of the depressed classes." The Simon Commission concede that " separate electorates would no doubt be the safest method of securing the return of an adequate number of persons who enjoy the confidence of the depressed classes ".

But they are averse from recommending separate electorates for them on the ground that separate electorates will prevent their political amalgamation with other Hindus. They have ignored one important fact. The depressed classes are not a homogeneous body. They consist of a large number of heterogeneous clans which are socially distinct and are kept apart from one another by a spirit of rigid exclusiveness and separation. They entirely lack cohesion and are scattered all over the province. Although according to our *Shastras* as interpreted by the Calcutta High Court the various sub-divisions of the *Sudra* castes can intermarry but in actual practice intermarriage between them is impossible. The depressed classes have been divided into separate clans by very shortly defined boundaries over which it is impossible for one to pass to another. Ethnologically they are so many tribes and clans, with separate histories and customs. There should be two distinct stages in the process of their political amalgamations with the high caste Hindus. The first stage should be that they should be brought together and welded into one political unit. Their unification into one political unit will be seriously retarded if the system recommended by the Simon Commission is adopted. Their voting strength will be much smaller than that of the high caste Hindus. A member of the depressed class who wants to get himself elected will look rather to the ease with which he can secure election to the Council than to the political education of his order. He will naturally solicit the support of the high caste Hindus who will be both numerous and influential. . . . When such a candidate is returned to the Council, he will be a servile follower of the high caste Hindus and will be more concerned to keep their favour than to represent the interests of his own order. . . . . If the system recommended by the Simon Commission is adopted the candidates returned to the Council will not only show no interest in the welfare of the depressed classes but will regard themselves as members of the high castes and in no way allied to the depressed classes. The result will be that the concession proposed by the Simon Commission instead of being blessing will be a veritable curse to them.

16. As regards the number of seats to be allotted to them in the Provincial Council, I stand by the Minorities Pact arrived at in London and claim for them 20 per cent. seats as the irreducible minimum, their population being about one-fourth of the total population of the province.

17. If after the lapse of 20 years the confidence of the depressed classes in the sense of equity, justice and fair play on the part of the caste Hindus grows and their suspicion of majority manipulation vanishes to such an extent as would render separate electorates unnecessary, the depressed classes would not hesitate to go in for joint electorate with reservation of seats, this being decided by a referendum of the votes held at the demand of the majority of their representatives in the legislature concerned and resulting in an absolute majority of the members of the depressed classes, having the franchise.

Constituencies for the Depressed Classes.

18. The depressed classes representation for the Provincial Legislature should be distributed between rural areas by districts and in urban areas by industrial towns in which the depressed classes are largely concentrated. If the number of seats assigned to the depressed classes are less than the number of constituencies then instead of combing the constituencies in order to equalize them to the number of seats, the principle of rotation should be applied. Voters of these depressed classes constituencies without their turn will vote in the general electorate.

Representation of the Depressed Classes in the Federal Legislature.

19. I am of opinion that (*a*) the franchise qualification for the Provincial Legislature and for the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should be the same in case of all communities and in the case of the depressed classes. I am further of the opinion that (*b*) the depressed class constituencies for the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should be confined to certain urban areas within the province regulated by a system of rotation and (*c*) I support the scheme of indirect election by Provincial Legislatures for the composition of the Upper House of the Federal Legislature by single transferable vote but provision should be made that every Provincial Legislature shall elect a minimum number of the depressed classes in the Upper House.

Second Chamber of the Provincial Legislature.

20. I am opposed to the creation of a Second Chamber of the Provincial Legislature.

NAINI TAL : RAM SAHAI.

April 7, 1932.

(5) Explanatory note in support of the establishment of a Second Chamber in the province, by Rai Rajeshwar Bali, Chairman, United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee.

The need of an Upper House, as a counterpoise to democratic fervour, has been felt in most countries. The safety which lies in second thoughts or in appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, and the advisability of a check on hasty and ill-considered legislation provide arguments too well-known and fully recognized to require reiteration. In fact, a Second Chamber is a feature of most civilized constitutions of the world to-day, and it is not unusual to find them in constituent provinces of Federal States both within and outside the Empire. In the Commonwealth of Australia, all the States have two Houses except Queensland which dispensed with its Second Chamber recently. In Canada, there are Second Chambers in Quebec and Nova Scotia ; and they were in existence in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Manitoba till late in the last century. The Legislatures in the States of Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and Orange River Colony of South Africa were bi-cameral till the

new constitution was introduced in 1909. Further, we find them in the component States of United States of America which is held up as a model of Federal Constitution. The only States in the American Federation that ever tried to do with a single Chamber were Transylvania, Georgia and Vermont; but, after short periods, they all adopted the bicameral system more than a century ago.

The need in our case is even more insistent on account of certain peculiar circumstances. We are launching on a form of Government without precedent in our historical tradition. We propose to give extension of powers, through a wide franchise, to a class of people who have not been accustomed to exercise civic rights in any important form.

Besides, the political conditions of the country have been such that extremism has commanded the largest popular support. By ignoring the constant constitutional pressure exercised by the more moderate parties for the redress of our grievances and accelerating the pace of political progress, the Government have placed them and their methods at a discount and supplied the Congress with a dynamic programme which, for economic reasons particularly, possesses an irresistible appeal for the people at large. It is only natural under the circumstances that the party, which goes to the farthest limit in showing its dissatisfaction, both by word and deed, with the existing state of things, should receive the widest allegiance. The sacrifices made and the sufferings endured by a large number of its members have undoubtedly caught the imagination of the masses and strengthened its position still further. Thus it can be easily foreseen that at the first election, the Congress is bound to sweep the polls to the practical exclusion of every other party—Liberal or Nationalist, Constitutionalist or Zamindar; and is likely to remain in power for some time to come until it is destroyed by its own rashness. It may be noted that though its intensive work in rural areas has commenced only recently, its influence was felt sufficiently at the last elections, wherever it interested itself even indirectly. It easily got elected from those places a number of such unsuitable persons as could never have been thought of as members of any legislature in normal circumstances. In fact, they have been sent to the Legislative Council with the avowed object of bringing it into ridicule. Therefore, though the zamindar and the lawyer classes have predominated in the provincial Legislature up till now, there is but little chance for them in future except on the Congress ticket. That being so, two problems arise.

Firstly, if the new Government is to be formed by the congressmen, there will be a paucity in their ranks of men able to run successfully the complicated machinery of administration. It is no slur on the organization, if, in spite of the admitted ability and brilliance in other directions of some of its leaders, a sufficient number of those we l-equipped with executive experience or skill in handling men and affairs or knowledge of the details and intricacies of admini tration is not to be found for some time to come; for after all, an average congressman has been brought up and trained rather in an atmosphere of perennial hope and enthusiasm—very often to the neglect of his own personal affairs—than in that of facing the

hard realities of actual Government. In fact, it is this idealism, this disdain and disinclination for weighing the consequences of action carefully beforehand that have sustained the movement and provided it with its chief motive power. The Second Chamber will be of great assistance in supplying some useful personnel for the new Government; particularly as, with its proposed liberal franchise, it may be expected to represent, instead of one particular class, the aristocracy of intellect, wealth and experience of the province.

Secondly, the new Government is bound to give its earliest attention to the problem of the unemployment of the educated middle classes in the towns and to the introduction of such agrarian measures as will help to keep its position secure with the rural voter. It will all be for the good and progress of the province if these problems are handled in a spirit of sympathy and goodwill on the one hand and general equity and fairness on the other. But their existence opens a tempting field for rash and daring experimentation to those, who in a majority of cases, may not have much to lose themselves; the more so, as the peculiar conditions of the province invest the rural voter with the supreme power of making or unmaking Governments. It must be remembered that, among congressmen, there are some with pronounced socialistic views who make no secret of their sympathy for the Russian model; then there are some who are particularly hostile to the existence of zamindars as a class; and there are yet those who have not hesitated to exploit the present economic distress for the advancement of party interests. It is not suggested that a majority of congressmen must always consist of men of any particular type mentioned above; but the manner in which the no-rent campaign was recently forced on the province, in spite of its strong condemnation by the non-zamindari opinion and even open protests by a section of the Congress itself, amply demonstrates that it is the left winger which has ever so much chance to influence final decisions, and there is every likelihood that the initial and overwhelming triumph will strengthen his position still further in the counsels of the party. Therefore, the events of the last twelve months indicate sufficiently the possibilities of the future.

The zamindar, in spite of his efforts in the interests of the tenants and his own pecuniary losses as a result of the recent economic crisis, has not been spared an intensive propaganda of abuse and misrepresentation against his class as such. Thus the fears of the zamindar—and in fact, of all property-holders cannot be said to be baseless fictions or exaggerated. Wild and extravagant election promises and appeals to passions and prejudices against them may create conditions which may soon develop into those of class-war. Not all the efforts of that growing section among them which is for a just and peaceful adjustment of the agrarian problem will avail; for after all, class instinct can be aroused to a pitch which may demand almost the practical destruction of the one or the benefit of the other. Moreover, the problem gets still more complicated by the fact that land revenue paid by the zamindar is the chief mainstay of provincial finance; and any unfair tampering with the system for purposes of providing quick receipts to a ministry hardpressed for more money and unprepared for popular disfavour, may hasten the day of

his ruin. Thus a machinery has to be devised which will on the one hand ensure sufficient Legislative activity to advance and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people at large, and to provide on the other a brake to the disruptive tendencies of extremist politicians. It must be stressed that it would be preferable to have a Second Chamber for above purpose to vesting comprehensive powers of veto in the hands of the Governor.

Lastly, the difficulties pointed out above should not lead to any whittling down of the powers that must be transferred to popular control in order to make the province " responsibly governed " ; or to any tampering with the proposed franchise for the Legislatures which is, in fact, the minimum needed to train the people in the art of self-government. Property-holders are equally anxious and insistent with others that the province must get the fullest of autonomy and not merely a shadow of it. Their only desire is to guard against the adoption of hasty, abrupt and violent methods which will not, in their view, result in peaceful, steady and ordered progress of the province. Therefore, it must be made absolutely clear, that, firstly, anything short of full provincial autonomy will not receive their approval or support, and secondly, at least some of those who at present favour the establishment of a Second Chamber will withdraw their support in case a less liberal scheme is mooted.

RAJESHWAR BALI.

Miscellaneous correspondence with the Local Government and the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee on matters arising out of replies to the Questionnaire.

APPENDIX.

I

Provincial Franchise Committee's reply to Supplementary questions 19 and 20*.

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISEE COMMITTEE, TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, NAINITAL, No. E. 604-U. P., DATED 12TH APRIL 1932.

Provincial Committee's supplementary report does not reply to questions 19 and 20 of supplementary questionnaire. Could you telegraph their views on points raised in those questions.

DEMI-OFFICIAL FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, UNITED PROVINCES, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 432-R., DATED THE 13TH APRIL 1932.

With reference to your telegram No. E. 604/U. P., dated April 12th, I confirm my telegram of date and expand the reply as follows :—

Question 19—Provincial Second Chamber.—(1) The Committee decided by a majority in favour of the establishment of a Second Chamber in these provinces.

(2) The following franchise qualifications were approved by the Committee :—

(*a*) payers of Land Revenue of Rs. 1,000 and over,

(*b*) payers of income-tax on an income of Rs. 2,000 and over.

(*c*) payers of rent of Rs. 1,500 and over.

(*d*) and the following—

(*i*) Members of Provincial and Central Legislatures, past and present.

(*ii*) Chairman of municipal and district boards, present.

(*iii*) Fellows or members of the University Senates.

(*iv*) Members of the Court of any University.

(*v*) Presidents of the Chambers of Commerce, past and present.

(*vi*) Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Central Co-operative Banks.

(*vii*) Judges of the High Court and Chief Court, past.

(*viii*) Holders of the Indian titles of Raja and Nawab and higher titles.

(*ix*) Holders of all English titles.

(*x*) Shamsul-Ulemas and Mahamahopadhyas.

(*xi*) M. As. and M. Scs. and higher degrees. (The proposal for enfranchising all graduates of 7 years' standing was lost by 5-7 votes.)

(*xii*) Wives of all the above voters.

(3) The majority decided that the size of the Second Chamber should be 60; the minority consisting of 4 were, however, in favour of a house of 50 if a Second Chamber was to be established.

(4) The Committee have agreed that the powers of the Second Chamber *vis-a-vis* the Lower House should be based on the following general principles :—

(*a*) Ministry to be responsible to the Lower House.

(*b*) Power of the purse to be exercised by the Lower House.

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* Pages 365-366.

(*c*) Votes of censure on the Government will affect the Ministry only if passed in the Lower House.

(*d*) Taxation bills to originate in the Lower House.

(*e*) Co-equal powers in regard to legislation.

(*f*) Joint sessions in cases of deadlocks other than those relating to the budget.

(5) The Committee agreed that there should be no representation of special interests in the Second Chamber.

Question 20.—The Committee by a majority decided that they would not modify their proposals about the franchise or the representation of special interests in the Lower House if there were a Second Chamber.

II

Supplementary correspondence with the Government of the United Provinces regarding percentage of population enfranchised.

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, No. E.-602-U.P., DATED 12TH APRIL 1932.

Your letter 8th April, 829-R. We understand that local Government recommend a rural electorate of 6,200,000, this figure including 500,000 women and 782,000 depressed classes but taking no account of 128,000 women who would come on roll if literacy qualification were introduced or of approximately one million who would be enfranchised if votes were given to wives of present Council voters. In urban areas we calculate that 15 per cent. recommended would give total electorate of 375,000 additional to above, this including 50,000 factory workers, and say 30,000 women. If wives of present Council voters were enfranchised we calculate that 200,000 additional women would be enfranchised in urban areas. Please telegraph whether you accept these figures as correct. If they are then total electorate recommended by local Government would apparently be 6,703,000 or 14 per cent. of total if literacy qualification is accepted for women, and 7,903,000 or 16 and a half per cent. of total if in addition wives of Council voters are enfranchised. Do you agree.

TELEGRAM FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF UNITED PROVINCES, NAINITAL, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 136-CX., DATED THE 14TH APRIL 1932.

Your E.-602/U. P. of twelfth. Your figures 6,200,000 rural votes 128,000 literate women 1,000,000 wives of rural council voters correct. Your figures of urban voters not understood. Governments latest calculation for urban vote based on further returns is as follows. Existing voters urban constituencies 150,000 add for additional voters enfranchised by reduced rental qualification in existing urban constituencies 60,000 add for ditto in urban areas now included in rural vote 67,000 add for wives of council voters in existing urban constituencies 120,000 total 397,000 urban voters. Grand total for province 7,725,000 or sixteen and quarter per cent. of total population. But allowance must be made for much overlapping in female categories also of total female vote of 1,748,000. Government believe that at least eighty per cent. will not attempt to go to polls. At four council elections hitherto held percentages of female votes actually polled has been zero three ten and two. Government therefore consider that real electorate on above basis will not exceed six and half millions and be manageable *vide* last sentence in reply to question two of your questionnaire. Labour vote of 50,000 was considered to be separate from above. Suggest that polling for labour constituencies should be held on different days.

Your E.-608-LG. maximum number of regular police available 15,000. This number liable to be reduced by calls which might be made during time of general political disturbance number actually required for polling booths on scale estimated by us is about twelve thousand *plus* reliefs which would have to be provided in some cases. About same number of chaukidars also available but Government emphasise that for election purposes chaukidars can only be used as auxiliary to not in substitution of regular police since they lack intelligence and training necessary for such duties.

DEMI-OFFICIAL FROM REFORMS OFFICE, UNITED PROVINCES, NAINITAL, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 142/C.X., DATED THE 15TH APRIL 1932.

In continuation of my telegram No. 136-C.X. of April 14, I am desired to add a few explanatory remarks for the use of the Franchise Committee, though it is hoped that the telegram explained with sufficient clearness what views were held by this Government on the points raised in your telegram No. E./602/U. P. of April 12.

2. The calculations with regard to the future urban vote were given briefly in the telegram. The position is at present that the total population of urban constituencies slightly exceeds 1,500,000; whilst the total number of voters in those constituencies on the present franchise is slightly less than 150,000. The percentage of voters to population is thus approximately 10 per cent. It was ascertained from some municipal returns, received after our reply was despatched on April 8, that the increase in the number of voters caused by the proposal to lower the rental qualification from Rs. 36 to Rs. 24 per annum will be rather less than that previously calculated. Conditions as to rent vary considerably all over the province; and it seems that the actual increase will be in the neighbourhood of 3·6 instead of 5 per cent. previously reported. Making this reduction, we reckon that the additional number of voters in existing urban constituencies on the reduced franchise will be about 60,000, whilst in the other municipalities, whose voters are at present included in rural constituencies, the corresponding addition will be about 67,000. Adding 120,000 wives of Council voters in the existing urban constituencies, *i.e.*, 80 per cent. of 150,000, the present number of voters, we get a total of 397,000 for the urban vote.

3. In considering the special arrangements which could be recommended for the representation of organised labour, *vide* reply to question 9 of your second questionnaire, Government did not consider in detail the question whether operatives, who possess the ordinary urban franchise on a rental qualification of Rs. 24 per annum, should also have a second vote in the special labour constituency, the qualification for a vote in which would be the receipt of not less than Rs. 12 per mensem as wages. On the whole, His Excellency is inclined to think that there is no objection to operatives being given this second vote, if they are qualified in both constituencies. A parallel may be found in the case of employers of labour in Cawnpore, who possess a vote for the ordinary urban constituency and at the same time have a voice in the special representation of commerce by their position in the Upper India or the U. P. Chamber of Commerce. The number of operatives in Cawnpore, who would possess the ordinary urban franchise, is, it is calculated, not likely to exceed about 12,000 out of 35,000 such operatives, since it is usual for more than one family to occupy a house, whilst only the recorded tenant receives a vote.

4. Finally, I am to explain, with reference to the last paragraph of the telegram that although on a calculation of an average maximum of 50 polling stations in 48 districts, each being staffed by one police officer or subordinate officer and four constables, the total force of police required will only amount to 12,000 out of 15,000 reported to be available, this Government consider that the reserve of 25 per cent. thus resulting is absolutely necessary. It must be remembered that in the remoter parts of some districts the police force employed at polling stations will have to be absent from their ordinary duties for the best part of three days. The reduction of the total available force, from which certain further reductions must also be allowed on account of leave and illness, by one-half is a somewhat drastic measure, which in times of general political disturbance or special local rivalry between candidates for election may be difficult to carry out everywhere. It has also to be remembered that some provision for reliefs is always required and that in the towns, specially the larger towns, a force of four constables is definitely insufficient. Actually, it is often found necessary, where there is keen rivalry, to post a sub-inspector and eight or ten constables, or even more, in order to maintain order and see that a steady flow of voters is maintained. Chaukidars will certainly be required to reinforce the small number of regular police available in rural constituencies, but they cannot possibly be utilised as a substitute for them, as they will require to be carefully supervised and directed.

III

Number of Muslim and non-Muslim women land revenue payers.

TELEGRAM FROM THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, UNITED PROVINCES, NO. N.-576-U.P., DATED THE 5TH APRIL 1932.

Please telegraph number women entered in revenue records as proprietors. How many of these are Muslim ?

TELEGRAM FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, NO. 1028-R., DATED APRIL 23RD, 1932.

Reference your telegram N.-576-U.P., dated April five. Figures collected from eighteen hundred villages. It is estimated that women land revenue payers number 230,786 of whom 77,078 are Muslim.

IV

Revised figures of probable numbers enfranchised.

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, NAINITAL, E.-708-U.P., DATED THE 20TH APRIL 1932.

Figures given by Census for population of United Provinces on 1931 basis are as follows rural 42,984,912 urban 5,424,621. These figures are based on inclusive in urban of all municipalities. To enable us to check percentages given in your telegram 967-R. of 18th please telegraph (*a*) figures of total population rural (*b*) and urban areas respectively on which your calculations are based (*c*) totals on basis of revised percentages who will be enfranchised under each head (women, landless labourers, depressed classes, Muslims, non-Muslims, unenfranchised residuum).

TELEGRAM FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, NAINITAL, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, NO. 983-R., DATED THE 21ST APRIL 1932.

Your telegram priority F.-708-U.P., April twenty. Figures of population roughly fortysix million rural and two million urban in seventeen municipalities with population of fifty thousand and over. According to revised percentages tenants in Chief number 4,968,000 landless labourers 3,956,000 non-Muslims 5,198,000 Women 414,000 Depressed Classes 644,000 and residuum 17,388,000. Percentage for Muslims remains unaltered at one point one. They number 506,000.

V

Effect of franchise recommended by the Government of the United Provinces.

TELEGRAM FROM UNITED PROVINCES GOVERNMENT, NO. 967-R., DATED THE 19TH APRIL 1932.

Calculations for eighteen hundred villages now complete pages twelve and thirteen of my letter number 829-R., dated April eight please make following corrections alter percentage tenants-in-chief from eleven point three to ten point eight. Alter percentage landless labourers from eleven to eight point six. Alter percentage non-muslims from twelve point four to eleven point three. Alter percentage women from one point to point nine. Alter percentage depressed classes from one point seven to one point four. Alter percentage residuum from thirtyeight point five to thirtyseven point eight. Remaining figures correct.

VI

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, NAINITAL, No. E.-603-U.P., DATED THE 12TH APRIL 1932.

Rural electorate proposed by provincial committee as analysed on page 7 amounts to 7,578,000. In addition committee on page 8 propose 1,000,000 urban electors. Total is eight and a half millions. How is this reconciled with statement on page 8 that total rural electorate is 2,600,000. Could you say what percentage of females included in proposed million urban electors.

TELEGRAM FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, NAINITAL, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 926-R., DATED THE 14TH APRIL 1932

Reference your telegram E./603-U.P. priority dated April twelveth five hundred thousand male muslim payers of rent and revenue left out on page *seven* and one million eight hundred and seventy eight thousand female electors left out on page *eight*. Forty two and a half per cent. female included in proposed million urban electors.

Indian Franchise Committee

Volume III

MEMORANDA

submitted by the

Local Governments

and the

Provincial Franchise Committees

in reply to the

Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.

(Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, Assam, North-West Frontier Province, Coorg and Ajmer-Merwara)

CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH
1932

ERRATA.

(*Vol. III*).

Page 24, Statement, columns 2 and 3, top heading, lines 2 and 4—

Read " *cantonment* " *for* " *contonment* ".

Page 48, para. 10, third line from bottom—

Read " franchise " *for* " franchised ".

Page 154, foot-note No. 1—

Read " pages 158-162 " *for* " pages 158-160 ".

Page 297, foot-note—

Read " at page 304 " *for* " as page 304 ".

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*Volume II contains the replies of the following local Governments and the Provincial Franchise Committees :—

Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces.

INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

(11TH FEBRUARY 1932.)

Preliminary heads of inquiry.

Having regard to the wide range of inquiries which it is necessary for the Franchise Committee to undertake before it can frame detailed plan for the constitution of several legislatures the Chairman is of opinion that it is very improbable, if not impossible, that the Committee will be able to cover the whole field during the first stage of their inquiry. In order to provide a practical programme it will therefore be necessary to concentrate attention in the first instance on the fundamental question of the franchise to be adopted in the constituencies which will elect the various legislatures.

It may therefore be necessary to postpone inquiries relating to the representation of special interests, the advisability of creating bicameral legislatures in Provinces, the qualification and disqualification of candidates and other subsidiary though important questions until a later stage of the Committee's investigations. A further questionnaire relating to these matters will be issued in due course. The following questionnaire deals with the franchise to be adopted for the Provincial and Central Legislatures. Questions relating to the representation of women, labour and depressed classes have been included because the solution of these problems depends largely on the extent to which the basis of suffrage can be widened in general constituencies.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

1. Extension of the franchise.

Having regard to the fact that the principle of a responsible Federal Government, subject to certain reservations and safeguards, has been accepted by His Majesty's Government and that the Governor's provinces are to become responsibly governed units, enjoying the greatest possible measure of freedom from outside interference and dictation in carrying out their own policies in their own sphere, it is obviously necessary so to widen the electorates that the legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of the population, and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinion. The Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference considered that adult suffrage was the goal which should ultimately be attained, but the majority thought that it was not practicable to reach that goal immediately and recommended " the immediate increase of the electorate so as to enfranchise not less than 10 per cent. of the population, and indeed a larger

number—but not more than 25 per cent. of the total population—if that should on full investigation, be found practicable and desirable".

(*a*) What means can you suggest by which the existing franchise for the Provincial Legislature could be extended so as to include 10 per cent. of the population in the electoral roll?

(*b*) Do you consider that such an electorate will be capable of casting an intelligent vote?

(*c*) Do you consider that such an electorate would be administratively manageable having regard to the arrangements likely to be feasible for the preparation, maintenance and revision of the electoral rolls, and for the recording and counting of votes?

(*d*) If the answer to (*b*) and (*c*) is in the negative, what alternative qualifications for the electorate would you propose?

(*e*) If the answer to (*b*) and (*c*) is in the affirmative, do you consider that it would be practicable and desirable, having regard to the same considerations, to enlarge the electoral roll still further and, if so, what means would you suggest for the purpose?

(*f*) It has been suggested that, assuming adult suffrage to be impracticable at present, all adults not entitled to a direct vote should be grouped together in primary groups of about 20 or in some other suitable manner for the election of one or more representative members from each group, who would be entitled to vote in the provincial elections either in the same constituencies as the directly qualified voters or in separate constituencies to be framed for them. The suggestion has been discussed mainly with reference to rural villages, but might be made applicable to towns also.

Do you consider that any such system would be feasible and advantageous in the areas with which you are acquainted, and, if so, would you advise that the group electors should vote in the same constituencies as the directly qualified electors, or in separate constituencies composed of group electors only?

(*g*) It has been proposed that in the event of separate constituencies being framed for group electors, only group electors should be qualified to stand as candidates for such constituencies?

Are you in favour of this course?

(*h*) Do you consider that it would be feasible and advantageous to abolish all the existing qualifications for voters and to extend a system of the nature described in (*f*), and to confine the electorate for all constituencies to secondaries chosen by groups of primary voters?

(*i*) In the event of your answer to (*f*) or (*h*) being in the affirmative, what do you consider would be a suitable size for the groups referred to above? On what basis would you constitute them, and whom would you charge with the duties of framing them?

(*j*) Would you require any special qualification, whether property, educational or other, in the persons chosen by such groups to vote on their behalf for the election of members? If so, what?

2. Franchise qualifications.

(*a*) Do you consider that in the areas with which you are acquainted there is any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas? If so, what measures would you suggest in order to rectify such disparities?

(*b*) It has been suggested that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers, and that the franchise system should be so contrived as to secure this result, in so far as it may be practicable.

Are you in agreement with this suggestion, and, if so, what measures would you suggest for giving effect to it in your province on the assumption (*i*) that separate electorates are retained, (*ii*) of joint electorates with reservation of seats, and (*iii*) of joint electorates without reservation of seats?

(*c*) Is the possession of property of some kind in your opinion a suitable test of fitness for the franchise? (The term "property" should be understood in its widest sense as including not only the ownership of landed property but also the occupation of land or house property or the receipt of income or wages whether in cash or kind.) If so, do you consider the existing property qualifications suitable? If you do not, what modification do you suggest?

(*d*) Are you in favour of introducing a qualification based on education, independently of property? If so, what educational qualification would you suggest?

(*e*) Are you in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and extending it so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces?

3. Women's suffrage.

(*a*) At present women are admitted to the suffrage on the same terms as men, but as the existing qualifications are mainly based on property and the payment of taxes, the number of women on the provincial electoral rolls is only a little over a quarter of a million as compared with 6½ million men. The Statutory Commission proposed that the wives and widows (if over 25 years of age) of men entitled to vote under the property qualification, should be enfranchised, and that in addition an educational qualification should apply to women over 21 as well

as to men. In the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference it was suggested that the age-limit should be 21 for women as well as for men.

Are you in favour of increasing the women's electorate in the ways suggested or would you prefer any other method ? If so, what method ? To what extent would you favour an increase in women's electorate ?

(*b*) In the event of a system of group representation being established as proposed in paragraph 1 (*f*), do you consider that women should be formed into groups, and, if so, should separate groups be formed for women or should groups contain both men and women ?

(*c*) The suggestion has been made that at any rate as a temporary measure the legislature should co-opt women members to an extent not exceeding 5 per cent. by a system of proportional representation so as to ensure some representation of women in the legislature. What are your views on this suggestion ?

4. Representation of the depressed classes.

It is evident from the discussions which have occurred in various connections in the Round Table Conference, that it is generally felt that provision should be made in the new constitution for better representation of the depressed classes, and that the method of representation by nomination is no longer regarded as appropriate.

What communities would you include as belonging to depressed classes ? Would you include classes other thanuntouchables, and if so, which ?

Do you consider that the depressed classes are likely, through such general extension of the franchise as you favour, to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates, and if so, to what extent ? If your answer is in the negative, what specific proposals would you make to secure their representation in the legislatures ? The possible application of the group system of representation to the depressed classes should be specially considered.

5. Representation of labour.

Assuming that such widening of the basis of suffrage in general constituencies as is found practicable does not provide adequate representation of labour what special measures would you recommend for representation of labour (*a*) where it is or can be organized as in industrial areas, (*b*) where it is unorganized as in the case of agricultural and plantation labour ? On what basis would you allot representation to labour in each case ?

5-A. Representation of special interests.

What are your views as to the retention of the representation of special interests (Universities, Commerce, European and Indian, Mining, Planting, Labour, Landholders, etc.) in the legislatures ? If you favour its retention, do you consider that the existing methods of election thereto are satisfactory ? If not, what suggestions would you make ?

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. Allocation of seats to British Indian Provinces.

In the third report of the Federal Structure Committee the following allocation of seats to provinces of British India in the two chambers of the Federal Legislature was tentatively suggested :—

Names of provinces.	Upper Chamber.	Lower Chamber.
Madras	17	32
Bombay	17	26
Bengal	17	32
United Provinces	17	32
Punjab	17	26
Bihar and Orissa	17	26
Central Provinces (if Berar is included)	7	12
Assam	5	7
North-West Frontier Province	2	3
Delhi	1	1
Ajmer-Merwara	1	1
Coorg	1	1
British Baluchistan	1	1
	120	200

As a working hypothesis for the purpose of arithmetical calculation at the present stage it may be assumed that the Federal Legislature will be approximately of the size indicated in the report of the Federal Structure Committee.

(*a*) The Federal Structure Committee proposed that the representatives of British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by a single transferable vote. Do you agree with this proposal or have you any alternative to suggest ?

(*b*) Do you consider that the franchise qualifications ought to be different for the Federal and Provincial Legislatures ? If so, what do you consider it ought to be in the case of the Federal Legislature ?

(*c*) The majority of members of the Federal Structure Committee considered that election to the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature

should be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would cast their vote directly for the candidates of their choice. Under a scheme of this nature there would be more than a million inhabitants on an average in each constituency. The constituency would in some cases be of enormous size, especially if communal electorates were introduced. In view of the obvious difficulties which must confront a candidate in canvassing and maintaining contact with such large constituencies the Committee recommended that the alternatives of direct and indirect elections should be fully explored and suggested that while it might be possible without difficulty to adopt direct election in certain areas some form of indirect election might prove desirable in rural areas.

The Franchise Committee would be glad to have your views on this difficult question. In the event of your favouring some system of direct election it would be very useful if you would indicate the nature of the constituency that you would form having regard to the number of seats which you consider ought to be allotted to your province.

7. Representation of women, labour and depressed classes.

Please add any further suggestions which you desire to make regarding the representation of women, labour and the depressed classes and other interests at present specially represented in the Federal Legislature.

8. General.

It will be of great assistance to the Franchise Committee if you will favour them with any observations on the working of the existing franchise and electoral rules which will throw light on the problems now under consideration. The Committee will of course require information later on many other questions but it is not necessary to deal at present with matters outside the scope of this questionnaire.

It is not the function of the Franchise Committee to consider the maintenance, modification or abolition of the existing system of separate communal electorates, though it is clear that this question must be decided before a final scheme can be drawn up for the composition of the various legislatures and the arrangement of the constituencies upon which they are to be based. His Majesty's Government have instructed the Franchise Committee to proceed, in so far as they may find that the absence of such an assumption may preclude them from arriving at conclusions, on the assumption that separate communal electorates will continue to form a feature of the new constitution. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible to offer answers to the questions asked in this paper, without entering upon a discussion of the communal problem.

Points for local Governments.

(1) The Franchise Committee are anxious to save local Governments unnecessary labour as far as possible. A great deal of information which will be of great value in connection with their inquiries must already be available in reports on the working of the present constitution prepared for the Statutory Commission or for other purposes.

In dealing with the questions now raised it will suffice to refer to such reports or to send copies corrected up to date where such a course is found convenient.

(2) The Franchise Committee desire, if possible, during their visit to each provincial headquarters, to spend a day or part of a day in a conveniently situated village, where they would meet typical bodies of villagers and discuss with them questions arising out of this inquiry. The Committee would like to have an opportunity of talking to a group of existing voters, a group of those who would become entitled to a vote if the franchise were extended in the manner considered possible by the local Government, and a group of those to whom the vote could not be granted within the limits of any practicable system of franchise. In the last case, the Committee would like to consider, on the spot, the possibility of adopting some system of group representation. The Committee would be grateful if one or two officers could be deputed to accompany them as interpreters, who are well acquainted with the village selected for a visit or with village life in general.

APPENDIX TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

I

TELEGRAM XX, FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, LONDON, TO THE VICEROY (REFORMS DEPARTMENT), NEW DELHI, No. 168, DATED THE 13TH (RECEIVED 14TH) JANUARY 1932.

Chairman who is anxious to expedite work of Franchise Committee as far as possible would be glad if this was practicable to ascertain in general terms during first stage of enquiry any preliminary views which Provincial Governments and Committees may feel able to express on—

(*a*) size of Provincial Legislatures,

(*b*) representation of special interests,

(*c*) qualification of candidates,

(*d*) if possible on question of Bicameral Legislatures in Provinces.

It would be unnecessary of course to go into details at present stage but written statement would be of much value. If time permits it might be possible to arrange for brief general discussion of such statements after franchise questionnaire had been disposed of. Chairman recognises difficulties of expressing any save provisional views on (*a*) and (*b*) above in absence of communal agreement but as hypothetical basis of discussion provisional working hypothesis referred to in paragraph 7 of Prime Minister's letter of 29th December may be adopted as a basis in this connection.

Please inform local Governments accordingly and ask them to take such steps as they consider feasible to prepare the ground. In the light of experience in first two Provinces visited Committee will probably be able to decide definitely whether or not any extension of field to be explored beyond that covered by questionnaire already issued will in fact be feasible at this stage having regard to very short time at their disposal.

II

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARIES, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS (EXCEPT BIHAR AND ORISSA AND BURMA), No. S.-570, DATED THE 13TH FEBRUARY 1932.

As stated in paragraph 2 of Questionnaire question of bicameral legislatures will probably have to await final decision till a later stage, though Chairman will be glad to receive written statement of local Governments' views asked for in January through Government of India. Point has however now been taken in United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa that wider extension of franchise could be contemplated if Provincial Legislatures contained second chamber which would at once serve as stabilizing influence and as source from which persons with administrative experience could be drawn to serve as Ministers etc. Chairman would be glad if local Governments and committees could consider, and be prepared to discuss question of second chamber as affecting extension of franchise.

Replies
of the
Government of the Punjab
and the
Punjab Provincial Franchise Committee
to the
Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.

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I. Correspondence regarding numbers of non-agricultural tribes and urban qualifications. Indian Franchise Committee's telegrams (1) No. E.-682-Pun., dated the 15th April 1932, and (2) No. E.-688-Pun., dated the 16th April 1932, to the Reforms Officer, Lahore, and the replies thereto from the Financial Commissioner, Punjab Government, dated the 17th April 1932	100
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THE PUNJAB.

I

Memorandum by the Government of the Punjab.

PROVISIONAL VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

1. Extension of the Franchise.

(*a*) The population of the Punjab in the Census of 1931 was classified into urban and rural according to the distinction made for electoral purposes, that is, including as urban all towns of a population of 10,000 and over, with headquarters of districts and cantonments ; and according to this classification, the population at the Census of 1931 and the number of voters in general constituencies on the register of last election is as shown in the attached statement :—

——	Male.	Female.	Total.
Urban population	1,343,712	907,346	2,251,058
Voters	141,353	2,893	144,246
Rural population	11,536,798	9,792,996	21,329,794
Voters	578,559	22,104	600,663
Total population ..	12,880,510	10,700,342	23,580,852
Voters ..	719,912	24,997	744,909

It will be observed that at present the electorate which is preponderatingly male represent 3·1 per cent. of the total population and 6·4 and 2·8 respectively of the urban and rural population*. In order to enfranchise 10 per cent. of the population, and at the same time to make the percentage the same in urban and rural areas would involve an addition of 8,000 urban and 1,532,000 rural voters. The Punjab Government think that this will be too large a number from the point of view of the practical considerations involved in the conduct of elections. They prefer merely to double the number of the present electorates and, while leaving the urban qualification unchanged, to lower the rural qualification so as to admit approximately 5,30,000 more land-owners and also to enfranchise 1,75,000 tenants, a class which has been hitherto without a vote.

(*b*) The Punjab Government consider that such an electorate will be capable of casting an intelligent vote. The limitations imposed on its number are due to considerations of what is administratively practicable.

* *Vide* statement on page 16.

(*c*) The management of even this limited electorate will undoubtedly present great difficulty. This however, could be largely overcome by prolonging the time taken by the elections.

(*d*) Does not arise.

(*e*) The Punjab Government think that any further enlargement of the electorate beyond what is here proposed would make it unmanageable.

(*f*) to (*j*). The Punjab Government has considered with great care the proposals for primary elections, and, with the exception of the Hon'ble Minister for Agriculture, consider that in spite of its success in other countries it would not be administratively manageable in the Punjab. The Hon'ble Member for Revenue and the Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government consider that its introduction would be unnecessary if separate elctorates are to continue.

2. Franchise Qualifications.

(*a*) The figures given above show that there is a marked disparity represented by the percentages of 6·4 and 2·8 between the operation of the franchise qualification in urban as compared with rural areas. By the proposal above mentioned, namely the lowering of rural landlord's qualifications and enfranchising a certain number of tenants, this disparity will tend to disappear.

(*b*) The Punjab Government is unable to consider feasible any system by which the qualifications of a vote could be different in the various communities, which would be the only method of giving them a voting strength proportionate to their numbers. The Punjab Government observe that if communal electorates are retained such a step would in any case be unnecessary while by lowering qualifications as they propose the disproportion will tend to disappear.

(*c*) The Punjab Government while not committing itself to the principle that the possession of property of some kind is a suitable test of fitness for the franchise, consider that it is the only possible test by which the number of electors can be reduced to a manageable proportion. The only important defect in the existing qualifications is that they fail to enfranchise the agricultural tenant, whereas urban tenants receive the vote. This defect it has been proposed to remedy.

(*d*) The Hon'ble Ministers for Agriculture and Local Self-Government desire that passing the Matriculate examinations should carry with it the right of a vote irrespective of property qualification. Other members of the Government adhere to the opinion expressed in paragraph 42 (4) of the Official Memorandum on the recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission.

(*e*) All members of Government are in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification, but do not wish to extend it so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces.

3. Women's Suffrage.

(*a*) All members of Government are of opinion that women should receive the vote on the same property qualification as men and that any further extension of the Franchise to women should be left to the Legislative Council.

(*b*) As above stated, the Punjab Government have not been able to discover any practicable method of introducing the group system.

4. Representation of the Depressed Classes.

The Punjab Government is of opinion that the enfranchisement of the tenant will give the vote to a considerable number of the Depressed Classes, and to that extent will give them influence in the election of representatives to the Council.

5. Representation of Labour.

Industrial labour can in the opinion of the Punjab Government be represented by a general constituency. There are no plantations or large estates in the Punjab as in the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal and Assam which is mainly a province of small yeoman farmers and peasant proprietors. The representation of unorganised agricultural labour is unnecessary. Tenants require some representation, and the views of the Punjab Government on the point have already been stated.

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. Allocation of Seats to British Indian Provinces.

The official members of Government, the Hon'ble Member for Revenue, and the Hon'ble Minister for Education adhere to the opinion expressed in paragraph 49 of the official memorandum on the recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission. The Hon'ble Minister for Agriculture agrees subject to reservations of seats. The Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government will prefer direct election.

(*b*) All members of Government consider that the franchise qualification of the Upper and Lower Houses of the head of legislature should be the existing qualifications respectively for the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

(*c*) The Punjab Government is in favour of indirect election as suggested in paragraph 139 of the report on the Indian Statutory Commission, without territorial constituencies, except for the Upper House. Election to the Upper House should be direct.

7. Representation of Women, Labour and Depressed Classes.

The Punjab Government consider it important that labour should be represented in the Lower House.

8. General.

An account of the work of the first three elections will be found in chapter II of the memorandum prepared for the use of the Indian Statutory Commission, Part I. A report on the recent election will follow. The only observation which the Punjab Government desire to make at this stage is that the rules for rejection of nomination papers have proved to be somewhat inelastic, and it is desirable to provide a summary method of review of rejection of nomination papers.

2.—Statistical information.

1. Population and voters.
2. Population and electors by constituencies.
3. Statement of owners and Crown tenants of each community (Provincial totals).
4. Comparative statement of voters in rural constituencies and landlords.

*5. Statements by tahsils of landlords and tenants.

*6. Area cultivated by tenants-at-will.

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* Not printed.

Statement showing Population and Voters.

—	Males.	Females.	Total.
Urban—			
Population (1931)	1,343,712	907,346	2,251,058
Population (1921)	997,116	675,284	1,672,400
Voters (1929)	141,353	2,893	144,246
Voters (1921)	123,546	2,030	125,576
(1931)	10·5	..	6·4
(1921)	12·3	..	7·5
Rural—			
Population (1931)	11,536,798	9,792,996	21,329,794
Population (1921)	10,309,149	8,703,475	19,012,624
Voters (1929)	579,559	22,104	600,663
Voters (1921)	552,229	19,174	571,403
(1931)	5·0	..	2·8
(1921)	5·3	..	3·0
Total population (1931)	12,880,510	10,700,342	23,580,852
(1921)	11,306,265	9,378,759	20,685,024
Voters (general) (1929)	719,912	24,997	744,909
(1921)	675,775	21,204	696,979
Percentage (1931)	5·5	..	3·1
Percentage (1921)	5·9	..	3·3
Muhammadans—			
Population (1931)	7,241,636	6,090,824	13,332,460
Population (1921)	6,195,738	5,248,583	11,444,321
Voters (1929)	319,707	10,004	329,711
Voters (1921)	296,821	8,282	305,103
(1931)	4·4	..	2·4
(1921)	4·8	..	2·6

——	Males.	Females.	Total.
Non-Muhammadans—			
Population (1931)	3,935,314	3,248,934	7,184,248
Population (1921)	3,814,570	3,131,926	6,946,496
Voters (1929)	331,306	8,471	239,777
Voters (1921)	216,757	7,220	223,977
(1931)	5·8	..	3·3
(1921)	5·8	..	3·3
Sikhs—			
Population (1931)	1,703,584	1,360,560	3,064,144
Population (1921)	1,295,957	998,250	2,294,207
Voters (1929)	168,899	6,522	175,421
Voters (1921)	162,197	5,702	167,892
(1931)	9·9	..	5·7
(1921)	12·4	..	7·5

Punjab Legislative Council.

Statement showing the population and electors by constituencies.

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	Population, 1931.			Number of Electors, 1929.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
	NON-MUHAMMADAN (URBAN).						
1	Lahore City	156,955	102,575	54,380	13,822	13,534	288
2	Amritsar City	100,460	60,940	39,529	11,645	11,198	447
3	South-East Towns ..	149,686	85,165	64,521	9,372	9,177	195
4	North-East Towns ..	148,088	90,325	57,763	10,757	10,593	164
5	East-West Central Towns ..	102,829	62,082	40,747	7,086	6,988	98
6	North-West Towns ..	126,339	71,108	55,231	11,527	11,358	169
7	West Punjab Towns ..	115,766	66,671	49,095	10,507	10,329	178
	Total Non-Muhammadan (Urban).	900,132	538,866	361,266	74,716	73,177	1,539
	Percentage of voters to population (1931).	8·2	13·5	..	..	..	..
	Percentage of voters to population (1921).	9·2	14·9	..	..	..	..
	NON-MUHAMMADAN (RURAL).						
8	Hissar	527,043	283,848	243,195	13,407	13,150	257
9	South-East Rohtak (the Jhajjar and Sonepat Tahsils of the Rohtak district).	338,079	179,903	158,176	16,365	15,755	590
10	North West Rohtak (the Rohtak and Gohana Tahsils of the Rohtak district).	297,840	161,364	136,476	10,689	10,150	539
11	Gurgaon	478,962	258,447	220,515	18,495	17,546	949
12	Karnal	539,430	297,947	241,483	10,997	10,189	808
13	Ambala-*cum*-Simla ..	316,002	175,468	140,534	8,041	7,352	689
14	Kangra	753,013	387,947	365,066	12,960	12,511	449
15	Hoshiarpur	518,327	275,404	242,923	14,511	13,791	720
16	Jullundur-*cum*-Ludhiana ..	336,783	181,861	154,922	6,014	5,838	176
17	Lahore and Ferozepore-*cum*-Sheikhupura.	487,664	266,961	220,703	8,613	8,414	199
18	Amritsar-*cum*-Gurdaspur	371,443	201,776	169,667	9,314	8,818	496
19	Rawalpindi Division and Lahore Division (North).	625,844	340,199	285,645	20,291	19,677	614
20	Multan Division ..	693,686	385,323	308,363	15,364	14,918	446
	Total Non-Muhammadan (Rural).	6,284,116	3,396,448	2,887,668	155,061	158,129	6,932
	Percentage of voters to population (1931).	2·6	4·6	..	..	..	..
	Percentage of voters to population (1921).	2·5	4·1	..	..	..	..
	Total Non-Muhammadan	7,184,248	3,935,314	3,248,934	239,777	231,306	8,471
		3·3	5·8	..	..	..	..

Statement showing the population and electors by constituencies—contd.

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	Population, 1931.			Number of Electors, 1929.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
	MUHAMMADAN (URBAN).						
21	Lahore City	249,315	156,486	92,829	17,657	17,379	278
22	Amritsar City	132,362	79,324	53,038	8,964	8,811	153
23	West Punjab Towns ..	306,519	183,061	123,458	12,702	12,475	227
24	East and West Central Towns.	288,378	165,554	122,824	11,503	11,326	177
25	South-East Towns ..	234,583	132,450	102,123	7,468	7,228	240
	Total Muhammadan (Urban)	1,211,157	716,875	494,282	58,294	57,219	1,075
	Percentage of voters to population (1931).	4·8	7·9	..	..	..	..
	Percentage of voters to population (1921).	5·5	9·5	..	..	..	..
	MUHAMMADAN (RURAL).						
26	Gurgaon-*cum*-Hissar ..	448,607	239,609	209,538	11,996	11,498	498
27	Ambala Division (North-East).	501,600	270,706	230,894	10,480	9,838	642
28	Hoshiarpur-*cum*-Ludhiana	493,613	264,078	229,535	11,984	11,370	614
29	Ferozepore	480,785	259,933	220,852	4,912	4,714	198
30	Jullundur	366,979	194,733	172,246	7,660	7,248	412
31	Kangra-*cum*-Gurdaspur ..	503,488	274,294	229,194	8,456	8,182	274
32	Lahore	566,505	307,557	258,948	5,389	5,160	229
33	Amritsar	392,314	211,063	181,251	4,727	4,543	184
34	Sialkot	539,933	293,032	246,901	9,145	8,854	291
35	Gujranwala	473,678	260,397	213,281	9,128	8,641	487
36	Sheikhupura	440,280	240,495	199,785	9,459	9,006	453
37	Gujrat West (the Phalia Tahsils of the Gujrat District).	269,763	150,182	119,581	7,760	7,508	252
38	Gujrat East (the Gujrat and Kharian Tahsils of the Gujrat District).	487,732	259,561	228,171	17,726	17,383	343
39	Shahpur West (the Shahpur and the Khushab Tahsils of the Shahpur District).	280,314	146,521	133,793	8,806	8,620	186
40	Shahpur East (the Bhalwal and the Sargodha Tahsils of the Shahpur District).	364,002	200,846	163,156	9,951	9,590	361

Statement showing the population and electors by constituencies—contd.

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	Population, 1931.			Number of Electors, 1929.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
	MUHAMMADAN (RURAL)—*contd.*						
41	Mianwali	348,264	182,674	165,590	4,905	4,834	71
42	Attock..	524,375	274,750	249,625	16,264	15,832	432
43	Rawalpindi	468,126	241,574	226,552	21,477	21,281	196
44	Jhelum	461,296	238,246	223,050	22,255	22,068	187
45	Layallpur North (the Lyallpur and the Jaranwala Tahsils of the Lyallpur District).	318,209	171,139	147,070	13,517	12,980	537
46	Lyallpur South (the Samundri and Toba Tek Singh Tahsils of the Lyallpur District).	387,253	207,905	179,348	16,978	16,429	549
47	Montgomery	686,374	374,386	311,988	10,548	10,354	194
48	Multan East (the Kabirwala, Khanewal and Mailsi Tahsils of Multan District).	442,857	241,322	201,535	6,146	5,904	242
49	Multan West (the Multan, Shujabad and Lodhran Tahsils of the Multan District).	427,946	232,675	195,271	4,847	4,524	323
50	Jhang	517,898	278,840	239,058	11,601	11,072	529
51	Muzaffargarh	510,154	277,454	232,700	3,031	2,848	183
52	Dera Ghazi Khan ..	418,958	231,329	187,629	2,269	2,207	62
	Total Muhammadan (Rural)	12,121,303	6,524,761	5,596,542	271,417	262,488	8,929
	Percentage of voters to population (1931).	2·2	4·1	..	..	..	..
	Percentage of voters to population (1921).	2·4	4·3	..	..	..	..
	Total Muhammadan ..	13,332,460	7,241,636	6,090,824	329,711	319,707	10,004
	SIKH.	2·4	4·4	..	..	..	..
53	Sikh Urban	139,369	87,571	51,798	11,236	10,957	279
	Total Urban ..	139,369	87,571	51,798	11,236	10,957	279
	Percentage of voters to population (1931).	8·0	12·5	..	..	..	..
	Percentage of voters to population (1921).	10·1	17·4	..	..	..	..

Statement showing the population and electors by constituencies—contd.

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	Population, 1931.			Number of Electors, 1929.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
	SIKH (RURAL).						
54	Ambala Division ..	220,464	124,035	96,429	9,168	8,761	407
55	Hoshiarpur and Kangra ..	174,274	95,171	79,103	9,369	9,157	212
56	Jullundur	246,568	137,006	109,562	14,631	14,080	551
57	Ludhiana	305,599	170,475	135,124	20,391	19,725	666
58	Ferozepore	384,101	211,355	172,746	16,003	15,201	802
59	Lahore	219,298	121,002	98,296	10,732	10,105	627
60	Amritsar	367,942	201,067	166,875	19,475	18,639	836
61	Sialkot-*cum*-Gurdaspur ..	265,723	148,769	116,954	16,590	16,047	543
62	Lyallpur	206,210	113,796	92,414	17,324	16,566	758
63	Multan Division and Sheikhupura. (The Sheikhupura District and the Multan Division excluding the Lyallpur District).	311,798	173,930	137,868	16,273	15,726	547
64	Rawalpindi Division and Gujranwala.	222,798	119,407	103,391	14,229	13,935	294
	Total Sikh Rural ..	2,924,775	1,616,013	1,308,762	164,185	157,942	6,243
	Percentage of voters to population (1931).	5·3	9·9	..	..	..	..
	Percentage of voters to population (1921).	7·1	12·5	..	..	..	..
	Total Sikh ..	3,064,144	1,703,584	1,360,560	175,421	168,899	6,522
	Percentage ..	5·7	9·9	..	..	..	..
	Total General Constituencies (Urban).	2,251,058	1,343,712	907,346	144,246	141,353	2,893
	Percentage (1931) ..	6·4	10·5	..	..	..	..
	Percentage (1921) ..	7·5	12·3	..	..	..	..
	Total General Constituencies (Rural).	21,329,794	11,536,798	9,792,996	600,663	578,559	22,104
	Percentage (1931) ..	2·8	5·0	..	..	..	..
	Percentage (1921) ..	3·0	5·3	..	..	..	..
	Grand Total Legislative Council General Constituencies.	23,580,852	12,880,510	10,700,342	744,909	719,912	24,997
	Percentage (1931) ..	3·1	5·5	..	..	..	..
	Percentage (1921) ..	3·3	5·9	..	..	..	..

Statement showing the population and electors by constituencies—concld.

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	Population, 1931.			Number of Electors, 1929.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
		SPECIAL CONSTITUENCIES.					
1	Punjab Landholders (General).	..	..	..	776	731	45
2	Muhammadan Landholders	..	..	..	1,740	1,634	106
3	Sikh Landholders ..	..	..	..	941	894	47
4	Baloch Tumandars ..	..	..	..	10	10	..
5	Punjab University ..	..	..	..	3,907	3,903	4
6	Punjab Chamber of Commerce and Trades Association.	..	..	..	94	94	..
7	Punjab Industries ..	..	..	..	229	229	..
	Total Legislative Council Special Constituencies.	..	..	..	7,697	7,495	202
	Grand Total Legislative Council.	..	..	..	752,606	727,407	25,199
	Grand Total of Electors	..	..	..	752,606		

Punjab Legislative Council.

Statement showing extent of Urban Constituencies.

S. E.=South-East Towns; N. E.=North-East Towns; E. W. C.=East and West Central Towns; N. W.=North-West Towns; and W.=West Towns.

					LAHORE MUNICIPALITY. *Lahore Cantonment.* AMRITSAR MUNICIPALITY. *Amritsar Cantonment.*	
					Non-Muhammadan Urban.	*Muhammadan Urban.*
Bhiwani	Municipality	..	..	..	S. E.	S. E.
Hissar	,,	..	..	..	S. E.	S. E.
Sirsa	,,	..	..	..	S. E.	S. E.
Hansi	,,	..	..	..	S. E.	S. E.
Rohtak	,,	..	..	..	S. E.	S. E.
Sonepat	,,	..	..	..	S. E.	S. E.
Jhajjar	,,	..	..	..	S. E.	S. E.
Rewari	,,	..	..	..	S. E.	S. E.
Panipat	,,	..	..	..	S. E.	S. E.
Karnal	,,	..	..	..	S. E.	S. E.

	LAHORE MUNICIPALITY. *Lahore Cantonment.* AMRITSAR MUNICIPALITY. *Amritsar Cantonment.*	
	Non-Muhammadan Urban.	*Muhammadan Urban.*
Shahabad Municipality	S. E.	S. E.
Karnal Notified Area (Civil Station) ..	S. E.	S. E.
Kaithal „ „	S. E.	S. E.
Hidayatpur Chhaoni Notified Area	S. E.	..
Ambala Municipality	N. E.	S. E.
Jagadhri „	N. E.	S. E.
Simla „	N. E.	S. E.
Ludhiana „	N. E.	S. E.
Jagraon „	N. E.	S. E.
Ambala Cantonment	N. E.	S. E.
Kasauli „	N. E.	S. E.
Dagshai „	N. E.	S. E.
Sabathu „	N. E.	S. E.
Jutogh „	N. E.	S. E.
Hoshiarpur Municipality	N. E.	E. W. C.
Jullundur „	N. E.	E. W. C.
Jullundur Cantonment	N. E.	E. W. C.
Kasur Municipality	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Ferozepore „	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Fazilka „	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Gurdaspur „	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Batala „	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Dalhousie „	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Sialkot „	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Dharmsala „	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Dharmsala Cantonment	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Sialkot „	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Ferozepore „	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Balun „	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Bakloh „	E. W. C.	E. W. C.
Gujrat Municipality	N. W.	W.
Jalalpur-Jattan „	N. W.	W.
Bhera „	N. W.	W.
Khushab „	N. W.	W.
Jhelum „	N. W.	W.
Pind Dadan Khan Municipality	N. W.	W.

				Lahore Municipality. Lahore Contonment. Amritsar Municipality. Amritsar Contonment.	
				Non-Muhammadan Urban.	*Muhammadan Urban.*
Rawalpindi	Municipality	..	..	N. W.	W.
Murree	,,	..	..	N. W.	W.
Mianwali	,,	..	..	N. W.	W.
Gujranwala	,,	..	..	N. W.	E. W. C.
Wazirabad	,,	..	..	N. W.	E. W. C.
Jhelum	Cantonment	..	..	N. W.	W.
Rawalpindi	,,	..	..	N. W.	W.
Murree	,,	..	..	N. W.	W.
Campbellpur	,,	..	..	N. W.	W.
Attock	,,	..	..	N. W.	W.
Sargodha	(Notified Area)	..	..	N. W.	W.
Campbellpur	,,	..	..	N. W.	W.
Sheikhupura	,,	..	..	N. W.	E. W. C.
Montgomery	Municipality	..	..	W.	W.
Lyallpur	,,	..	..	W.	W.
Jhang	,,	..	..	W.	W.
Chiniot	,,	..	..	W.	W.
Multan	,,	..	..	W.	W.
Muzaffargarh	,,	..	..	W.	W.
Dera Ghazi Khan	,,	..	..	W.	W.
Multan Cantonment		..	..	W.	W.

Statement showing the numbers of owners and Crown tenants of each community and the amount of Land Revenue paid by each.

Provincial Totals.

Serial No.	Community.	Landlords.		Crown tenants.		Land Revenue.
		Adult.	Minor.	Adult.	Minor.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
						Rs.
1	Mussalman	1,637,230	192,616	54,784	6,346	2,21,41,064
2	Hindu	977,031	128,936	5,626	476	1,03,01,042
3	Sikh	578,290	49,264	10,926	1,022	1,16,59,208
4	Other persons.. ..	5,841	525	1,600	175	2,85,663
5	Total	3,198,392	371,341	72,936	8,019	4,43,86,977
6	Belonging to Agricultural Tribes.	2,666,127	312,903	63,759	7,198	3,91,40,862
7	Other persons.. ..	532,265	58,438	9,177	821	52,46,115
8	Total	3,198,392	371,341	72,936	8,019	4,43,86,977
9	Institutions	3,609	..	4	..	1,65,167

Comparative Statement of Voters in Rural Constituencies and Land-owners.

(Actual figures in thousands.)

	Voters in Rural Constituencies.		Land-owners and Crown Tenants paying Land Revenue.											
			Rs. 25 and upwards.		Rs. 20 to 25.		Rs. 15 to 20.		Rs. 10 to 15.		Rs. 5 to 10.		Total.	
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
Muhammadans	256	46	169	48·5	47	46	72	45	126	47	258	50	672	48
Others ..	157	27	76	21·5	27	26	42	27	75	28	152	29	372	27
Sikhs ..	158	27	105	30	29	28	44	28	68	25	108	21	354	25
Total ..	571	100	350	100	103	100	158	100	269	100	518	100	1,398	100

I. (i)—Note by the Hon'ble Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Kt., Minister for Agriculture in the Punjab Government.

In the matter of franchise I adhere to the views already expressed. Unless an agreement is reached I hold that the franchise should not be lowered and that the same principle should be applied to the Sikh minority as is applied to Muslim minority in other provinces. The Sikhs should get the benefit of their increase in population and of the weightage based on a single principle applicable to all minorities.

My own view remains unaltered that the lowering of the franchise should be left to the legislature itself and should take place in response to a demand for the enlargement by the people themselves.

My reason for standing for a high property franchise is to secure representation of a responsible and stable element in the Council which would not be secured if franchise is lowered and separate communal electorates are perpetuated. The harm that separate electorates have done is so far confined to towns, the continuance of separate electorates with a larger enfranchisement of the village population will poison the village life also, which at present runs smoothly. The new constitution may become the cockpit of communal conflicts.

Before reaching decisions the Franchise Committee may study the effect of separate electorates on—

(*a*) efficiency of administration,

(*b*) impartiality of services,

(*c*) social life generally.

It is evident to any careful observer that disruptive forces brought in motion by this arrangement are making efficiency of administration, impartiality of services and happy social relations between various communities impossible.

I am prepared to concede as an alternative to high property and educational franchise the adult male franchise, provided that the primary voters have to select secondary voters to exercise the vote on behalf of a group of 20 or 30 voters, and property and educational qualifications are fixed for the secondary voters.

I would constitute a village into a primary electorate and allow the village to elect secondary representatives in proportion to its adult male population as fixed by the Election Commissioner.

The secondary voters will form a single electoral plural constituency in every district and proceed to elect by a single non-transferable vote from a joint electorate thus enabling all interests to find an adequate representation.

It is said that administratively this system may be difficult to work. It is true that primary election of secondary electors will have to be held from village to village, but once this election has taken place, a much smaller organization will suffice to supervise the council election. Primary elections could be held by the village officers, the Patwari and the

Zaildar. The number of secondary voters for each village will be fixed by the Election Commissioner on the basis of its adult male population. The village officers will receive nominations on a fixed date, and supervise the election. Candidates of required qualification of age, education and property will have to get their nominations by 2 primary voters, and then for each nominated candidate a coloured ballot box can be provided and coloured discs allotted to each candidate. As many boxes as candidates can be placed in an empty room, where the voter will proceed and place a disc in the box of the candidate of his choice. As soon as voting is over, and time fixed for voting has expired, these boxes will be brought and opened before the voters, and the discs counted out, and the names of elected voters recorded in the book of the secondary voters.

The primary election must take place six months before the general election, and secondary voters must be elected for a period of six years. In case of death of a secondary voter, the village would immediately elect his successor so that the register of secondary voters will be always complete. This system will be less expensive and more equitable, provide representation of all interests from joint electorate and at the same time safeguard minorities without creating permanent cleavages. It has worked in other countries and there is no reason why it should not work in the Punjab.

I was inclined to recommend indirect election for the Federal Assembly, it attracted me as a convenient method, though I was aware that it may rob provincial councils of some of their best members. On further consideration I have come to believe that direct election both for the Council of State and the Federal Assembly is a more suitable method as it would secure a better and a stronger representation to the Central Legislatures.

The well-being of the country demands that we must not be driven into decisions which are likey to defeat our main purposes, the attainment of self-government and self-government's power to secure a better life for the people. We are not accepting the creed of advanced politicians, why should we acquiesce and accept the communal creed of others which seeks to keep the communities in continuous conflict? We must do what we think right, just and of permanent value.

II

Supplementary memorandum by the Punjab Government on the Questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee.

The Punjab Government adhere to their views expressed in the document entitled "Provisional Views," already forwarded to the Franchise Committee, except in so far as any change is indicated in the following observations:—

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

1. Extension of the Franchise.

(*a*) If it is desired to enfranchise 10 per cent. of the population by means of direct representation the Punjab Government considers that the plan A* attached to the opinions of the Provincial Franchise Committee is suitable, but it adheres to its opinion that so large an electorate will be administratively unmanageable, an opinion which is reinforced by the views of experienced officers.

Plan A, in the view of several Members and Ministers, would only be suitable if separate electorates are retained. Otherwise, it would be unacceptable. The Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government considers that if separate electorates are ever abandoned, then a formula such as that applied to Municipal Committees in the Punjab, which combines voting strength and population, should be considered. It is expected that the Muslims will refuse to accept this device.

(*d*) The Punjab Government adheres to its alternative proposal which roughly doubles the number of existing electorates. This proposal is in their own opinion adequately represented by plan C† attached to the opinion of the Provincial Franchise Committee.

(*f*) to (*j*) The Punjab Government has further considered the proposals for primary elections, and with the exception of the Hon'ble Minister for Agriculture find in the reports of district officer's confirmation of the opinion that they would not be administratively manageable except on the proposal now made by the Provincial Committee that they should be spread over a period of four years. This they consider would be manageable, but the system will remain open to very grave abuses. They also consider that grave dissatisfaction would be caused by postponement of the new electorate for four years.

2. Franchise qualifications.

To their original remarks, the Punjab Government have only to add that no doubt it would be ideal that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers. In the Punjab this could partly be secured by giving a vote to all payers of land revenue. This would result in giving the members of the three communities, who have some property qualification, representation more approximate to their population proportion; but they consider that an electorate of this size (about 3 million landholder alone excluding others qualified)

* Page 37. † Page 39.

would be completely unmanageable for direct voting. This number would be unmanageable whatever the form (*i.e.*, separate or joint) of the electorates.

The Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government wishes to record that the Hindu advocates of joint electorates, with reserved seats for minorities, would be prepared to face the inconveniences likely to arise from the unwieldy character of such a large electorate. While wishing it to be clearly understood that they do not express any opinion in favour of joint electorates, the other members of the Government do not consider that the practical difficulties in holding the election could be removed.

3. Women's Suffrage.

As regards co-option we should prefer to leave it to the legislature to extend women's suffrage, if they desire to do so, which, in the normal course, would enable women to stand for membership with some reasonable prospect of success. We do not favour co-option.

4. Representation of the Depressed Classes.

As regards the Depressed Classes, the Punjab Government has no reason to depart from the view which it has already expressed in paragraph 25 of the memorandum containing the opinions of the official members of the Government on the recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission, that these classes are not a pressing problem in the Punjab, and will get some representation as tenants.

5-A. Representation of Special Interests.

The Punjab Government generally adhere to their views expressed in paragraphs 26 *sqq.* of the above memorandum, that is to say, that Europeans and Indian Christians should be represented by special electorates, and that Anglo-Indians should have a choice as to whether they should merge in the category of Europeans or in the general constituencies. They are in favour of retaining special electorates for landholders, Baloch Tumandars and for the University. Some of the Ministers in their printed notes on the Simon Commission Report have advocated an increase in the number of landholders' seats. The official members, as regards Commerce and Industry, consider that only the former requires special representation. Two of the Ministers would like special representation for both Commerce and Industry separately. The Hon'ble Member for Revenue considers that only Industry needs representation. The other Minister would prefer no special representation for either unless it can be arranged that their representation would not affect communal proportion in the House.

III

Memorandum by the Punjab Provincial Franchise Committee.

1 (*a*). *What means can you suggest by which the existing franchise for the provincial legislature could be extended so as to include 10 per cent. of the population in the electoral roll ?*

The Committee observes that this question suggests an extension of the property qualification to enfranchise a larger number of direct voters. The majority reject this system in favour of some form of the group system, and their answer to the question is therefore that if they were asked how to include 10 per cent. of the population in the electoral roll, their reply is, " by some form of the group system by itself or supplementing the existing system." Sardar Buta Singh and R. B. Chaudhri Chhotu Ram are definitely opposed to the group system.

If for any reason the group system is excluded then the only two systems put forward are systems (*a*)* and (*b*)† attached to this reply, (*a*) representing an extension of the franchise on the basis of enfranchisement of land-owners down to Rs. 5 and tenants down to 6 acres (which will enfranchise very few women), or, (*b*) a wives' and widows' qualification which will go down only to Rs. 10 land revenue. Mr. Owen Roberts considered it unnecessary at this stage to choose between these systems. Mr. Nazir Hussain, K. B. Muhammad Hayat, Qureshi, R. B. Chaudhri Chhotu Ram and Sardar Buta Singh preferred system (*a*) and the Chairman and Mrs. Chatterji, system (*b*). Messrs. Din Muhammad, Ghani and Hansraj were not prepared to make any suggestion for extending the franchise on a property qualification. Pandit Nanak Chand would like to include payment of haisiyat tax and therefore restrict the land revenue qualification so as not to raise the numbers above 10 per cent. R. B. Chaudhri Chhotu Ram does not give first place to the group system and Sardar Buta Singh is definitely opposed to it.

1 (*b*). *Do you consider that such an electorate will be capable of casting an intelligent vote ?*

The Committee generally suggested that the intelligence of the electorate comprising 10 per cent. of population will not be materially different from that of the existing electorate of 3 to 6 per cent. Mr. Owen Roberts was inclined to doubt this.

1 (*c*). *Do you consider that such an electorate would be administratively manageable having regard to the arrangements likely to be feasible for the preparation, maintenance and revision of the electoral rolls and for the recording and counting of votes ?*

Mr. Owen Roberts, the Chairman, Pandit Nanak Chand and R. B. Chaudhri Chhotu Ram regarded 10 per cent. electorate from the point of view of its being administratively manageable with opinions ranging from that it was " difficult " to that it was " administratively unmanageable." Mr. Nazir Hussain, Sardar Buta Singh, K. B. Din Muhammad, Mr. Ghani, K. B. Muhammad Hayat, Qureshi, Mrs. Chatterji and Mr. Hansraj considered it manageable.

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* Page 37. † Page 38.

1 (*d*). *If answer to* (*b*) *and* (*c*) *is in the negative, what alternative qualifications for the electorate would you propose ?*

The alternative proposal for the electorate made by the members generally is the group system. System (*c*)* recommended by the Punjab Government was put forward by the Chairman. R. B. Chaudhri Chhotu Ram and Sardar Buta Singh are opposed to the group system.

1 (*e*). *If the answer to* (*b*) *and* (*c*) *is in the affirmative, do you consider that it would be practicable and desirable having regard to the same considerations to enlarge the electoral roll still further, and, if so, what means would you suggest for the purpose ?*

No member of the Committee desired to have more than 10 per cent. of the population voting directly for the Legislative Council.

1 (*f*), (*g*) and (*h*). Opinions were divided between those who favoured a combination of direct and indirect election such as outlined in question (*f*), and those in favour of the substitution throughout of indirect election by group system R. B. Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, K. B. Muhammad Hayat, Qureshi, Pandit Nanak Chand and the Chairman favoured the incomplete group system. The following favoured the complete group system :—Messrs. Din Muhammed, Nazir Hussain, Owen Roberts, Abdul Ghani, Hansraj and Mrs. Chatterji. Sardar Buta Singh is not in favour of indirect election in any form. With reference to the second paragraph of (*f*) Pandit Nanak Chand and Mrs. Chatterji are of opinion that if group elections are held on non-communal basis, group electors should vote in separate constituencies composed of group electors only, but if groups are confined to members of the same communal class they recommend that the group electors should vote in the regular communal electorates.

2 (*g*). No member is in favour of the proposal that in the event of separate constituencies being framed for group electorates only group electors should stand as candidates for such constituencies.

1 (*i*). *In the event of your answer to* (*f*) *and* (*h*) *being in the affirmative, what do you consider would be a suitable size for the groups referred to above ? On what basis would you constitute them, and whom would you charge with the duties of framing them ?*

The Committee observes that in the event of the complete group system being adopted groups of 10 adults would give 1,165,000 secondary voters which would represent 5 per cent. of the population, and would be administratively manageable. Similarly in the event of the combined system being adopted if the existing number of voters of 745,000 is deducted from an adult population of 11,655,000, the balance of primary voters would be 10,910,000. If they were divided into groups of 10, then 1,091,000 and 745,000 would give 1,836,000 and this again would not be beyond the bounds of what would be administratively manageable. Further, supposing the Punjab Government proposal for direct electors were adopted this would give 1,308,000 voters, leaving 10,347,000 adults unenfranchised. Groups of 10 would produce electorates of 2,343,000 or 10 per cent. of the population. As already stated opinions are divided as

* Page 39.

to whether so large an electorate is administratively manageable, and it will be the opinion of some members of the Committee, at any rate, that if the group system were to be combined with so large a direct electorate the numbers in the group would have to be increased.

1 (*j*). *Would you require any special qualification, whether property, educational or other, in the persons chosen by such groups to vote on their behalf for the election of members ? If so, what?*

It is the general opinion of the members that special qualification should not be required for secondary voters, but this must be read subject to the views of those including R. B. Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, Sardar Buta Singh and the Chairman who definitely hold that the existing property qualification should be retained, as giving property its fair representation. If the complete group system were introduced those members would have to reconsider their position. Several members were in favour of the existing property qualification for the candidates.

With regard to the administrative possibility of the group system, the majority of the Committee are of the opinion that the primary elections cannot be carried out simultaneously and that it will be necessary that they should be conducted over a period of years. It is the practice in the Punjab for the revenue records in one quarter of the villages of each district to be revised each year, and the Committee are of opinion that the opportunity of this revision should be taken to conduct the primary elections in the villages, that is to say, in a district containing a thousand villages the primary elections should be carried out in 250 villages each year, and each secondary elector would retain his position for 4 years quite irrespective of any general election to the Council. The Committee (Mr. Ghani and Mr. Hansraj dissenting) recognized that it is a corollary of this that the first election under the reforms should be held on the existing franchise or possibly on the modified franchise proposed by the Punjab Government and that the group system whether complete or imperfect should not be introduced until after four years. Mr. Hansraj and Mr. Ghani thought that it would be possible to introduce the group system at once. The Chairman, while inclining to the view that primary elections spread over four years are administratively possible, is of opinion that it will be impossible to prevent malpractices on a large scale cropping up during the elections, and it would be impossible to deal with those practices except in the most summary manner.

2. Franchise qualifications.

2 (*a*). *Do you consider that in the areas with which you are acquainted there is any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas ? If so, what measures would you suggest in order to rectify such disparities ?*

The Committee observes that the disparity in urban as compared with rural areas is obvious from the figures. It observes that it will be rectified by either systems (*a*), (*b*) or (*c*)* and would be finally disposed of by the group system.

* Pages 37-39.

2 (*b*). *It has been suggested that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers, and that the franchise system should be so contrived as to secure this result, in so far as it may be practicable.*

Are you in agreement with this suggestion, and, if so, what measures would you suggest for giving effect to it in your province on the assumption (i) that separate electorates are retained, (ii) of joint electorates with reservation of seats, and (iii) of joint electorates without reservation of seats ?

The Committee agree in principle that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers, and observe that this will be secured by the complete group system. In the imperfect group system Messrs. Nazir Hussain, Owen Roberts, K. B. Muhammad Hayat, Qureshi, and K. B. Din Muhammad are of opinion that weighting by increasing or decreasing the size of groups would have the desired effect. Some other members are opposed to this. The Committee are unanimously of opinion that under the property qualification franchise, it will be impossible to give each community the voting strength proportionate to its numbers. Mr. Ghani is in favour of giving special electorates to all the communities in the Province for at least ten years as an experiment. Sardar Buta Singh holds that enfranchisement should be on the basis of property or other qualification.

2 (*c*). *Is the possession of property of some kind in your opinion a suitable test of fitness for the franchise? (The term " property " should be understood in its widest sense as including not only the ownership of landed property, but also the occupation of land or house property or the receipt of income or wages whether in cash or kind). If so, do you consider the existing property qualifications suitable ? If you do not, what modification do you suggest ?*

R. B. Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, K. B. Muhammad Hayat, Qureshi, Sardar Buta Singh and the Chairman consider that in the Punjab the existence of property and particularly property in land should have recognition. As has been above stated in the incomplete system, this recognition is already given, but if the complete system is adopted, these members would require property qualification for secondary electors. Mr. Ghani and Mrs. Chatterji are against all property qualifications.

2 (*d*). *Are you in favour of introducing a qualification based an education, independently of property, and, if so, what educational qualification would you suggest ?*

With the exception of Sardar Buta Singh no member of the Committee is in favour of introducing a qualification based on education independent of property.

2 (*e*). *Are you in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and extending it so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces ?*

All the members are in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and extending it so as to include service in the

Auxiliary and Territorial Forces in the event of there being a direct franchise.

3. Women's Suffrage.

3. (*a*) *At present women are admitted to the suffrage on the same terms as men, but as the existing qualifications are mainly based on property and the payment of taxes, the number of women on the provincial electoral rolls is only a little over a quarter of a million as compared with 6½ million men. The Statutory Commission proposed that the wives and widows (if over 25 years of age) of men entitled to vote under the property qualification, should be enfranchised, and that in addition an educational qualification should apply to women over 21 as well as to men. In the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference it was suggested that the age-limit should be 21 for women as well as for men.*

Are you in favour of increasing the women's electorate in the ways suggested or would you prefer any other method, if so, what method ? To what extent would you favour increase in women's electorate ?

The Chairman, Pandit Nanak Chand and Mr. Owen Roberts are in favour of the wives and widows franchise coupled with literacy franchise for unmarried women in the event of there being no group system perfect or imperfect. Mrs. Chatterji's support of the group system is mainly due to the fact that it is only under this system that women come in on an equality with men : she would only accept the wives' and widows' qualification as a last resort if the group system was turned down as completely unworkable. Other members of the Committee are against it in all circumstances.

3. (*b*) *In the event of a system of group representation being established as proposed in paragraph 1 (f), do you consider that women should be formed into groups, and, if so, should separate groups be formed for women or should groups contain both men and women ?*

It is generally the opinion of the Committee that it should be optional for women to group themselves in groups of their own or combine with men, but Mr. Ghani is against mixed groups for men and women.

3. (*c*) *The suggestion has been made that at any rate as a temporary measure legislatures should co-opt women members to an extent not exceeding 5 per cent. by a system of proportional representation so as to ensure representation of women in legislature.*

What are your views as to this suggestion ?

With the exception of the Chairman and Sardar Buta Singh the Committee is opposed to the proposal that women should be co-opted as members to an extent not exceeding 5 per cent. The Chairman is of opinion that from the point of view of special legislation the important thing is not how women should get into the Council but that they should be represented there.

4. Representation of the Depressed Classes.

It is evident from the discussions which have occurred in various connexions in the Round Table Conference, that it is generally felt that provision should be made in the new Constitution for better representation of the Depressed Classes, and that the method of representation by nomination is no longer regarded as appropriate.

What communities would you include as belonging to Depressed Classes? Would you include classes other than untouchable, and, if so, which?

Do you consider that the Depressed Classes are likely, through such general extension of the franchise as you favour, to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates, and, if so, to what extent? If your answer is in the negative, what specific proposals would you make to secure their representation in legislature? The possible application of the group system of representation to the Depressed Classes should be specially considered.

K. B. Din Mohammad and Mr. Hansraj held that, while there are no depressed classes among the Mussalmans, there exist depressed classes among the Hindus and Sikhs which may be taken to be those selected for the purpose of the Census, namely :—

(*a*) Ad-Dharmis of all classes ;

(*b*) Hindu castes as noted below :—

(1) Bawaria.
(2) Chamar.
(3) Chuhra.
(4) Dagi and Koli.
(5) Dumna.
(6) Megh.
(7) Od.
(8) Ramdasi.
(9) Sansi.
(10) Sarera.

Their total number being 1,310,709. Mr. Hans Raj considers this list incomplete.

They held that provision should be made for separate representation by treating the depressed classes as a separate community. Mr. Nazir Hussain, Rai Bahadur Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, Mr. Owen Roberts, K. B. Muhammad Hayat, Qureishi, Mrs. Chatterji, Sardar Buta Singh and Pandit Nanak Chand held that it is impossible to say that there are depressed classes in the Punjab in the sense that any person by reason of his religion suffers any diminution of civic rights, and that it is undesirable that any attempt should be made to stereotype the division proposed. The Chairman, Pandit Nanak Chand and Sardar Buta Singh are of opinion that the depressed classes do not exist in the sense in which they exist in southern India, and that, while there are in the villages certain classes who occupy a very definitely inferior economic and social position, it is not possible to differentiate the Hindu leather worker or Chamar who is claimed as a depressed class from the Mussulman leather worker or Mochi who no one alleges belongs to a separate class. At the same time the Chairman feels that choice should be left to members of the so-called depressed classes to elect whether they prefer

to draw their lot with Hindus or to stand by themselves, and in the event of communal electorates being continued it should be open to any person on his own choice to register in a separate class, but he cannot logically confine the depressed persons to the castes mentioned and prevent Mussalmans or Christians or any other persons exercising their choice if they so desire.

5. Representation of Labour.

Assuming that such widening of the basis of suffrage in general constituencies as is found practicable does not provide adequate representation of labour, what special measures would you recommend for representation of labour (a) where it is or can be organised as in industrial areas, (b) where it is unorganised as in case of agricultural and plantation labour. On what basis would you allot representation to labour in each case?

With the exception of Mr. Ghani and Mr. Hansraj, it was considered that there was no organized labour in the Punjab. Mr. Ghani was of opinion that labour should have special representation. Every factory worker, farm worker and other industrial workers, whether organized or not, should be formed into a separate constituency and they should elect their representative through the group system. In the case of unorganized agricultural labour he suggested that they should form separate constituencies for tenants and kamins.

5 (a). Representation of Special Interests.

What are your views regarding the retention of representation of special interests (University, Commerce, European, Indian, Mining, Planting, Labour, Landholders, etc.) in legislatures?

If you favour its retention do you consider the existing methods of election thereto are satisfactory? If not, what suggestions would you make?

Except the Chairman, the Committee was generally against special representation of special interests. They, except Pandit Nanak Chand, agreed that Europeans and Indian Christians should be given special representation in their own electorates. The Committee thought that if Universities were represented then Land-owners and Tumandars should also receive special representation. The Chairman is of opinion that Landholders, Universities and Tumandars should be represented. It was the opinion of the majority of the members of the Committee that if Universities were represented then voters should be the Fellows and not the graduates. Some members wished it to be observed that the reason for not having special representation of Commerce and Labour was that they were central and not provincial subjects. Sardar Buta Singh considered that (apart from European and Indian Christians) only the University should be represented. Pandit Nanak Chand is of the opinion that the representation of the University should be retained and that Europeans and Indian Christians should not have separate representation, but should vote in the general constituency as is the case at present.

6. Allocation of seats to British Indian Provinces.

The majority of the members asked for 32 members in the Punjab.

The Federal Structure Committee proposed that the representatives of British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by a single transferable vote. Do you agree with this proposal or have you any alternative to suggest ?

Except Pandit Nanak Chand, the Committee was unanimously of opinion that the Lower Chamber should be elected indirectly by the Provincial Council, while there should be direct election of the Upper Chamber on the existing franchise for the Council of State. Pandit Nanak Chand supports direct election to both.

So far as the depressed classes are concerned, Mr. Hansraj would like the existing franchise rules modified so as to enable those classes to vote in larger numbers or in the alternative that they may be given special representation.

7. Representation of Women, Labour and Depressed Classes.

In the view of Mr. Din Muhammad, R. B. Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, Mr. Owen Roberts and K. B. Muhammad Hayat, Qureshi, the reservation of seats for labour, depressed classes, women or other interests in the Central Legislature is not opposed, provided :

(*a*) that the seats reserved are not taken from the provincial quota ;

(*b*) that if election is resorted to, the election of members allotted to any province shall be indirect through the Provincial Legislature. This decision is subject to the reservation already made by those members in connection with Labour and Depressed Classes.

Plan A.

Rural population	21,330,000
Total number to be enfranchised	2,133,000
Existing rural voters	601,000
New voters to be enfranchised	1,532,000

The number of voters in rural constituencies in 1926 was 571,000, consisting of the following :—

Land-owners paying Rs. 25 and upwards	350,000
Others	221,000

We do not know how the present 601,000 are distributed, but as the number of ' others ' is not likely to increase and indeed tends to decrease we may assume that the existing distribution of voters is :—

Land-owners paying Rs. 25 and upwards ..	380,000
Others	221,000

We can now, in order to make up the deficiency of 1,532,000, add the following groups :—

Land-owners paying from	Rs. 20 to Rs. 25	103,000
,, ,, ,, ,,	Rs. 15 to Rs. 20	158,000
,, ,, ,, ,,	Rs. 10 to Rs. 15	269,000
,, ,, ,, ,,	Rs. 5 to Rs. 10	518,000
	Total new land-owners	1,048,000

Tenants holding more than 24 acres irrigated or 48 acres unirrigated	42,000
Tenants holding more than 18 and 36	37,000
Tenants holding more than 12 and 24	98,000
Tenants holding more than 6 and 12	230,000
Total of tenants	407,000
Total of new additions	1,455,000

This is as near the number required as we can reach. The result is that in order to enfranchise 10 per cent. of the population in rural areas we have to go down to land-owners and tenants paying Rs. 5 land revenue and upwards and tenants-at-will holding 6 acres irrigated or 12 acres unirrigated.

As regards urban areas the population of 1931 is 2,251,000 of which 10 per cent. is, say, 225,000. The present urban voters are 144,000 ; so we have to enfranchise 81,000 more. This will not present any particular difficulty. It cannot be calculated precisely what lowering of the qualification will be necessary in order to bring it about, but it will be something of the order of a reduction of the tenant qualification from Rs. 8 to, say, Rs. 5 or Rs. 6.

The total result will be :—

	Present.	Added.	Total.
Urban	144,000	81,000	225,000
Rural	601,000	1,455,000	2,056,000

Plan B.

In order to ascertain how the 10 per cent. of voters can be obtained with the enfranchisement of women in equal numbers with men, the following figures are put forward. It must be observed that this proposal cannot be carried out by a property qualification, but it would have to be done by means of a wife or widow qualification. We get the figures

by doubling the number of qualified voters. This is not quite accurate, but near enough.

	Under property qualification.	*With addition of wives.*
Existing rural voters	601,000	1,202,000
Land-owners paying from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25	103,000	206,000
Land-owners paying from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20	158,000	316,000
		1,724,000

If we add the next group of land-owners paying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 we have to double 269,000, which will give us more than enough, namely, 1,724,000 *plus* 538,000=2,262,000 and will leave no room for tenants. On the other hand, if we double the first two classes of tenants we add twice (42,000 *plus* 37,000), that is, 121,000, which is not enough, and if we go down to a lower class of tenants, we would be giving the tenants a vote more cheaply than the land-owners. Therefore, in order to get our two million voters in the way I have described we shall probably have to go down somewhere about Rs. 12 land revenue and put in the first two classes of tenants.

Plan C.

The provisional proposal of the Punjab Government is to leave the urban electorate alone and roughly to double the rural electorate. As has been stated above the rural electorate is 601,000 ; to this may be added —

Land-owners paying Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 ..	103,000
,, ,, ,, Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 ..	158,000
,, ,, ,, Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 ..	269,000
Total new land-owners ..	530,000
Tenants holding 24 acres irrigated or 48 acres unirrigated	42,000
Tenants holding 15 acres or 36 acres ..	37,000
,, ,, 12 acres or 24 acres	98,000
Total Tenants ..	177,000
Total New Voters ..	707,000
Total of Voters ..	1,308,000

This will give 6·2 per cent. of the rural population while the urban voting strength will remain as at present at 6·4 per cent.

IV

Supplementary Questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Government of the Punjab and the Punjab Provincial Franchise Committee.

1. The Prime Minister's letter to the Franchise Committee instructs them so to widen the electorate that the Legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of the population and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinions.

The proposals of the local Government provide for the enfranchisement of 6·3 per cent. only of the population of the Punjab. The number of women included would apparently not exceed 48,000. The number of the depressed classes included would be exceedingly small. It is exceedingly doubtful whether the industrial worker (in so far as he exists in the Punjab) or the landless labourer would succeed in obtaining any adequate representation under them. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the Punjab Government would reconsider its views with the object of securing a fairer distribution of voting power among the main categories of the population.

2. It is understood that the majority of the voters enfranchised under the revenue and tenancy qualifications proposed in the three plans of the Provincial Committee will be members of agricultural voters notified under the Land Alienation Act. The Franchise Committee would be obliged if they could be furnished with an approximate estimate of the numbers of those who will be excluded from the franchise under the Provincial Committee's plan 'A'*, and they would be glad to know what proposals the Local Government/Provincial Committee would make for enfranchising them or any section of them on the basis of the haisiyat tax, profession tax, chaukidari tax, or otherwise? What is the number of persons entitled to vote under (*a*) the existing District Board, and (*b*) the Municipal franchise, and could such franchise be utilised in connection with the Council elections?

3. A suggestion has been made that the group system of election should be applied on a household basis. A list of houses would be drawn up, in the villages by the revenue authorities and in the towns by the municipal authorities, and the head of each household would be called upon to report by a fixed date the name of the person empowered by the adult members of his household to vote on behalf of the household at the Council election. Each name so reported would be entered on the electoral roll, and if any household failed to make a report by the date fixed it would lose its right to vote. The Franchise Committee would be glad to have the views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to the practicability and desirability of this scheme in urban and rural areas, respectively.

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* Page 37.

4. The Local Government in their letter state that the administrative difficulty of polling a larger electorate than 6·3 per cent. of the population is one of their principal reasons for not recommending an electorate in excess of that figure. Evidence tendered to the Committee by responsible Government officials and others goes to show that difficulty need not be anticipated in polling 10 to 15 per cent. of the population. The Franchise Committee would be grateful for a considered opinion of the Local Government/Provincial Committee in the light of the discussions which have taken place as to the maximum number of votes that could be accurately polled in the province using the total number of officers and the maximum accommodation possible.

(1) If the election is spread over—

(*a*) one day,

(*b*) two days,

(2) taking 800 as the average number of voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day—

(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women,

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women.

They would be glad if in answering this question the Local Government would state what, if any, further simplification they consider possible in their polling machinery and whether they consider on the average that 1,000 registered votes could be per day polled, either independently or as a result of such simplification, by each polling unit.

5. What polling hours do the Local Government propose ?

6. To what extent will the voting strength secured under their final proposals reflect the population strength of the various communities ?

7. The Franchise Committee would be grateful for a detailed analysis showing the distribution of voting power between the various classes and categories of the population under the proposals finally adopted by the Local Government/Provincial Committee and indicating how the unenfranchised residuum is composed.

8. What is the approximate cost (including preparation of the electoral rolls) of a general election on the present basis ? What would be approximately the cost on the basis of the franchise finally recommended by the Local Government/Provincial Committee ?

9. What is the final opinion of the Local Government/Provincial Committee in the light of the discussions which have taken place as between

(*a*) the combination of direct voting with a group system in any form ?

(*b*) wholly indirect system (*i.e.*, the complete abandonment of the direct vote);

(*c*) the extension of the direct franchise to the maximum administratively possible and practicable ?

10. Have the Local Government/Provincial Committee any views as to the desirability of single-member as opposed to multi-member constituencies electing 3, 4 or 5 representatives either by a single non-transferable vote or any other recognised device ?

11. The Franchise Committee understand that in the Punjab towns with a population of over 10,000 are grouped together for electoral purposes. Does this system work well in the view of the Local Government ? Do they desire to suggest any change in it ?

Women.

12. The Prime Minister's letter emphasises the special importance of securing a more adequate enfranchisement of women—

(*a*) What are the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee in the light of the discussions that have taken place as to the steps to be taken for securing an increased number of women voters ?

(*b*) The suggestion has been made that if the existing Council franchise is adopted as the future Federal Assembly franchise the wives of the future Assembly voters should be enfranchised. What is the view of the local Government as to the desirability of such a suggestion in the Punjab ? How many women approximately would be enfranchised under it ?

(*c*) A further suggestion has been made that the wives of husbands with double the minimum property qualification should be enfranchised. What are the views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to the desirability and practicability of such a proposal ? Can any estimate, even approximate, be given of the number of women who would be enfranchised under it—

(*i*) on the existing property qualification ;

(*ii*) on the property qualification finally recommended by the Local Government/Provincial Committee ?

(*d*) What are the views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee on the proposal that has been made that in order to secure women voters mere literacy (*i.e.*, the ability to read and write in any language certified by a responsible person, *e.g.*, school-master, etc.), should be the qualification of a woman ?

(*e*) Do you see any objection to the wives qualified to vote in view of their husband's property retaining the right to vote on widowhood ?

(*f*) What are your views on the suggestion that has been made that the wives and widows of literates should be enfranchised ?

How many women would be enfranchised on account of the franchise finally recommended (the Franchise Committee would be grateful for even an approximate estimate) ?

Methods of securing the presence of women in the Legislature.

13. A memorandum containing the various alternative suggestions made elsewhere on the subject is attached*. The Franchise Committee would be glad of the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee, in the light of the discussions, which have taken place, as to the method by which a small number of women should be specially elected to the Council.

Depressed Classes.

14. The Prime Minister's letter draws special attention to the problem of securing for the depressed classes representation of their own choice in the Legislatures—

(*a*) What do the Local Government/Provincial Committee consider is the number of the Depressed Classes (applying the criterion of untouchability) what castes or sub-castes would be included in this category in the Punjab ?

(*b*) How many members of the depressed classes are at present elected or nominated to municipalities and local boards and panchayats in the Punjab ?

(*c*) The Committee would be grateful if they could be furnished with a copy of the statement supplied by the Punjab Government to the Simon Commission in the light of which that body reached the conclusion that the population of the depressed classes in the Punjab was approximately 2,800,000.

(*d*) The Committee would be grateful for a statement (even approximate) of the number of depressed class voters who would be brought on the electoral roll under the final proposals of the Provincial Committee/Local Government. The estimate might be based on an examination of two or three typical constituencies if necessary.

15. The suggestion has been made that even if for any reason the group system was not considered suitable for general adoption, it might be employed in the case of the depressed classes only in order to solve the difficulties of securing representation for that community on the electoral roll. What are the views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to the desirability and practicability of such a suggestion in the Punjab. ?

A further suggestion has been made that either the secondary voters belonging to the depressed classes or all depressed class voters might be made into a special electorate returning a certain number of representatives to the legislature by means of a second or additional vote. What are the views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to the desirability and practicability of these proposals ?

* Printed on page 114, Volume II.

The suggestion has also been made that a non-proprietary body of electors should be formed which would include, *e.g.*, village menials, and that this would dispose of the depressed class problem.

If none of these suggestions is considered practicable, what scheme can the Local Government/Provincial Committee propose for securing a fairly substantial electorate and representation of the Depressed Classes.

Labour.

16. The Prime Minister's letter emphasises the importance of securing representation of labour, (*a*) which are the main industrial centres in the Province, and what is their respective industrial population ? (*b*) How many industrial workers would come on the electoral roll in urban general constituencies under the franchise ultimately proposed by the Local Government/Provincial Committee ? Would it be possible for industrial labour to secure representatives of its own choice in the general constituencies ? (*c*) The Whitley Commission have recommended that representation should be secured through registered trade unions. (*d*) An alternative method of securing such representation which has been suggested is the creation of a special labour electorate, or electorates of the factory population receiving wages above a certain minimum. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the Local Government/Provincial Committee would further consider their proposals for the representation of labour in the light of the above alternatives and of the discussions which have taken place at Lahore.

Provincial Legislature.

17. What are the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to the special interests to be represented in it and the number of seats to be reserved for them ? In particular what are their views on the subject of special representation for Tumandars and for the University ? Would they alter their views, and if so in what respect, in the event of a second chamber being established in the Provincial Legislature.

18. What are the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to the size of the Provincial Legislature, taking into account the necessity of making constituencies conform to district boundaries and assuming the maintenance of separate electorates for Muslims on the present basis ?

Second Chamber.

19. Do the Local Government/Provincial Committee wish to modify the views already expressed by them as to the desirability of the Second Chamber ? If the Local Government/Provincial Committee are in favour of such a Chamber, what should be its number, on what basis should it be constituted, and what should be its powers *vis-à-vis* the Lower Chamber ? What qualifications would the Local Government/Provincial Committee prescribe for its membership ?

Federal Legislature.

20. What are the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to the basis of the franchise for—

(*a*) the Senate,

(*b*) the Federal Assembly and the extent to which it should be enlarged ?

21. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the Local Government/Provincial Committee would further consider the desirability of special representation for women in the Federal Assembly.

22. What are the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to the special interests other than women and, in the case of the Local Government, Labour to be represented in the Federal Legislature, and the extent and method of such representation.

23. Would you require a literacy qualification for members of—

(*a*) the Provincial Council ; and

(*b*) the Federal Assembly ?

24. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the Local Government/Provincial Committee would state any other respects, not covered by the above questions, in which they would modify their original proposals.

V

Memorandum by the Punjab Government in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire* of the Indian Franchise Committee.

1. At least 17 per cent. of the landowners are not members of agricultural tribes as is shown in the statement† showing the numbers of owners and crown tenants of each community furnished to the Indian Franchise Committee in the statistical portion of the Punjab Government's provisional views. For the tenants, accurate figures are not available, but a certain porportion of these is certainly drawn either from village menials or from the tribes not notified as agricultural tribes. The persons contained in plans A and C‡ referred to by the Provincial Committee, so far as revenue payers are concerned, represent a much larger number of adult persons, because during a man's lifetime not only his wife but also his sons, even if adult, pay no land revenue. After deducting the figures entered in plan A from the total adults, the proportion remaining unenfranchised is—

Paragraph 2.

(*a*) In plan C .. .. 10 millions.
(*b*) In plan A .. .. 9 millions.

In these are included the wives, adult sons and daughters (if any) of enfranchised revenue payers and probably some of tenants: both, as has already been explained above, are already represented. The numbers are not available; but after deducting the latter number the residue falls with in two main classes—

(*a*) the shopkeeping and kindred occupational groups who do not pay income-tax or fulfil the house qualification, or who are not land revenue payers or qualified tenants, and

(*b*) the village menials.

The latter would be far the more numerous. It would not be far from the mark to assume that each enfranchised revenue payer and some of those proposed to be enfranchised as tenants, represent between 3 and 4 unenfranchised adults. This also holds true of income-tax payers and persons qualified under the house qualification. There are 180,000 persons enfranchised in district boards and other local bodies on a haisiyat tax and professional tax basis. The tax is unpopular among the assessees. If these were added to the voters' roll, the result would be to enfranchise a number of persons in group (*a*) and a smaller number in group (*b*). It is only a few of the artizan menials who would come in under group (*b*) not the menials generally. Out of the 180,000 assessed to haisiyat tax, a number of group (*a*) will already be qualified for a vote as land revenue payers, income-tax payers, tenants, and on the house qualification. After excluding these, it would be unfair to enfranchise a larger number of the remainder than the proportion of total number of landowners enfranchised. The other way of visualising it is that a person qualified under haisiyat tax should pay a sum in tax at least equal to that of the lowest land revenue class. The Punjab Government are prepared to accept the latter. They would not, however,

* Page 40. † Page 24. ‡ Pages 37 and 39 respectively.

put this limit on menials paying a professional tax. For the present they consider that there is no practicable means of enfranchising a larger number of menials or depressed classes, except through the tenancy or haisiyat or professional tax qualification. The Chaukidari tax is not a practical test as very few menials pay it. The Punjab Government do not think a household vote possible. It would lead to a lot of very corrupt practices and inquisitorial enquiries. As regards women, the Punjab Government feel that the demand only comes from a very small educated class and they adhere to their previous views.

Paragraph 4.

2. Though the Punjab Government view with grave misgivings an increase in the franchise over the figure they have previously advised, they believe that by extending the period for polling over two days in some parts of the province it would be possible to adopt the scheme referred to as plan A by the Provincial Franchise Committee which is hereto appended (Annexure 1*) and with some reluctance they are prepared to agree to this, especially as by including the lowest class of tenant they would give some additional representation to the landless, menials and depressed classes. The Punjab Government would include haisiyat tax payers to the limit of the lowest class of land revenue without, however, placing this restriction on menials. They have not been able to include in plan A an estimate of the number of haisiyat tax payers included in these proposals but it would not be large. In agreeing to this course, they assume that any extension of women franchise, which they deprecate beyond what they get under the property qualification, will be kept within the total of 2,281,000.

Paragraph 3.

3. The views of the Punjab Government on the group system generally are given below.

Paragraph 4.

4. The Punjab Government are not able in the brief time at their disposal (the enquiries of the Indian Franchise Committee were placed in their hands on April 6th and this reply is to be in the hands of the Indian Franchise Committee on April 9th) to criticise in detail the views of their officers on the technique of polling which are before the Committee. They merely repeat the view that the total of 2,281,000 represents the maximum which can be dealt with.

Paragraph 5.

5. The Punjab Government considers it useless to open the poll before 9 A.M. as voters will not come earlier. With a break of half-an-hour polling might go on till 4-30 P.M.

Paragraph 6.

6. A statement (Annexure 2†) is attached.

Paragraph 7.

7. It is not quite clear what are the classes and categories of the population (other than religious communities) into which it is desired that the voting power should be distributed. But the following general observations may be made.

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* Page 52. † Page 53.

8. In the first place as between members of the agricultural tribes and others, the Punjab Government has above shown that 17 per cent. of landowners belong to non-agricultural tribes. Therefore, out of 1,398,000 landowners voters 238,000 are outside the agricultural tribes. The proportion of tenants outside these tribes is even larger, and a large number of menial classes, even of the lowest, are tenants. If, as the Provincial Committee believes, it is as large as one half, this adds 203,000. The 251,000 " other " voters on the existing register includes income-tax payers, owners of house property and soldiers of the non-combatant branches of the army, all of whom belong largely to non-agricultural tribes. The Punjab Government observes that the Provincial Committee considers that as many as 150,000 belong to these classes.

9. As regards the unenfranchised residuum, the total adult male population is 6½ million and the unenfranchised residuum is, therefore, in the neighbourhood of 4½ millions. If each land owner represents only two adult males besides himself, these account for 2½ millions, and the tenant voters may similarly account for half-a-million more. This will leave a male adult unenfranchised residuum of 1½ millions, belonging to the poorer classes, and including the large floating population of beggars and vagrants which alone exceeds half a million.

Paragraph 8.

10. The following figures give the cost of elections to Government in the four general elections :—

	Rs.
1920	4,75,000
1923	2,65,000
1926	2,58,000
1929-30	1,88,000

This sum includes honoraria and allowances, etc., paid to patwaris, kanungos, and others who assisted in the preparation of electoral rolls as well as the expenditure on the printing of rolls, ballot papers and all other papers connected with the Council and Assembly elections. Marked reduction in expenditure in 1929-30 elections was due to the fact that the electoral rolls for both the Council and the Gurdwara elections were prepared simultaneously and cost was shared half and half.

The cost of the elections on an extended franchised covering 10 per cent. of the whole population is as shown in the attached statement, Rs. 6,34,000 (Annexure 3*).

Paragraph 9.

11. In principle the Punjab Government is in favour of the extension of the direct franchise as opposed to (*a*) the group system and (*b*) the group system and direct system combined. If, however, it is finally decided to extend the number of electorates beyond 2,280,000 (what the Punjab Government hopes will not be the case) the Punjab Government would like to reconsider their view with reference to the group system.

* Page [illegible].

12. So long as separate electorates continue, the Punjab Government, with one dissenting member, considers that territorial seats with a single member constituency are the most practical method. The Hon'ble Member for Local Self-Government would support multiple member constituencies with a single non-transferable vote.

Paragraph 10.

13. The Punjab Government is divided in its views on the question of urban constituencies as the Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government is against the urban distinction altogether.

Paragraph 11.

14. The Punjab Government has above expressed its views on the enfranchisement of women and is not in favour of any of the schemes proposed in paragraph 12. As regards the number of women that would be enfranchised under A, as proposed, the Punjab Government observes that in rural areas the only women enfranchised in any numbers are the widows of landowners. These number on the existing roll about 22,000 out of 350,000 or 7 per cent. Applying this percentage to the 1,398,000 landowners which it is proposed to enfranchise the number would be 98,000. In towns 1,000 may be added to the existing electorate of 2,000.

Paragraph 12.

15. As regards the numbers that would be enfranchised by taking the wives and widows of various classes, it has been calculated that for every 100 adult males there are 65 widows and wives of the age of 21 and upward. The Punjab Government has proposed that if there is direct election to the Federal Assembly, the existing qualification for the Assembly should be retained. The wives and widows would give about 52,000. As to the number of wives and widows which would be enfranchised on double the proposed property qualification, the number of landowners, paying Rs. 10 and upwards is 880,000 and of tenants of 12 irrigated acres and upwards is 177,000. Sixty-five per cent. of 1,057,000 is 697,000. It is not possible to make any calculation of the number in urban areas. The number that would be enfranchised under double the existing property qualification is not known. But the Provincial Franchise Committee has calculated the number of wives and widows that would be enfranchised under the existing property qualification.

16. The Punjab Government is in favour of a woman's property qualification for franchise. Women if qualified as voters could stand for election: and the position should continue until altered by the action of the Provincial Legislature.

Paragraph 13.

17. The Punjab Government considers that the tribes to be regarded as untouchables should be those selected under the orders of the Census Commissioner, namely, the following:—

Paragraph 14.

(*a*) Ad-Dharmis of all classes;

(*b*) Hindu castes as noted below :—

(1) Bawaria.
(2) Chamar.
(3) Chuhra.
(4) Dagi and Koli.
(5) Dumna.
(6) Megh.
(7) Od.
(8) Ramdasi.
(9) Sansi.
(10) Sarera.

Their total number being 1,310,709.

The Punjab Government has no information as to the number of these classes elected or appointed to local bodies. Enquiries are being made, but will take a long time to complete. The Punjab Government, however, believes the number to be negligible.

The Punjab Government believes that the figure of 2·8 million referred to in the Simon Commission Report, was taken from the Quinquennial Report on the Progress of Education from 1912 to 1917. These figures were not supplied by the Punjab Government to the Simon Commission, and are believed to have been based on somewhat misleading extracts from the Census Report of 1911. A copy of letter No. 14111-L. S.-G., dated the 13th of April 1929, to the Deputy Secretary, Indian Central Committee, is the basis of paragraph 25 of the memorandum containing the opinion of official members of Government on the recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission (Annexure 4*).

18. It has already been stated that at least 441,000 of the landowners and tenants which it is proposed to enfranchise belong to other than agricultural tribes. The Provincial Committee has suggested that as many as 150,000 out of the 250,000 " other " voters belong to this class. But it is quite impossible to say how many of this number of non-agricultural tribes belong to the depressed classes. All that can be said is that some are tenants and some have a military qualification for the non-combatant branches of the service, but that it is probable that the greater number consist of members of the superior menial tribes and of tribes which though not notified as agricultural do in certain localities practice agriculture.

19. The Punjab Government is not in favour of any of the proposals for the enfranchisement of the depressed classes given in paragraph 15. Some of these classes will secure representation, as already explained, through the extension of the franchise.

Paragraph 15.

20. Statements are given as Annexures 5 and 6†. A great proportion of factories are seasonal ginning factories distributed all over the Punjab. If labour

Paragraph 16.

* Page 55. † Page 57.

gets representation (and the Punjab Government advises one seat) it is considered that a special electorate should be created composed of the factory population receiving wages above a certain figure and employed continuously for a certain minimum time.

Paragraph 17.

21. The Punjab Government has nothing to add to its previous views on the subject of representation of special interests. If seats are provided for special constituencies for landlords, the Tumandar's seats should be kept, as one of them. It is also desirable to retain this seat on political grounds. It is desirable that special constituencies should not affect the balance of communal representation. If there is a second Chamber all the special interests should be represented in the Upper and not the Lower House.

Paragraph 18.

22. In fixing the size of the Legislature, the question of *expense* is a very important consideration—buildings, salaries (if these are to be given), travelling allowance, Secretariat, etc., all increase with the size of the Legislature; and the more constituencies the greater will be the expense of conducting general and bye-elections. Another consideration which has already been urged is the limit of the number of persons who are both qualified to it as legislators and have the time at their disposal. The Punjab Government in view of these considerations puts the number at 150.

Paragraph 19.

23. Two of the Members and Ministers think it would be preferable to have a block of seats reserved for the more sober element of the population in a single Chamber rather than in an Upper House. Two would prefer an Upper House. In theory the official members of Government are in favour of an Upper House as a controlling and sobering influence but they consider that in this province it would be difficult to constitute and the Lower House would *pro tanto* deteriorate in material.

Paragraph 20.

24. The Punjab Government adhere to its view that the franchise qualification of the Upper and Lower Houses of the Federal Legislature should be the existing qualifications respectively for the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly and they find no reason to alter their opinion in favour of indirect election for the Lower House. Election to the Upper House should, in their opinion, be direct.

Paragraph 21.

25. The Punjab Government continue to favour the admission of women to the Federal Assembly through the property qualification only to be exercised on the same terms as men.

Paragraph 22.

26. The Punjab Government is strongly in favour of an adequate representation of labour in both Houses of the Federal Legislature and also favours special representation for Commerce and Europeans.

Paragraph 23.

27. The Punjab Government holds no strong views, but on the whole favours a literacy qualification.

ANNEXURE 1.

(1) Rural—	*Plan A.*
Rural population	21,330,000
Existing rural voters	601,000
Proposals.	
Land-owners paying Rs. 25 and upwards ..	350,000
,, ,, from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 ..	103,000
,, ,, ,, ,, 15 to Rs. 20 ..	158,000
,, ,, ,, ,, 10 to Rs. 15 ..	269,000
,, ,, ,, ,, 5 to Rs. 10 ..	518,000
Total landowners	1,398,000
Tenants holding more than 24 acres irrigated or 48 acres unirrigated.	42,000
Tenants holding more than 18 and 36 and less than above.	37,000
,, ,, ,, 12 and 24 ,, ,,	98,000
,, ,, ,, 6 and 12 ,, ,,	230,000
Total tenants.. ..	407,000
Voters other than landowners or owners on the present register.	251,000
Total Rural Voters	2,056,000
(2) Urban—	
Urban population	2,251,000
Existing urban voters	144,000
Proposal.	
Existing voters	144,000
Add by lowering tenancy qualification if necessary.	81,000
	225,000
(2) Total proposed electorate ..	2,281,000

Note.—There is a slight statistical readjustment made as compared with the Plan A originally published (*vide* page 37). Detailed statistics of the present register exist for 1926 since when the roll has risen by 30,000. For statistical convenience these have been assigned to "others" instead of to landowners.

ANNEXURE 2.

Distribution by Communities of Voters in Plan A.*

	Total.	Muhammadans.	Non-Muhammadans.	Sikhs.
(1) RURAL.				
Land-owners paying Rs. 25 and upwards	350,000	169,000	76,000	105,000
" " " from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25	103,000	47,000	27,000	29,000
" " " " 15 " 20	158,000	72,000	42,000	44,000
" " " " 10 " 15	269,000	126,000	75,000	68,000
" " " " 5 " 10	518,000	258,000	152,000	108,000
Total landowners ..	1,398,000	672,000	372,000	354,000
Tenants holding more than 24 acres irrigated or 48 acres unirrigated.	42,000	32,000	5,000	5,000
Tenants holding more than 18 and 36..	37,000	28,000	5,000	4,000
" " " " 12 " 24..	98,000	72,000	15,000	11,000
" " " " 6 " 12..	230,000	158,000	44,000	28,000
Total of tenants ..	407,000	290,000 70%	69,000 17%	48,000 13%
Existing "other" voters (distribution partly by estimate).	251,000	107,000	85,000	59,000
Total rural voters ..	2,056,000	1,069,000	526,000	461,000
(2) URBAN.				
Existing voters	144,000	58,000	74,000	12,000
Added (estimate)	81,000	33,000	43,000	5,000
Total ..	225,000	91,000	117,000	17,000

* Printed at page 37.

ANNEXURE 3.

Estimated cost of Election.

		Rs.
Total population	23,580,852	
10 per cent. to be enfranchised in round figures	2,360,000	
*Cost on the preparation of electoral rolls for the extended franchise (honoraria to patwaris, moharrirs and others)		1,50,000
Average of electors assigned per polling station (for Council)	750	
For each one lakh electors the number of polling stations will be about	133	
Cost per polling station is about Rs. 60.		
Total cost on polling stations for one lakh electors		8,000
Printing and reprinting of electoral rolls at the rate of Re. 1 each per 40 names for one lakh		2,500
Total cost per one lakh electors		10,500
Total cost on the number to be enfranchised on account of printing of rolls and polling arrangements		2,47,800
Printing of ballot papers and other election papers with cost of paper at Rs. 1,000 per one lakh electors		23,600
Staff—		
Reforms officers	36,000	
6 Officers	24,000	
29 District Electoral Officers at Rs. 50 each (allowance)	17,400	
		77,400
Superintendent at Rs. 250	3,000	
Assistant at Rs. 150	1,800	
Accountant at Rs. 150	1,800	
Stenographer at Rs. 100	1,200	
1 Clerk at Rs. 75	900	
3 Clerks at Rs. 30	1,080	
12 peons	2,016	
1 Daftri	240	
		12,036
29 Kanungos at Rs. 40 each+Rs. 15 Lahore Allowance for 5 months	16,095	
29 Moharrirs at Rs. 25 each+Rs. 10 Lahore Allowance for 5 months	10,150	
Naib-Tahsildar for Lahore and Amritsar Urban at Rs. 120	1,440	
100 Registration Moharrirs	7,500	
40 Supervisors	3,600	
Temporary staff for proof reading (2 additional Moharrirs for 3 months, *i.e.*, 58) ..	4,350	
		43,135
Travelling Allowance	30,000	
Contingencies	40,000	
Stationery	10,000	
		80,000
For rounding		29
GRAND TOTAL ..		6,34,000

*On present basis cost on about 8 lakhs voters is Rs. 1 lakh.

ANNEXURE 4.

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, PUNJAB, TRANSFERRED DEPARTMENTS, TO THE DEPUTY SECRETARY, INDIAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE, No. 14111-L.S.G., DATED THE 13TH APRIL 1929.

In reply to your letter No. 150, dated the 24th January 1929, I am directed by the Governor in Council to say that the figures both for depressed classes and for criminal tribes quoted in the Quinquennial Report on the Progress of Education for 1912-17 are based on somewhat misleading extracts from the Census return for the Punjab in the year 1911.

2. With regard to the depressed classes it is observed that the figures refer to the following ten classes only, the figures shown against each being, except in the case of Ramdasias, the result of adding the total figures for males and females shown against " British Territory " in the Punjab at the head of Table XIII of Volume XIV, Part II, or the report of the Census of India 1911 :—

Tribe or caste.	Number in Quinquennial Report 1912-17 and in Census Report for 1911.	Numbers as in Census Report for 1921.
Megh	40,313	31,157
Od	28,611	25,515
Chamar	854,530	848,265
Ramdasia	167,623	10,777
Mazhbi	19,878	61,597
Dhobi	138,885	150,290
Mahtam	68,396	83,142
*Marchec	1,273	535
Ghosi	2,800	264
†Sweeper	785,284	600,901
Total ..	2,107,293	1,812,443

As regards Ramdasias a class of Sikhs, these do not appear as a caste or tribe in Census Table XIII, and it is not known on what data the figure of 167,623 for 1911 was based, the corresponding figure for 1921 taken from paragraph 104 of Volume XV, Part I, being so much lower.

For purpose of comparison the figures from Table XIII of Volume XV, Part II, of the Census Report for 1921 have been shown also, and it will be seen that, omitting Ramdasias as to whom there must be some mistake, the nine classes which totalled 1,938,670 in the Census of 1911 now total 1,801,766.

*(Marija or Marecha). †(Chuhra).

The difficulty in dealing with a matter of this kind is that in the Punjab there is no clearly defined line separating the depressed classes from the rest of the population. Of the classes referred to in the Quinquennial Report on the Progress of Education in India (1912-17) Ods are not generally regarded in this province as a depressed class in the sense of being untouchables, but are regarded on the same level as other labouring classes. Meghs are now being "purified" and consider themselves of equal status with other castes. Dhobis are neither a depressed class nor untouchables. In the case of Chamars and Chuhras (sweepers) it is the profession rather than the faith that creates the class and those who become agricultural labourers and work at sugar making and as cultivators of land are like other agricultural labourers.

3. Of the castes and tribes given in Table XIII of Volume XV, Part I, of the Census Report for 1921, the following classes may by some be regarded as depressed classes :—

Depressed Classes.

	No. in 1921.		*No. in 1921.*
Bangali	815	Khatik	23,888
Banjara	5,404	Kori	12,558
Barar	2,324	Mahtam	83,142
Bawaria (Baoria) ..	21,272	Mazhabi	61,597
Bazigar	26,010	Megh	31,257
Bhanjra	2,312	Nat	4,197
Chamar	848,265	Pasi	1,872
Chanal	1,026	Perna	1,299
Chuhra	600,901	Rihar (Rehara) ..	203
Dagi and Koli	40,917	Saiqalgar	1,345
Daoli (Doala)	930	Sansi	26,936
Dhanak	61,796	Sapela	1,057
Dumna (Domra) ..	19,061	Sarera	9,346
Gagra	1,992	Sirkiband	3,629
Gandhiala	767	And possibly also Labanas.	48,988
Gedri	17		
Kehal	305	Total ..	1,945,441

It will be seen that the total figure for these classes is not greatly dissimilar to the tota' worked out in a different manner in Appendix XIII to the Quinquennial Report. It should, however, be noted that of this figure of 1,945,441 Chuhras and Chamars, who may be regarded as forming the bulk of the depressed classes, amount to 1,469,166. Meghs on purification are getting out of this class, and Mahtams engage in agriculture also.

Furthermore the above list includes certain criminal tribes such as Sansis, Bawarias and Bazigars, who on reclamation are taking their place with other classes and are not regarded as depressed, so that the lists in some cases overlap. It is therefore extremely difficult to say that there are any untouchables other than those who are so regarded on account of the profession or work they are engaged in.

ANNEXURE 5.

Statement showing operatives employed in registered factories in the Punjab.

——	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
Total number	(52,648)	(50,888)	(51,613)	(49,875)	(49,549)	(44,729)
North-Western Railway Workshops.	13,829	12,476	12,125	10,935	10,648	9,826
Woollen Mills, Dhariwal ..	1,314	1,378	886	1,309	846	1,188
Seasonal Factories—						
(1) Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories.	20,950	20,428	21,335	20,255	19,835	17,296
(2) Others, Ice Factories and Tea Plantations.	768	521	556	505	540	459
Attock Oil Company (Refinery).	483	496	582	694	451	325

ANNEXURE 6.

Statement showing the trade unions registered in the Punjab.

——	1927-28.	1928-29.	1929-30.	1930-31.	Existing.
Total number of unions on the Register at the end of the year.	6	13	16	19	23
Unions registered during the year.	6	7	6	6	7
Certificates cancelled during the year.	..	..	3	3	3
Membership at the close of each year.	5,799 (6 unions).	14,507 (10 unions). Returns of three not received.	26,318 (12 unions). Returns of four not received.	9,931 (15 unions). Returns of four not received.	Information not available as the reports for 1931-32 are due at the end of July next.

NOTE.—There are in addition to the above three federations registered in 1928-29 in which there has been no change.

V (i).—Note by the Hon'ble Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Kt., Minister for Agriculture in the Punjab Government.

The Group System.

It is impossible to evade reality. The Prime Minister rightly holds that responsibility could only be transferred to the people as a whole and all sections of the population should find an adequate representation.

The trend of opinions in the Punjab has been influenced more by considerations of communal representation than by any endeavour to create a self-governing constitution which would secure a stable and just government for all. It is somehow sub-consciously held that an outside power will still continue to impose its will and secure stability and good government. The Franchise Committee in drawing pointed attention to the real problem affords another opportunity to revise our views and to visualise the objective, which is none other than forming a representative, stable and responsible Government on British model, which Balfour called the Cabinet System in contra-distinction to Presidential System.

It seems inevitable that franchise qualifications will be lowered to afford representation to about 10 per cent. of our population, creating invidious distinctions between various classes and communities, and the next step will undoubtedly enfranchise whole of our adult male and female population. The question is whether it would not be more in the interest of the province and afford a fairer representation to the whole of our population if the Group System, or the "House-hold System" was accepted. The forming of primaries does not present such insurmountable difficulties as is imagined, but it may require time and preparation; and we can easily begin with the House-hold System, which would provide a rough and ready method, and would be in keeping with the traditions of the country. It will amount to giving every household, irrespective of its numbers, the right to select a single representative, male or female to exercise the vote for the whole family. It will not present any administrative difficulties and would provide an equal basis for both male and female voters. Its defects are obvious, but it can serve as a training ground for forming primaries.

I am strongly of opinion that common electorates with some kind of Group System are absolutely essential, if "efficient parts" are to be provided in the constitution, otherwise the change in the form of government may in fact hasten revolution disguised under a constitutional procedure.

Second Chamber.

The Punjab's decision to have a single chamber was based on the assumption that franchise qualification will remain high and that an adequate representation of the vested and special interests will be provided in the single house itself. This will not be possible now. I have no hesitation in expressing my opinion that the Punjab requires a second chamber. It may dispense with it afterwards, but it would be wise to

begin provincial autonomy with it. My official colleagues are in agreement with me in theory, but foresee difficulties. I have little doubt that opinion would have veered round in favour of a second chamber. If there was time enough to disperse preconcieved acceptances. I am sure we all agree that we must mobilise all our wisdom and experience and responsibility if we are to work the new constitution with success. This we can only do if we have a second chamber.

The election to the Upper House should be from a joint electorate. The desire of communities for adequate representation can be met by reservation of seats. I would recommend a small house of 50 members.

I would draw from the following constituencies :—

5 retired Ministers and Presidents in their own right.

15 Members from a constituency of retired high officials, such as Executive Counsellors, Ministers, High Court Judges, Sessions Judges, Deputy Commissioners, Chief and Superintending Engineers.

12 Landholders.

6 from University constituency.

6 from Industrial constituency.

6 from Commerce constituency.

VI

Memorandum by the Punjab Provincial Franchise Committee in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire* of the Indian Franchise Committee.

1. The proposal which finally commends itself to the Provincial Committee is the extension of the direct franchise on the lines of the plan "A"† proposed in its first recommendations subject to the following modifications which are embodied in the enclosed plan "D"‡ :— Paragraph 2.

(1) The reduction of the qualification represented by the ownership of immoveable property not assessed to land revenue from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 2,000 in urban areas and Rs. 1,000 in rural areas ;

(2) The enfranchisement of the wives and widows of the male voters under the present franchise ;

(3) The reduction of the limit of income-tax assessment from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 1,000 operates, the Committee observes, as an automatic extension of the franchise ;

(4) While no decision was reached on the literacy qualification some members strongly pressed for literacy qualification for women. In view, however, of the absence of a unanimous decision this has not been included in the statistical table giving the result of the proposal which is appended to this report as plan "D"‡. The numbers would not be large.

Plan "D" gives enfranchisement on the property qualification in rural areas as follows :—

Landowners	1,398,000
Tenants	407,000
Persons other than landowners at present exercising the franchise	251,000
Persons admitted by the lower income-tax and house property qualifications	50,000
Total ..	2,106,000

Of these it may be assumed that 98,000 will be women. This estimate is based on the assumption that the only women who exercise the present franchise to any appreciable extent are the widows of landowners. The present register of 22,000 rural voters is 7 per cent. of the landowners, and thus figures applied to 1,398,000 gives 98,000.

Pandit Nanak Chand records his dissent§ from these proposals as giving overwhelming predominance to the agricultural tribes and landowning classes, and placing the landless class and non-agricultural tribes at their mercy, especially when the landless classes are debarred from improving their status by acquiring property under the land laws of the

* Page 40. † Page 37. ‡ Page 65. § Page 66.

Punjab. He proposed a franchise based (*a*) on a literacy qualification, (*b*) on possession of a civil pension, and (*c*) on possession of Government securities of Rs. 1,000.

(A slight variation between these figures and those of plan "A"* as previously published may be explained here. In the last register there is an increase of 30,000 on the figures of 1926 on which our statistics are based. In plan "A" these were added to landowners but it is more convenient for statistical purposes to add them to others.)

2. As regards wives and widows a calculation based (*a*) on the percentage of unmarried adults and (*b*) on the age of distribution to married women from the 1921 Census makes it appear that for every 100 adult males there will be 65 wives and widows of the age of 21 and upwards. The wives and widows of 579,000 male voters on the present register will give 376,000 female voters.

3. A reference to the statement† giving the number of owners and tenants of each community appended to the provisional views of the Punjab Government shows that out of 3,198,000 adult landlords 2,666,000 belong to agricultural tribes and 532,000 to other classes of the community. Therefore the proportion of landowners belonging to other than agriculturists is 17 per cent. Applying this figure to 1,398,000 landowners we find that out of the landowners franchised 238,000 belong to those classes. Again out of 407,000 tenants it is believed that not less than half belong to persons other than members of agricultural tribes, as tenancy is frequently taken by village menials including the lowest class such as Chuhras and Chumars. This gives 203,000. Of the 251,000 persons described as other than land revenue payers in the existing electorate the Committee observes that a certain proportion is to be accounted for by income-tax payers and owners of house property. Also out of the persons enjoying the soldier qualification a large number belong to the non-combatant branches of the service which are largely filled by persons not belonging to agricultural tribes. The Committee estimates that 150,000 out of the whole number of 251,000 belong to non-agricultural tribes.

4. Finally the 50,000 voters which are expected to be added by the Lower House and income-tax qualifications are attributed entirely to non-agricultural tribes. The result is that out of the total of 2,106,000 male voters it is expected that not less than 641,000 belong to persons other than agricultural tribes.

5. The Committee has considered whether this number could not be increased by enfranchising persons paying the local taxes levied under the name of Haisiyat tax, or profession tax, on persons in rural areas whose income is derived otherwise than from agriculture. With two dissentients they are against this proposal chiefly on the constitutional grounds that it would place in the power of local bodies the right of extending or restricting the franchise and also because its incidence differs from district to district. The dissentients represent that these taxes are the only way of enfranchising the village shop-keeper and the superior artizen and menial classes. They are not in favour of using the

* Page 37. † Page 24.

Chaukidari tax as a basis for the franchise largely on the ground that the classes which it is proposed to benefit are very generally exempted from payment. They observe that the total number of voters on the District Board register is 1,306,000, which approximates closely to the number which they propose to franchise on the landowners' vote alone, the limit of Rs. 5 land revenue being the same in both cases.

6. With the addition of the female voters the total proposed electorate in rural areas under plan "D" amounts to 2,482,000, being 11·7 per cent. of the total rural population. Applying the same percentage to the urban population 2,251,000 it will be necessary that the electorate should be 263,000, giving an increase of 119,000 over the existing electorate of 144,000. Of this surplus 92,000 will be accounted for by wives and widows of those holding the vote at present and the remainder by voters who will be brought in by reducing the house property qualification to Rs. 2,000 in towns and by the reduction of the income-tax limit. It is therefore unnecessary to propose any other modification in the franchise in urban areas.

7. These proposals must be read subject to the protest by Mrs. Chatterji* against applying a different property qualification to men and women. The Committee have sympathetically considered this protest but their view is that if franchise were given to women on equal terms with men it will be necessary to restrict the limits of property qualification and that by doing so they would be seriously affecting the non-proprietary and inferior classes represented most strongly in the lower grades both of land revenue payers and particularly of tenants. Moreover, they consider that enfranchisement of 468,000 women in addition to the 98,000 property holders in rural areas, and some in towns is a very great advance which is as much as the rural constituencies can assimilate at a single step and which carries within it the potency of future extension.

8. It will be observed from what has preceded that the Committee has, in view of the administrative difficulties that have been advanced in the course of discussion, for the time being reluctantly abandoned the group system. But were it not for these difficulties they would be strongly inclined to this system on its merits in one form or another. In no circumstances are they in favour of the suggestion that the group system should be applied on a household basis. It would operate unfairly in the case of large joint Hindu families and would entail domiciliary enquiries which might be resented.

Paragraphs 3 and 4.

9. Without going into details the Committee considers that the 11·7 per cent. of the population which it proposes to enfranchise approaches the maximum of what is administratively workable at the present stage.

Paragraph 4.

10. The Committee observes that in rural areas out of an adult male population of 6,500,000, 2,000,000 are enfranchised leaving un-enfranchised 4,500,000. It desires in the first place to lay great stress on the fact that no adult owns land or pays revenue during his father's life-time, therefore

Paragraph 7.

* Page 78.

each voter on the landowners qualification represents on an average at least 2 adult males besides himself. Similarly the owners and tenants commonly though not so universally work with their father and are not returned separately as tenants. If it is assumed that each of the 407,000 voters represents on an average 1·5 sons we get a further addition of 610,000, and it will appear that out of the 4,500,000 adult males not enfranchised some 3,500,000 are indirectly enfranchised through the heads of their families.

Paragraph 10.

11. The Provincial Committee is definitely opposed to multi-member constituencies. They consider that any form of proportional representation would be quite unworkable owing to the fact that it cannot be readily explained, while as regards the single non-transferable vote they consider that as applied to large numbers over any considerable area it postulates a party organization which does not exist.

Paragraph 11.

12. The Committee is unable unanimously to support any departure from the system under which towns with a population of over 10,000 are grouped together. Some are inclined to support a lower limit of 5,000, while two would like to have only cities with a population of over one lakh classed as urban and the rest merged in territorial constituencies.

Paragraphs 12 and 13.

13. The question of enfranchisement of women has already been dealt with, and the final view of the Provincial Committee, subject to the note of disagreement of Mrs. Chatterji above mentioned, is that all that can be done as a first step is the enfranchisement of 468,000 women as the wives and widows of those holding the existing qualifications in addition to those holding the property qualification itself who will be over 100,000. Mrs. Chatterji also presses for a literacy qualification for women not otherwise enfranchised which some members support on the ground that it gives the vote to a class which is very capable of exercising it.

14. The Committee has not been able to recommend any proposal for bringing a small number of women to the Council. A proposal by Mrs. Chatterji is appended*.

Paragraph 14.

15. A majority of the members of the Committee is of the opinion that only Chuhras and Chumars can be regarded in the Punjab as in any sense untouchables, while Mr. Ghani and Mr. Hansraj adhere to the lists given respectively in Mr. Ghani's memorandum and that of the Punjab Ad-Dharm Mandal. The Committee is unable to give even an approximate estimate of the number of depressed classes who will come on the electoral roll under their proposal, but they observe that a very considerable number of tenants and persons holding a military qualification from the non-combatant branches of the service will belong to this class. They have not as a whole been able to support any scheme for the enfranchisement of the depressed classes by the group system, and, having in view their recommendations for the enfranchisement of labour, consider that their propsals represent all that can be done at the present stage.

* Page 65.

Paragraphs 16 and 17.

16. With regard to the representation of labour, the Committee is unable to say to what extent industrial workers will come on the electoral roll, but does not consider that it will be able to secure representation in general constituencies. They recommend with one dissentient that representation of labour should be secured by three seats, two representing unorganized urban labour through special constituencies and one representing registered trade unions. The Committee is unable to arrive at any unanimous opinion on the subject of representation of special interests. They recommend representation for landowners with two dissentients and for Tumandars with three dissentients. A minority of 4 recommend representation of University and 3 for the special representation of industry and commerce.

Paragraph 18.

17. The Committee recommends that there should be in the neighbourhood of 200 seats in the provincial legislature.

Paragraph 19.

18. The Committee is opposed to a second chamber.

Paragraph 20.

19. The Committee is divided in opinion as to whether there should be direct or indirect election for the Assembly, some being convinced by the argument in favour of direct election that it is the Assembly which should represent the nation. They are unanimous in considering that if election to the Assembly is direct it should be indirect in the Council and *vice versa*. If there is direct voting for the Assembly they consider that the existing franchise to the Council should be applied with wives and widows, though some members desire to point out the difficulty involved in canvassing so large an electorate. If there is direct voting for the Council of State it was agreed that the existing Assembly vote *plus* wives and widows should be adopted. But the same difficulty of the size of constituencies is pointed out.

Paragraph 21.

20. The Committee is in favour of special representation of women in the Federal Assembly.

Paragraph 22.

21. It is agreed that the following institutions should be represented each by one seat in the Federal Legislature :—

Commerce and Industry, Labour, Landowners.

Paragraph 23.

22. The Committee was in favour of literacy qualification both for the Provincial Council and the Federal Assembly.

23. The Committee had not before it in its final deliberations its previous proposal for extension of the existing military service qualifications so as to include services in the Indian Auxiliary Force and the Indian Territorial Force. This proposal did not form any part of Plan D* as envisaged in the final proposals, and the Committee has not made any recommendations as to details. It may be understood as not having withdrawn its general recommendation.

* Page 65.

The Representation and Election of Women to the Councils.

Proposed by Mrs. Chatterjee, Member, Provincial Franchise Committee.

I suggest 5 per cent. of the total number of seats should be reserved for women.

To fill these 5 per cent. special seats I propose as suggested in the I. F. C. circular* Note E.-285-Bom., under (*b*) 4 and 3, *i.e.*, the general constituency of the following six towns namely Lahore, Amritsar, Ambala, Jullundur, Rawalpindi and Multan, "should be required to elect one woman representative in addition to their ordinary allotted number of Council representatives". The remaining seats to be filled in by (*b*) 3, *i.e.*, "women candidates polling the highest number of votes in a general constituency".

Plan D.

(1) *Rural*—	
Rural population	21,330,000
Existing rural voters	601,000
Proposals—	
Land-owners paying Rs. 25 and upwards	350,000
,, ,, ,, from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 ..	103,000
,, ,, ,, ,, Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 ..	158,000
,, ,, ,, ,, Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 ..	269,000
,, ,, ,, ,, Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 ..	518,000
Total land-owners	1,398,000
Tenants holding more than 24 acres irrigated or 48 acres unirrigated.	42,000
,, ,, ,, ,, 18 and 36 and less than the above.	37,000
,, ,, ,, ,, 12 and 24 ..	98,000
,, ,, ,, ,, 6 and 12 ..	230,000
Total tenants	407,000
By lower house and income-tax qualification ..	50,000
Voters other than land-owners on the present register.	251,000
Wives and widows	376.000
Total rural voters	2,482.000
(2) *Urban*—	
Urban population	2,251,000
Existing urban voters	144,000
Proposals—	
Existing voters	144,000
By wives, widows and lowered income tax and house qualifications.	119,000
	263,000
Total proposed electorates	2,745,000

*Page 114, Vol. II.

VI

(i) Minute of dissent by Pandit Nanak Chand, M.A. (Oxon.), M.L.C., Bar-at-Law, Member, Punjab Provincial Franchise Committee, along with Plans M and N* submitted for the consideration of the Franchise Committee.

I regret very much that I have to write a dissenting note, the proposals of the majority of the Punjab Provincial Franchise Committee being unacceptable to me on most of the important points. As a matter of fact, it was a foregone conclusion, that the committee as a whole will not accept any proposal for widening the electorate on the lines suggested by the Indian Franchise Committee. In their note† headed "Points for further consideration by the Government of the Punjab and the Punjab Provincial Committee" the Indian Franchise Committee drew the attention of the Provincial Committee to the Prime Minister's letter which insists that the electorate should be widened so that it should be representative of the general mass of the population and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinions. The Franchise Committee, therefore, pointed out that the claims of the following classes should be carefully considered:—(*a*) Women, (*b*) Depressed classes, (*c*) Industrial workers or the landless labourers, (*d*) the non-agricultural tribes or castes of the Punjab.

It is regretted that the majority of the Provincial Committee was in no mood to listen to the widening of the electorate on the line suggested above. In fact, their final proposals do not materially differ from Plan (A), submitted by them in the first instance, excepting in the case of (*a*) women. Here, too, the franchise is to be so extended that the class which has already got predominant share should be further strengthened by enfranchising those women who are the wives of the existing qualified voters and it is notorious that the present qualifications are extremely favourable to the land-owning classes or the members of the agricultural tribes.

Plan (A) and Plan (D)‡ compared.

The various classes enfranchised under plan (A) and plan (D) may be separately considered.

(*a*) *Land-owners.*—Under both the plans, land-owners paying land revenue from Rs. 5 upward are to be enfranchised. Their number comes to 1,398,000, that is to say, the present voters under this head number 350,000 and the land-owners who will be enfranchised under the two schemes number 1,048,000. It is estimated that only 17 per cent. of these people will be the members of the non-agricultural tribes. Thus their number will not be more than 237,660. This figure has been accepted generally by the Government and the members of the Punjab Provincial Committee, though certain authorities place the total of the members of non-agricultural tribes at less than 16 per cent. of the total voters under this head. However for the purposes of calculation the higher figure may be adopted.

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* Pages 72 and 73 respectively. † Supplementary Questionnarie, page 40.

‡ Pages 37 and 65 respectively.

(*b*) *Tenants.*—Under both schemes, that is, Plan (A) and Plan (D) tenants of 6 acres or more have been enfranchised. Their total is given as 470,000. According to the majority of the Provincial Committee 50 per cent. of these tenants belong to the non-agricultural tribes. This estimate is entirely wrong. It is true that the percentage of the tenants of agricultural castes differs from district to district; in some districts of the Punjab the tenants may number up to 33 per cent. or slightly more of the tenants' class, but it must not be forgotten that there are several districts in the Punjab where the tenant's number from the non-agricultural class would be negligible. It has been estimated that tenants average from 7 per cent. to 33 per cent. in various districts. However giving a very generous allowance for the tenants of the non-agricultural tribes or castes their figure could not be more than 17 per cent. of the total number of tenants to be enfranchised. Allowing 17 per cent. which as I have said is a most generous estimate of their strength, the numbers of the tenants belonging to the non-agricultural tribes will be 69,109, but it is wrong to estimate the tenants belonging to these tribes at 50 per cent. of the total tenant's population, as has been done by the Provincial Committee of the Punjab.

(*c*) Persons falling under the category of " Others ":—

The figures given in Plan (A) are 221,000, while in Plan (D) they are estimated at 251,000. These are the people who have already been enfranchised under the old qualifications. The majority of these are enfranchised demobilised soldiers. 90 per cent. or more of this number belongs to the members of agricultural tribes, as non-agricultural tribes under convention adopted by the British Government are not taken into the Army. Mr. Jenkins, the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar also agrees that the majority of this vote is agricultural vote. The remaining persons are with house property qualifications or persons who pay income-tax. Very few agriculturists will fall under the category of income-tax-payers, while as the owners of the house property they might have good share of the voters. In no case the non-agriculturists under these qualifications named as " others " will be more than 100,000.

(4) Persons estimated to get franchise under " lower house property qualification ":—This number has been fixed at 50,000 and may not be disputed; but it must be stated that some agriculturists also will be enfranchised under this qualification too.

(5) *Women.*—Under Plan (D) the wives of the existing qualified voters have been given the right to vote and their number has been estimated at 396,000. It must be stated here once more that under this new head the wives of the members of the agricultural tribes will have a lion's share.

The total thus enfranchised under all heads amounts to 2,502,000. The non-agriculturists enfranchised would be 524,170. This is the most generous estimate which can be formed of the non-agricultural vote. This will give about 20 per cent. to the members of the non-agricultural tribes living in the rural areas while their population in rural areas is 47 per cent.; and will give 80 per cent. to the agricultural tribes; while their

population strength is 53 per cent. in rural areas. Thus it will be seen that there is a glaring disparity between the two classes enfranchised under Plan (D), *i.e.*, the final proposals of the Punjab Committee.

Injustice involved under Plan (D).*

Plan (D) is manifestly unjust and absurdly one sided, because:—

(*a*) It entirely ignores the Sikh Memorandum. In fact the Sikh Memorandum was not considered at all by the Punjab Provincial Committee in its sittings held on 6th and 7th of April 1932.

(*b*) So far as the non-agriculturists are concerned their case has been discussed above. They get not more than 20 per cent. representation while their population is 47 per cent. in rural areas.

(*c*) The Hindu point of view was placed before the Committee by me and proposal after proposal, put forward by me for including a certain class of people who would not otherwise get vote, was rejected without compunction. As a matter of fact the constitution of the Punjab Provincial Committee never inspired any confidence in the minds of the public, as the Committee was a nominated one. Except the Chairman the Hon'ble Mr. Miles Irving, the Financial Commissioner and the two members, who were added afterwards to represent the limited special interests from outside the Punjab Council, the Punjab Provincial Committee was mainly representative of members of the agricultural tribes or of the rural or zamindar party (otherwise called Nationalist—Unionist party) of the Punjab Legislative Council. It was, therefore, a foregone conclusion that its recommendations will not be substantially different from those which are embodied in the Plan (A)† and the points stated for further consideration by the Franchise Committee carried, therefore, no weight. In fact the subsequent discussions were utilised in making recommendations for strengthening the hold of the agricultural classes.

(*d*) The Chairman's suggestions, which are embodied under Plan (M)‡ and which were placed for consideration by him before the Committee on 7th April 1932, that is, the second or the last day of the sitting of the Committee after the departure of the Franchise Committee from Lahore, were also not accepted by the majority. These proposals embodied in the Plan (M) certainly take a fairly generous view of the claims of the various classes whose case was specially mentioned for further consideration by Lord Lothian's Committee. I will have to say a word or two later on with regard to the proposal of Mr. Miles Irving, our Chairman, *i.e.*, the proposals embodied in Plan (M).

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* Page 65. † Page 37. ‡ Page 72.

(*e*) The Punjab Provincial Committee did not take into consideration the very fair and remarkable evidence given by Mr. E. M. Jenkins, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, which impressed everybody on account of its clearness and fairness. Had these proposals been considered and due weight attached to these recommendations the final recommendations of the Committee would have been materially different from those made in Plan A or D.

(*f*) Haisiat tax or professional tax was suggested as a means of bringing in a number of those people who cannot otherwise get vote either under Plan (A) or Plan (D). The persons who come under this head are generally those members of the non-proprietary bodies in the rural areas who have got neither the right to acquire agricultural land or house property under the land laws of the Punjab. They represent substantially an intelligent class of village artisans, small traders, petty shopkeepers, village menials and other lower classes who otherwise cannot get vote under either the income-tax qualification which is too high or house property qualification which would be impossible for them to acquire under the special conditions of this province.

The majority rejected the haisiat tax or professional tax proposal on the most fanciful and illogical ground that they do not want to place the power of enfranchising and disfranchising the voters in the hands of the district boards, while under the proposals accepted by the majority will not object to the enfranchising and disfranchising of tenants by individual landlords ! It must not be forgotten that the persons who pay tax on incomes of four hundred or more are certainly in a better position to appreciate the political problems and the right of vote than a land-owner who pays land revenue from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15, and has an income ranging from 100 to 300 a year. Moreover, the professional tax could be made a provincial subject and could be regulated and realised in a more efficient manner than is being done at present. Even this argument did not appeal to the majority. The argument namely that the burden of taxation falls on the land-owners, they must, therefore, have a share far in excess of their population strength looses all its force when we remember that the members of the non-agricultural classes and of labouring, artisans and depressed classes are not under the law permitted to purchase land or house property, and thus improve their economic condition and political status. If the payment of land revenue is regarded as a burden surely those willing to share that burden must be permitted to do so and thus earn the right of vote. It must however not be forgotten that the local bodies, the provincial governments, and the Central Government are parts of the organic whole and therefore payment made to one of these must be regarded as payment made to the state as a whole.

(*g*) *The depressed class.*—The members of the backward classes no doubt will be enfranchised to a certain extent under the tenancy qualification

but their representation, as has been stated above, has been over-estimated. The non-agriculturists who will be enfranchised under the tenancy qualification will number not more than 17 per cent. The estimate made by the majority that 50 per cent. tenants will be agriculturists and 50 per cent. non-agriculturists is wrong and therefore misleading. The non-agriculturists will not get more than 17 per cent. The depressed classes will get only 10 per cent.

53 per cent. of the population of the rural areas consists of members of agriculturist tribes and 47 per cent. of members of non-agriculturist tribes. Under the recommendations made under Plan (D) the percentage will be 20 per cent. non-agriculturist. Thus it will be seen that the representation granted to the agricultural tribes and land-owning class is entirely disproportionate to their population strength in rural areas. The rule of the agricultural tribes and castes in the Punjab will become extremely oppressive, and land revenue and water rate the main sources of the provincial income will be constantly attacked in the Council and fresh burdens will be imposed on the shoulders of those who will find no representation or very inadequate representation under Plan (A) or Plan (D). [Kindly see Plan (M) and (N)* attached to this note for further consideration.]

Multi-member Constituencies.

In order to protect the minorities in the general communal electorates multi-member constituencies are essential. I disagree with the view of the majority that the present system of single member constituencies should be retained.

Points Nos. 6, 7 and 9.

It will be thus clear that the members of non-agricultural tribes, artisans, and members of non-proprietary body and the backward classes do not get adequate and fair representation in accordance with their population strength under Plan (D) or even under Plans (M) and (N). The " un-enfranchised residuum " should be enfranchised by group system, that is, by indirect voting as proposed by Mr. Jenkins. It will be unfair not to give the remaining people any right of vote. Plan (D) cannot be combined with indirect system as the percentage of electors will become over 15 per cent. but under plan M and N there would be still room for extension by group system, especially when the women could be enfranchised under the indirect system in a better way, the wives of the present electorate also coming in through the same door ; there would be a fair and equitable distribution of voting power amongst women also. As a matter of fact, there is no escape from the group system. The Government with proper expenditure of money could work the combined system and get good results. In fact the majority of our Committee, excepting one member, R. B. Ch. Chotu Ram, regarded this method as fair and just.

The extension of direct franchise in the manner suggested under Plan (D), as has already been stated leaves out large numbers of classes wholly unrepresented.

* Pages 72 and 73 respectively.

The communal percentages of voters will not present any disparity under either Plan (M) or Plan (N). The communities can be enfranchised in accordance with their population strength by resorting to the combined system if necessary.

Point No. 11.—I maintain very strongly that the division of town and country in the Punjab is most arbitrary, because towns above the population of 10,000 are in no way different from large villages. Landowners, traders, shop-keepers, artisans, manual labourers alike live in the town, the only difference is that the number of non-agriculturists is larger in the town than in the villages. This division of town and country does not work well as town constituencies are extremely extensive and the candidates find it difficult to keep in touch with their constituents. The rural areas find their full expression of public life in the district towns ; their district boards and municipalities which are bound up with the life of the rural areas, have their headquarters in the towns. They can on no reasonable ground be excluded from larger political life by separating them from the rural areas of which they are the headquarters.

Point No. 12.—I have already stated that women should be enfranchised through either the group system or the suggestions of the majority be adopted, and the remaining women be enfranchised through the group system. The groups of women may be larger than those of males so that they return the requisite number and no more.

Point No. 13.—At least 5 per cent. seats should be reserved for women who should come in through non-communal door. Selected areas both urban and rural should be made to return these 5 per cent. ladies to the legislature.

Points Nos. 14 and 15.—There is no depressed class problem in the Punjab and it is difficult to define these classes ; backward or economically depressed classes exist in all communities and they will find representation only if either of the Plan (M) or (N) is adopted ; group system may be resorted to for the balance.

I agree with the recommendation of the majority.

Point No. 16.—The majority wish to give labour 3 seats and recommend that Commerce, Industry and University should have no representation and if representation is allowed to Commerce, Industry and University, then big Landlords and Tumandars should also be represented. I submit that communal considerations should not be permitted to influence our decisions on these questions. Labour should get 2 seats, likewise 2 seats should be allowed to Commerce, Industry and University each. The graduates should retain their right of vote. The big landowners will find sufficient representation through general electorates. Tumandar constituency should be abolished as it consists of only 9 voters.

Federal or Legislative Assembly.

Election to this assembly should be direct and in no case indirect. indirect election through the Council will lead to bribery and corruption

and the public life of the Punjab will be ruined by adopting the indirect method. I am in favour of direct election to both the Imperial Legislatures but, if indirect election is to be resorted to, it should be resorted to in the case of the Upper Chamber and not for the Lower Chamber.

In the end I wish again to submit that Points Nos. 1 and 2 require very careful consideration and a system must be adopted which will bring all classes of people on the electoral roll and not one class of people only. Under the Plan (D) the rule of the land-owners will be established by giving them a predominant vote. The division of the Punjab population into two classes namely agricultural and non-agricultural based upon a person's birth in certain castes and not upon occupation is arbitrary. Property qualification will become disqualification for those who cannot under the law acquire property. In a democratic system caste distinctions for acquiring political and civil rights cannot be retained. And if retained persons of non-agricultural tribes should have representation in proportion to their population strength. While they are 50 per cent. in the Punjab, amongst the voters—both rural and urban—they will number only 24 per cent. if Plan (D) is adopted while in rural areas they will not be more than 20 per cent. only. Thus these classes of people will be entirely submerged and an oppressive class rule will be established which will be opposed to Prime Minister's instructions and opposed to all canons of justice.

Plan (M).

This was prepared by our Chairman, the Hon'ble Mr. Miles Irving, and was considered by the Punjab Committee on 7th April 1932 but was not accepted by the majority.

Land owners :—Land-revenue—			
	Rs. 25	.. .. ..	350,000
	Rs. 20	.. .. ..	103,000
	Rs. 15	.. .. ..	158,000
	Rs. 10	.. .. ..	269,000
		Total ..	880,000
Tenants : —	24 acres	.. .. ..	42,000
	18 acres	.. .. ..	37,000
	12 acres	.. .. ..	98,000
	6 acres	.. .. ..	230,000
		Total ..	407,000
Others			251,000
Lower house qualification			(100,000)
		(The figures actually accepted were)	50,000
Wives and widows of existing qualified voters ..			369,000
		Total ..	1,994,000

Non-proprietors: included by putting the tenant franchise lower than that of the land-lord and by the inclusion of haisiat or professional tax.

Note.—According to these proposals the total number enfranchised would be 1,994,000. Mr. Miles Irving included non-proprietors in the voters' list by making the tenant franchise lower than that permitted in the case of land-owners, and by including Haisiat and Professional tax, as one of the qualification for voters. These proposals as I have above stated were certainly fairer and more just than Plan (D). It would enfranchise a fairly large number of non-agricultural tribes and land-less classes and would have given the right of vote to some artisans, village menials, etc., etc. Percentage of the people thus enfranchised under the various qualifications would be about 75 per cent. agriculturists and 25 per cent. non-agriculturists in the rural areas. This proportion is in no way satisfactory to the non-agriculturists but is certainly more just and fair than the final proposal of the Provincial Committee. Disparity could be made up by resorting to group or indirect system with Plan (M), though Mr. Irving did not suggest group system to work with Plan (M).

Plan (N).

1. Land-owners paying land revenue—		
Rs. 25	350,000	
Rs. 20	103,000	
Rs. 15	158,000	
Total ..	611,000	611,000
2. Tenants cultivating—		
24 acres	42,000	
18 acres	37,000	
12 acres	98,000	
6 acres	230,000	407,000
3. Others (including soldiers' vote income-tax payers, Owners of small houses of the value of Rs. 4,000)		251,000
4. Professional or haisiat tax (persons who pay income-tax and persons who have Rs. 4,000 property qualified should not be counted as they pay this tax also) income-tax payers who also pay haisiat or professional tax ..		100,000
5. Owners of houses worth Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 4,000 (lower qualification than in No. 3 others) ..		50,000
*6. Persons who have deposited Rs. 1,000 in Government securities or in postal certificates ..		50,000
7. Matriculates and retired civil servants in rural areas		25,000
Total ..		1,494,000
8. The balance should be left for women who should come either through group system or as wives of qualified existing voters		396,000
Total ..		1,890,000

Notes :—

1. 17 per cent. of land-owners are non-agriculturists.
2. 17 per cent. to 30 per cent. tenants will be members of the non-agricultural or depressed castes in various districts. Figures differ from district to district. Average has been variously counted; many districts have few or no tenants. 17 per cent. tenants will belong to non-agriculturist classes.
3. Amongst "Others" soldiers predominate and they belong to agricultural tribes. The number of non-agriculturists cannot be placed above one hundred thousand.
4. Haisiat tax has been rejected by the majority, on fanciful grounds, that the district boards will possess the power of increasing or decreasing the voters, as if the land-lords cannot turn out tenants-at-will or take them in larger numbers. Professional tax is one of the best means of bringing persons on the electoral roll.

*6. In rural areas people who cannot buy house property or agricultural lands, and lay by money in postal certificates and Government securities. This will not be a money-lender's vote; as money-lenders lend money on interest to individuals. I have excluded them; but it will be easy to ascertain the investors of small capital in postal certificates and Government securities. This will substantially benefit the state also.

7. Matriculates and retired civil servants could be easily ascertained.

VI

(ii) Memorandum submitted to the Franchise Committee by Pandit Nanak Chand, M.A., M.L.C., Bar-at-Law, Advocate, High Court, Lahore.

No recommendations regarding the extension of Franchise in the Punjab could be regarded as sound or fair which ignore certain important features peculiar to the Punjab. These are intimately and vitally connected with the Franchise problem. Unless these features are understood in all their bearings, recommendation regarding the Franchise will work great injustice. An attempt has been made in the memorandum to explain the points peculiar to the Punjab.

I. The first important point to note is the almost feudal character of the Punjab village. The constitution of the Punjab village must therefore be thoroughly grasped. The village is sharply divided into the proprietary body and the non-proprietary body. The proprietary body is generally a brotherhood. Where blood ties have broken down the tie of the ownership of land still endures. The proprietary body is the owner not only of the agricultural land, but of the village habitation site, tanks, wells, graveyards, ponds, pastures for cattle and uncultivated waste. The non-proprietors on the other hand are occupancy tenants, tenants-at-will, kamins (menials) servants of the village, washermen, carpenters, blacksmiths, shopkeepers, artisians and others. These non-proprietors include men of all castes high and low. They have more or less restricted rights of user of pastures, tanks, etc., etc. The non-proprietors in most villages pay certain dues to the proprietary body which show that the proprietors are the feudal lords. The site on which the dwellings of the non-proprietors stand is the property of the proprietary body, and the residents are permitted to remove or sell the materials only. The effect of all these restrictions is to hold down in serfdom the non-proprietary body. The disputes regarding use of wells, of playing music in the village at the time of marriages, are disputes not between high caste Hindus and the untouchables but between the proprietors of the village and the non-proprietary body.

II. The second important feature to be noted is the arbitrary division of the Punjab population into two classes, the agricultural castes or tribes on the one side and the non-agricultural castes or tribes on the other. This division is not based upon a person's profession, or occupation but upon his birth in a particular caste. A person may change his religion but not his caste. The non-agricultural tribes are not permitted to purchase agricultural land from the agricultural tribes. Whatever may be said in defence of the Punjab Land Alienation Act under which this distinction has been created as an economic measure, it is certain that it becomes a source of political grievance when the Franchise is to be determined by a person's property qualification. The Act has created privileged castes which seek to rule the Punjab to their own exclusive advantage and hence the activity of the members of the privileged agricultural castes to bar the door on all others on one ground or another, to improve their status. But it needs no arguments to show that the Electoral Roll of a Democratic country should represent all classes and

interests. The agriculturists and the non-agriculturists in the Punjab are half and half. But amongst the Hindus the agriculturists are 25%, while non-agriculturists are 75%. The Electoral Roll of the various communities must reflect these two classes on their population basis. At least there should not be any glaring disparity. Otherwise it will not represent the picture truly and justly.

III. The Communal problem in the Punjab though not exclusively provincial is certainly a marked feature of our public life. The tension here has been very bitter and is responsible for indirect and under-hand methods of increasing the population strength of the contending communities.

IV. The depressed class problem here presents no difficulty. It should not be magnified beyond its legitimate sphere. Untouchability to some extent exists amongst sweepers who are actually engaged in unclean occupations and possess unclean habits. Occupation not caste is responsible for their social backwardness. But backward or economically depressed classes are the classes we mainly think of when we talk of the Depressed classes. Religious reformation was initiated by the Christian missionaries and Hindu reforming bodies long before people dreamt of democratic rule in India. The stride of reform during the past years has been tremendous. Any attempt to separate any of these classes or part of these classes will perpetuate their degradation and humiliation. The views of the Simon Commission on this point require very serious consideration at the hands of those who are interested in this problem. Keeping these main consideration in view I make the following recommendations :—

Recommendations.

The right of vote must be extended :—(1) to all owners of agricultural lands paying Rs. 15 or more as land revenue (2) to all Lambardars and Zaildars, (3) to all persons who pay an Income-tax or Haisiat tax or Professional tax, (4) to all owners of immoveable property upto the value of Rs. 1,000, in the case of rural areas, but in the case of cities above the population of 50,000 to owners of immoveable property of the value of Rs. 3,000 or more, (5) to all persons who draw a salary of Rs. 15 or more, (6) to all persons who have passed matriculation examination or its equivalent, (7) to all persons who receive pension from the Government whether from Civil or Military Department, (8) to all the employees of District Boards, Municipal Committees and Government Servants, (9) to all persons who pay house-rent of Rs. 72 annually, (10) to all occupancy tenants or crown tenants of lands assessed to annual land revenue of Rs. 15, (11) to all wage earners and agricultural labours who are willing to pay a hearth-tax of Rs. 2 per annum in order to earn the right of vote.

By accepting the proposals named above it will be possible to have all classes of people in sufficient numbers.

Women suffrage.

I am in favour of alloting 5 per cent. at least of the seats of the Council to them through special non-Communal Constituencies. It

should be open to them to contest other seats with men in the general constituencies if they so desire. All women who are literates must get the right to vote.

Representation of the Depressed Classes.

The Depressed classes will come in sufficiently large numbers on the Electoral Roll by the recommendations made above.

Representation of Labour.

After reconsidering my views in regard to the representation of special interests such as labour, commerce, industry and University, I am of opinion that they must find representation on the Council provided their non-Communal Character is retained.

The nature of the Constituency.

I believe in having territorial constituencies, and in ruling out the arbitrary division of urban and rural. There are no industrial towns excepting Lahore and Amritsar which may be classed as urban.

Composition of the Punjab Council.

The Punjab Council should consist of 250 members as recommended by the Statutory Commission. I believe that the enlargement of the Council will help to bring in really more capable men, who understand the value of Democratic institutions and their working. There should be a literary qualification for a candidate seeking election to the Council which should not be less than matriculation or its equivalent.

Legislative Assembly.

The election to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State must be direct as at present and not indirect.

In the end I submit that I am not opposed to a combination of direct voting system with an indirect voting system through group, provided :— (1) Amongst the direct voters persons paying Haisiat tax and matriculates are included and all other qualifications which exist at present are retained, (2) provided further the indirect system is declared to be administratively sound. I would here make another suggestion. In case this indirect system is adopted for the remaining population, the groups may be joint and common and secondaries may form joint or common constituencies for the returning of members to the Council and the direct voters forming separate electorates returning members of different communities through such separate electorates. The suggestion deserves consideration. Suggestion of a similar nature was made by Their Excellencies Sir Malcolm Hailey and Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency in their official memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission.

VI

(iii) Note by Mrs. Chatterji, Member, Punjab Provincial Franchise Committee.

Women's Franchise.

From the discussions which took place during the joint session of the Indian and Provincial Franchise Committees at Lahore it does not appear that any completely satisfactory policy has been evolved for the enfranchisement of women. While I have attempted to express my own views on this subject in the Provincial Committees memorandum, as well as during the discussions with the Indian Franchise Committee, it seems desirable to put these down in some fuller details in a separate note.

(*a*) If Adult Franchise is adopted, Direct or Indirect, women will come in on an equality with the men and the whole question will be solved. There is however little possibility of this being given effect to, in view of the administrative and other difficulties. The choice then narrows down to the two following—

(*a*) The Imperfect Group System.

(*b*) Direct franchise on a much lower property qualification.

(*b*) In the Imperfect Group System the balance of equality between men and women is greatly disturbed. The present property qualification will tend to maintain the disparity which already exists *i.e.*, 1 in 26 in the first half of the system. The application of the group system to the remainder will not help to adjust the balance and the feeling of the franchise having been extended on unequal basis, will remain. I would therefore press that the wives and widows of direct voters as well as all literate unmarried women should also be allowed to exercise the direct vote. If this system is so amended I would regard this as my second choice.

(*c*) Should the Imperfect System be considered unworkable and the direct system on lower property qualification finally accepted, it must be borne in mind that the franchise, if extended to women on the " wives and widows " qualification must be to the wives and widows of *all voters*.

The proposal to enfranchise the wives and widows of voters possessing a higher property qualification, introduces an invidious differentiation between the political rights of the two sexes, and is therefore wholly unacceptable.

I beg to submit that a certain property held in common by husband and wife, while for legal purposes is exclusively in the hands of the man, from the point of view of civic rights should confer the same benefits and privileges on the women, as it does on the man. As the Committee is already aware there is considerable feeling among the women against making their political rights contingent upon their relation to a man, but while this objection loses much of its force when it is conceded

that a certain property which enfranchises a man, enfranchises his wife also, it certainly has weight against the proposal requiring a higher qualification for the enfranchisement of wives.

If it is objected that this will greatly increase the number of voters of certain sections, I venture to suggest that if the franchise qualifications are sufficiently lowered this will confer no undue advantage upon any particular community to seriously disturb the proportion of their voters. Whatever disproportion does exist will be exactly the same which would result from the vote being confined to the men only. To illustrate my points, if in accordance with the property qualification five out of ten Hindus are enfranchised, and only four Muslims, by giving the vote to their wives the proportion of votes will still remain the same —assuming that both Hindu and Muslim voters are married.

I am anxious that the widows of voters should also be enfranchised. As is well known the widow's lot in India is extremely hard under the old traditional social system and the modern social reform movements are striving to improve their lot. If the widow is enfranchised, not only will it raise her social status, but it will also uphold the woman's right to equal citizenship.

These proposals have been objected to on the ground that these will enfranchise a very much larger number of the population then the 10 per cent. originally contemplated. This however, only results if the qualifications are so lowered as to *first* enfranchise 10 per cent. of the male population, and then the women are added to this number. It has now been verified that there are 65 wives and widows to every 100 men voters as at present on the register. In view of the excess of the male population over the female, there seems no reason why the wives and widows of *all voters* should not be enfranchised along with the insignificant number of unmarried literate women.

To summarize, on the question of franchise for women, my first choice is, Adult franchise Direct or Indirect. My second choice is the Imperfect Group System as amended in these proposals. If neither of these systems can be given effect to, I would then reluctantly accept the third alternative, but only with the additions I have suggested in his note.

There remains the question of the *representation* of women in the Council. My opinion is that whatever system of franchise may be adopted, it is extremely unlikely that in the beginning women will be fairly represented in the Council without special provision. I would therefore suggest that 5 per cent. of the total number of seats in the Council should be reserved for women. To fill these 5 per cent. special seats I propose as suggested in your Circular Note* E.-285-Bom., under (*b*) 4 and 3 *i.e.*, " that seats should be set apart for women in certain selected towns in the Punjab, the electorate for the purpose in each such area being the electorate men and women belonging to that area on the rolls of the general constituency who would have two votes one of which must be cast or the women candidates ". With regard to this proposal my

* Printed at page 114, Volume II.

suggestion is that the general constituency of the following six towns, namely, Lahore, Amritsar, Ambala, Jullundur, Rawalpindi and Multan should be required to elect one woman representative in addition to their ordinary allotted number of Council representatives. The remaining reserved seats for women may then be allotted as proposed in (*b*) 3 of your note* *i.e.*, " the women candidates who not having forfeited their deposit poll the highest proportion of votes " in the other constituencies. The combination of these two methods seems to me to be the most suitable for securing the representation of women. These special provisions however should be only of a temporary character to remain in force for such time till women have gained the necessary experience in the contest of elections to secure their representation in the ordinary way.

* Printed at page 114, Volume II.

VI

(iv) Note by Rai Bahadur Chaudhri Chotu Ram, M.L.C., on depressed classes in the Punjab.

The Punjab and Depressed Classes.

Ever since the day when the Simon Commission was appointed the question of depressed classes has loomed very large on the political horizon of India. The discussions at the Round Table Conference, Dr. Ambedkar's vigorous advocacy for the separation of depressed classes from the general body of Hindus, the Minorities Agreement, the Rajah-Moonje Pact and the frequent ventilation of this vexed question in the press from varying points of view are all calculated to hinder rather than to help a just appreciation and a clear perception of the real issue. In view of the far-reaching consequences and grave results which are likely to flow from a wrong decision of this question I need offer no apology for an attempt to discuss it at some length.

There is, perhaps, no country in the world where class distinctions based on birth, race, wealth or power do not exist in some form or other. The difference lies only in the nature, extent and scope of these distinctions. As a result of these distinctions superiority of some sort is claimed by certain classes while inferiority is, in practice if not avowedly, assigned to others. Varying degrees of restraint on social intercourse and differential social treatment are the inevitable result. Even free (and now democratic) England is not free from this taint of inequality among human beings of different classes. I do not possess any first-hand knowledge of life in Western countries, but I understand that in most of them social relations are very deeply influenced by class distinctions which are, in their turn, fairly well marked and even sharp. I further understand that there are many clubs in England which are very exclusive in the character of their constitution and will not admit any individual to their membership unless he belongs to one of certain well-defined classes.

The controversy now raging round the question of depressed classes is likely to prove very bewildering to the European members of the Indian Franchise Committee even though they are not entirely unfamiliar with the spectacle of the distinctions of social status reflecting themselves in the day-to-day social life of a country. Just at present when the question of recognizing depressed classes as a separate political group is under consideration the issue is likely to be still more befogged by the protagonists on either side taking up an extreme attitude. The representatives of depressed classes smarting under the pain of age-long disabilities may be inclined to relate a tale of exaggerated grievances while the representatives of caste Hindus, now fully alive to the dangers of a definite secession from the parent body on the part of depressed classes, may seek to minimise the wrongs to which these classes have been subjected in the past. The result of these extreme attitudes may be the presentation of two different pictures with the colours put on either too heavily or too lightly. A correct delineation of the situation is thus of paramount importance. I belong to a class which stands midway

between the authors of the Hindu social system and the victims of this system. Moreover my personal sympathies have always lain with the depressed classes. I may thus be able to draw a picture which is as nearly faithful to life as possible.

To make the ground clear I will make a few preliminary observations which will help a correct appreciation of the problem. All the untouchables belong to depressed classes, and a number of depressed classes are also untouchable. Therefore in common parlance 'untouchables' and 'depressed classes' are convertible terms. But in point of fact they are not. There is a real distinction between depressed classes and untouchables, and the loose manner in which we use the two appellations as interchangeable in ordinary conversation should not be allowed to cloud this distinction.

Even in Hindi there are two separate designations to mark this distinction, *dalit* standing for depressed and *achhut* for untouchable. But precision of language is disregarded even in the use of Hindi designations when describing these classes.

The expression *chhut chhat* (pollution by touch), is again, used in a variety of senses, and is to be distinguished from the word *achhut* whether used by itself or as an adjective qualifying the word *jati* (class). The latter invariably stands for 'untouchable' whether used in respect of an individual or a class. On the other hand, the expression *chhut chhat* stands for the doctrine of touchability and untouchability, the set of social or semi-religious conventions and rules regulating the practice of 'touch' in actual life.

Chhut chhat may indicate pollution by approach as in South India, or may relate to the person of an individual or to food or to water. All sweepers and chamars are regarded as untouchable in respect of bodily touch in most of the provinces of India. Orthodox Hindus of higher classes in the Punjab take more or less the same view. But among unorthodox Hindus, such as Arya Samajists, objection to physical touch is seldom favoured, and untouchability of other types is recognised only in respect of sweeper and chamars who normally follow the profession of scavenging and tanning. Scavenging in the sense of cleaning latrines is practically non-existent in rural areas.

Chhut chhat in respect of food and water exists more extensively though in varying degrees among various classes. An orthodox Brahmin will not drink water from the house of a Jat or a Rajput, though he will have no objection to drinking water fetched by him from a well or from a Brahmin's house. An orthodox Brahmin, again, will not eat *kutcha* food cooked in the house of a Jat or a Rajput, but will have no hesitation in eating *pucca* food (food fried in butter) from the house of a Jat or a Rajput. An orthodox Brahmin will not, however, eat under any circumstances any kind of food cooked in the house of a chamar or a sweeper or touched by him. Similarly he will refuse to drink any water brought by a chamar or a sweeper either from a well or from his house. Mere touch is regarded as pollution in this case.

Curious as it may seem *chhut chhat* even in respect of physical touch is observed among untouchable classes *inter se*, while *chhut chhat* in respect of food and water is observed almost as strictly among various untouchable classes *inter se* as it is observed between untouchable classes on the one hand and the so-called higher classes on the other.

Right of entry into temples and other places of worship is another sore point of grievance with untouchables in many parts of the country. Similarly admission to schools is, it is alleged, denied to untouchables in some provinces.

Recruitment to services furnishes another cause of complaint to the champions of untouchable classes. The prohibition of the use of wells for drawing water may be added to this list of grievances.

It may, however, be noted that depressed classes as distinguished from untouchable classes suffer from none of the grievances which have been detailed above, in any manner or form. There are some classes which do not fall within the category of untouchables, but are depressed either socially or economically or in both respects. But in a purely economic sense the Punjab Zamindars are as a class more 'depressed' than any of the so-called depressed classes. Except during the last two years they have, for a quarter of a century, enjoyed, and suffered grievously, in consequence of an inflated credit. A perusal of Mr. Darling's book will show the extent of the economic ruin which has overtaken the Zamindar class. But the prestige of the Zamindar is certainly high and enables him to bear his misfortune without squelling. As regards social depression, well, that is a merely relative term. A Rajput may be regarded socially depressed as compared with a Brahmin, and a Vaish may be regarded socially depressed as compared with a Rajput, and so on. However the word "depressed" is probably appropriate only to those classes which, either from the nature of the professions followed by them or from the position assigned to them in the social scale, are looked down upon. But as remarked above apart from untouchables depressed classes have no valid grounds of complaint, and the problem of depressed classes, such as it is, is confined to untouchables.

I will now deal with the problem under discussion as it affects the Punjab in all its aspects.

Islam guarantees equality of all human beings in a greater measure than any other religion of the world and recognizes no inequality in the religious sphere. The Punjab is he stronghold of Islam which has influenced, both directly and indirectly, the whole problem of untouchability in this Province. There are Musallis and Mochis, no doubt, among Muslims following the profession of scavenging and leather work. Partly as a result of the character of their vocation and partly as a result of the impact of the Hindu social system which, in its original working, meted out a treatment of contempt to corresponding classes among Hindus, Musallis and Mochis may have received in the past and may even now occasionally receive, a treatment of unequal or restrained social amenities, but the true democratic spirit of Islam is a sufficient guarantee

against any glaring or continuing breach of the principle of equality among Moslems in any sphere of life.

Sikhism was an avowed revolt against the shackles of old Hindu orthodoxy, and recognises no spiritual superiority based on birth. Sikh Gurdwaras (places of worship) are equally open to all, irrespective of caste. Sikhs employ freely men of all classes for the conduct of their religious worship as also for the custody of their scriptures and Gurdwaras. The Holy Grant Sahib contains the sayings and psalms of saints drawn from the lowest classes. As among Moslems the problem of untouchability does not exist among Sikhs either.

Arya Samaj is a society of protestant Hindus, and is a remarkably living and vitalising force. It has all but demolished the citadel of orthodoxy among the Hindus of the Punjab. It maintains two degree colleges, two Intermediate Colleges, several Gurukuls and a net-work of schools of all grades throughout the province. Caste superiority and untouchability are sheer anathemas in its estimation. The teachings of this society have revolutionised the religious and social beliefs of Hindus. The major portion of Hindu intelligentsia has formally gone over to the fold of Arya Samaj. The remainder is deeply tinged by its cult. The general population, except in remote hill tracts, has lost all faith in the old religious beliefs and is increasingly inclined to the doctrines of Arya Samaj. The programme of social reform (including the reclamation and uplift of untouchable and depressed classes) chalked out by Arya Samaj has been accepted in principle by all sections of the Hindu community, and voices of dissent, if any, are more apologetic than earnest. In fact, caution rather than opposition is the general key-note of even the orthodox Hindu position in relation to the process of reclaiming untouchables.

The Congress has also taken up the question of untouchability in right earnest, and the vigorous efforts of Mahatma Gandhi in this behalf have induced men like Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya to come down from their pedestral of orthodoxy and bless the movement for the eradication of the curse of untouchability.

The Jats constitute the most numerous and predominant agricultural tribe among Hindus as among Moslems and Sikhs in the Punjab. They are singularly free from caste scruples and caste prejudices. They have never cared, and care less now, for the social stupidities preached and practised by orthodox Hindus. This has proved a great ameliorating factor. Most of the members of untouchable and depressed classes are engaged in agricultural labour, and receive a kind and considerate treatment at the hands of Jats. Both work side by side in the field and on the threshing floor without a thought of untouchability crossing the threshold of their minds. And this may be regarded as a normal feature of rural life in the Punjab.

Coming to the Council, we find three parties in it. The Hindu Sabha Party is and has always been completely dominated by the Arya Samajic element, and may thus be regarded as wholly sympathetic to the cause of depressed classes. Even the non-Arya Samajic element

in the party has always favoured a policy of special consideration for the uplift of these classes. The Sikh Party has generally consisted of a body of individuals possessing progressive and liberal views on social and political questions. The practice no less than the religious tenets of Sikhs has been and may be expected to remain consistently democratic and free from the canker of caste prejudices. The National Unionist Party has, during the last eight years of its existence, consisted mainly of Muslims with a few Hindu and Sikh Jats and a couple of other members drawn from European, Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian communities. Obviously these members cannot be expected to have an anti-depressed class mentality. But this is not all. The National Unionist Party stands for the rights of backward classes. These classes will *ex-hypothesi* include all untouchable and depressed classes. The avowed policy of the National Unionist Party is to press the claims of backward classes and backward areas upon the attention of Government for special treatment and so to guide and regulate the distribution of the beneficent activities of Government as to enable, within the shortest time possible, backward classes and backward areas to come up, as nearly as possible, to the level of intelligence, economic welfare and physical comfort attained by others. The Government as a whole accepted this policy, and the Unionist Party when in power in the Transferred field gave effect to it. Since 1927 Unionists are neither in power nor out of power. But I am not aware of any serious change made—at least avowedly—in that policy.

As a result of the policy followed by the Punjab Government the children of untouchable and depressed classes are freely admitted into all public schools maintained by Government or local bodies and all recognised and aided schools. If any school refuses to admit any student on the ground that he belongs to an untouchable class the penalty is withdrawal of recognition and aid. Special concessions in tuition fees are allowed to boys of *Kamin* classes. A special Reclamation Department for the benefit of some of these classes with criminal propensities is in existence. The boys of these classes receive not only free education, but are granted stipends to induce them to stick to schools. Thus Government is also doing all it can for the uplift of these classes.

A dispassionate view of what has been set forth above ought to convince any fair-minded person that all possible steps are being taken in this province both by Government and private agencies to ameliorate the condition of depressed classes, and the general trend of circumstances on all sides is so favourable to their uplift that if the normal operation of these favourable conditions is not disturbed by the awakening of class antagonism in consequence of the ill-advised endeavours of impatient idealists for separation, the time is not far when these classes will grow to the full stature of citizenship enjoying equal social and political status with the rest of the community.

The peculiar conditions obtaining in the Punjab are inimical to the growth or continued existence of sharp inequalities, social or political. The presence of Islam, Sikhism, Arya Samaj and Christianity with

their reforming zeal and active programme bent to the conversion of depressed classes to their own faith in ever-increasing rivalry is a factor of the happiest augury for these classes. The increasing importance of numbers in politics has given a rude shock to Hindu orthodoxy and has aroused it to a full sense of its danger with the result that its desire to cling to the old social order has very largely evaporated. Thanks to the rise of successive religious and social reformers preaching equality and brotherhood of man the inhabitants of the Punjab have been endowed with a mentality which is peculiarly prone to be democratic. This disposition towards democracy has been further strengthened by a very wide distribution of land-ownership which, through a long chain of holdings of slowly expanding dimensions, provides a succession of easy gradients and serves to break the steepness and bridge the gulf between the biggest landholder and the smallest peasant proprietor. The singular indifference of the predominant agricultural tribe (Jats) to caste prejudices and social nostrums like untouchability is also a factor of great value. The size of the holding owned by a peasant proprietor compels him to till his own land, and in the course of agricultural operations, rub shoulders with the agricultural labourer from one of the depressed classes. This constant association between the high class owner and the low class labourer helps to develop a spirit of comradeship and kills that spirit of exclusiveness which a sense of religious and social superiority under another system of land tenure may breed in land-holding classes. The combined operation of the forces mentioned in the preceding paragraph coupled with the helpful attitude of Government has prevented from coming into existence or very substantially redressed most of the grievances from which depressed classes suffer in other provinces. *Chhut chhat* in respect of physical touch is observed only by a small section of orthodox Hindus, and that too in the case of those alone who follow unclean professions. *Chhut chhat* in respect of food and water exists more generally but is not approved by the intelligentsia except as applied to those engaged in unclean work. Moreover this type of *chhut chhat* exists among the orthodox sections of higher classes *inter se* as also among lower classes *inter se.*

The use of wells is generally forbidden to chamars, sweepers and dhanaks. This is a real grievance. But a tactful handling of the question can yield very good results. Arya Samaj has already made some headway in this direction, and if perseverance is shown wells will be thrown open to these classes. There is no difficulty about getting land for separate wells though I do not regard this as a real solution. Real trouble about the use of wells or acquiring land for separate wells only arises when instead of resorting to persuasion and negotiation pressure from outside is invoked.

No reasonable complaint can be made in relation to the admission of the boys of depressed classes into educational institutions so far as the Punjab is concerned. Right of entry into places of worship is freely recognised by Sikhism and Arya Samaj. Minor shrines, such as those dedicated to the goddess of small-pox, are open to all. Bigger temples such as those dedicated to Siva, exist only in towns. Entry into them is certainly for-

bidden to untouchables. But the force of public opinion is gradually breaking this barrier. In any case the trouble is mostly confined to urban areas. Moreover men of untouchable classes are being converted to Arya Samaj in large numbers and the question of temple entry is of minor importance in this province.

The question of recruitment to services is bound up with considerations other than those of untouchability. If men possessing the requisite qualifications are forthcoming from among untouchable classes nobody would have any objection to their recruitment. I have seen chamars holding appointments under Government without anybody making any grievance about it.

In view of what has been stated above it cannot be contended that the problem of depressed classes exists in the Punjab, at least, in a form or to an extent which will justify the separation of these classes from the general body of Hindus. The Advisory Franchise Committee appointed by the Punjab Government in 1918 came to the same conclusion. Things have considerably improved since then. The Punjab Government expressed an identical view in its memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission. The Punjab Reforms Committee expressed a unanimous opinion that the depressed classes in the Punjab did not constitute a problem requiring solution. The Punjab Government adheres even now to the view expressed by it when the Simon Commission came out. The present Punjab Franchise Committee has, by an overwhelming majority, endorsed the view which has held the field so far in this province. Having regard to the weight of competent opinion as indicated above, it will be a political blunder of the first magnitude to countenance any departure from the prevailing view.

Again, a departure from the prevailing view will present almost insurmountable difficulties. In the first instance, it will be highly unjust and undesirable to tear away from the Hindu fold those who returned themselves as Hindus in the recent census in spite of a vigorous propaganda to the contrary, conducted by interested people. Only about four lakhs have returned themselves as Adi-dharmis. Will the separation be confined to them ? If not, will a fresh referendum be taken to ascertain the classes which desire separation ? Is it worth while to waste any more time, and possibly delay the reforms ? And what will happen if as a result of this referendum the figure of Adi-dharmis reaches a vanishing point ? If it is decided to treat as untouchable or depressed classes certain specific castes arbitrarily, what will be the criterion and where will you draw the line ? A chamar considers a sweeper as untouchable *qua* himself. Similarly a sweeper, I understand, considers a dhanak as untouchable *qua* himself. Will all these be placed in separate categories or will they be lumped together ? On what principle will the decision be based ? The actual social conditions prevailing in the Punjab do not justify the treatment of the so-called depressed classes as a separate group. Will, then, the general Hindu social system as it prevails in other provinces or as it was interpreted in by-gone times be invoked to settle the question ? If so, the Jats have been held by the Punjab High Court to be Sudras, the

lowest rung of the Hindu social ladder. Will Jats be grouped with depressed classes ? These questions raise difficulties which are not easy to overcome, and the best course to follow will be not to give occasion for such questions to arise.

Lastly, gravest political difficulties will come in the wake of recognising depressed classes as a separate group or community. Apart from stereotyping a whole class as untouchable in the body of the constitution—deplorable enough in itself—a storm of indignation will sweep the province from end to end as a result of this mutilation of the Hindu community. When separation has become an accomplished fact a bitter class antagonism will in all probability spring up between the main body of Hindus and depressed classes, and the good work which is being done by so many philanthropic societies for the uplift of these classes will receive a severe set-back. Another deplorable result will be the creation of a third communal minority which will make any solution of the communal problem well nigh impossible. In the event of the separation of depressed classes Hindus, Sikhs and the new communal minority will all stand at a numerical strength which will entitle each to claim weightage. This will further complicate an already complicated problem and all communities will begin to impute the worst possible motives to the British nation. The representatives of depressed classes will, in any case, be either of the order of mute spectators or fanatics having extreme views on politics and venomous outlook on communal problems.

In all the circumstances of the case I will earnestly advise Lord Lothian and his Committee to let sleeping dogs lie.

VI

(v) Note on the agricultural, non-agricultural and Kamin classes in the Punjab by (1) Rai Bahadur Chaudhri Chotu Ram, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C., Advocate, Rohtak, (2) Sardar Buta Singh, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C., Deputy President, Punjab Legislative Council and Advocate, Sheikhupura, (3) Chaudhri Nazir Hussain, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C., Advocate, Lahore, (4) Mr. S. A. Ghani, M.L.C., (5) K. B. Quraishi Muhammad Hayat, C.I.E., M.L.C., Shahpur, and (6) Khan Bahadur Shaik Din Muhammad, M.A., LL.B., M.L.C., Advocate, Lahore, Members of the Punjab Provincial Franchise Committee.

Agricultural, non-agricultural and kamin classes in the Punjab.

Certain representations made to the Indian Franchise Committee by the representatives of urban Hindus and the discussions which followed on them have brought the question of the quantum of representation to be granted to the various sections of the community to the forefront. This question is different from the question of the measure of communal representation claimed by Moslems. Hindus and Sikhs which is not within the scope of the Franchise Committee, and requires to be dealt with on different considerations. For a proper understanding of this question certain features of the economy of life in the Punjab will not be out of place. This task is being attempted in the present brief note so that all the relevant facts may be seen in their proper perspective.

The Punjab is essentially and pre-eminently a land of peasant proprietors. The average holding in the province is 8 acres in extent (*vide* page 11 of Mr. Darling's book—The Punjab Peasant). Out of 3¼ millions of landowners barely 3,500 pay an annual land revenue of Rs. 500 or above. Roughly speaking Rs. 1-8-0 is the incidence of land revenue per acre. This means that only one out of a thousand owns land which is 300 acres or more in area.

Total revenue receipts in 1932-33 are estimated to be Rs. 10,37,94,000. The main heads of revenue are Land Revenue Rs. 4,47,31,000; Irrigation charges or water rates Rs. 4,25,32,000; Stamps Rs. 1,11,91,000 and Excise Rs. 94,98,000. The nature of receipts shows that the bulk of provincial revenues is derived from land and is paid by land-owning classes. On a rough estimate it may be claimed that 90 per cent. of the provincial revenues is contributed by land-owning classes. The statement prepared by the Government shows that out of a total land revenue of Rs. 4,43,86,977 as much as Rs. 3,91,40,862, that is 88·2 per cent. is paid by what are known as agricultural tribes.

Cantonment areas, district headquarters and all places with a population of 10,000 or over are classed as urban. On this basis the urban and rural populations according to the census of 1921 were 8 and 92 per cent. respectively. According to the census of 1931 these proportions are 9·5 and 90·5 per cent. respectively.

The Southborough Committee proposed 54 general constituencies, 10 urban and 44 rural. "The Parliamentary Joint Committee regarded the rural representative thus given as disproportionately low". In

deference to this opinion the Punjab Government proposed the addition of four more seats to the rural share. The Government of India made some other changes in the proposals and the following distribution of seats was ultimately adopted :—

Urban	..	13	Non-Moslem	..	7
			Moslem	..	5
			Sikh ..	..	1
Rural	..	51	General ..	..	13
			Moslem	..	27
			Sikh ..	..	11
Total	..	64			64

To this total of 64 general seats 7 special seats were added as follows :—

Moslem, Hindu and Sikh landholders one each						..	..	3
Tumandars	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
University	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Industries	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Commerce	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
						Total	..	7

The pe centage of voters to population in urban and rural areas was 7·5 and 3 respectively in 1921 and is 6·4 and 2·8 respectively now.

The population and voters per constituency in urban and rural areas are as under : —

					Population.	Voters.
Urban.						
Moslems	..	..	..	..	177,563	9,688
Hindus	..	..	..	..	104,021	9,609
Sikhs	..	..	..	..	86,436	9,870
General average		..	..	=	122,673	9,722
Rural.						
Moslems	..	..	..	..	392,093	9,506
Hindus	..	..	..	..	478,334	12,055
Sikhs	..	..	..	..	200,706	14,366
General average		..	..	=	357,044	11,975

The above figures show that in rural areas each constituency had nearly three times the population of an urban constituency, and the rural Hindu fared the worst of all under this arrangement.

Of the special seats the first four may be regarded as definitely rural and the last three as definitely urban. Thus out of 71 elective seats 55 are definitely rural and 16 definitely urban. This gives a representation of 77·4 and 22·6 per cent. respectively to rural and urban populations. The Parliamentary Joint Committee had regarded a

distribution of 81·5 and 18·5 per cent. as between the rural and urban populations distinctly unfair to the former. The action suggested by the Punjab Government had raised rural representation to 82·8 per cent. But the Government of India changed the proportions to the disadvantage of rural areas even as compared with the proportions criticised adversely by the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

Both in view of the proportions of population in rural and urban areas and the amount of taxes paid to the provincial exchequer by landowning classes which are almost exclusively rural the balance requires to be redressed.

Another fact also requires to be borne in mind. The Hindu landholders seat has invariably gone to an urban candidate, and out of 13 Hindu rural seats 6 or 7 have at each election been captured by urban candidates. Similarly two out of 11 Sikh rural seats have at each election gone to urban Sikhs except in 1923 when rural Sikhs had lost only one seat to their urban brethren. This suggests that places with a population of between 5,000 and 10,000 should also be classed as urban. The Punjab Government in its memorandum—Volume I, Part I, Descriptive Matter—prepared for the Simon Commission admits that "this line of division excluded some towns with a population of less than 10,000 which nevertheless possessed distinctly urban characteristics". It is most significant in this connection that no urban constituency has ever elected a rural candidate.

The distribution of the Punjab population between rural and urban areas, the share of the burden of taxation which each section bears and the measure of representation which it enjoys on the electoral roll and in the legislature have been described above. There is another feature of the Punjab population which deserves to be noticed. Empires have risen and fallen, dynasties have ruled and vanished, invaders and adventurers have swept through the land and disappeared, but the village communities have managed to survive all the political upheavals and visitations to a very large extent. Until the advent of British rule which brought an individualistic civilisation in its train the village community was a compact body, self-contained, self-reliant and with its own traditions and institutions. Beyond the payment of revenue it had not much concern with the Government of the day. It had its own panchayat which settled local disputes and looked after the welfare of the village population. The proprietary body owned the lands and wielded general authority. The priest supplied the spiritual needs of the community, performed their religious rites and received his customary fees. The village Bania supplied the credit and acted as middle-man. The goldsmith, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the barber, the weaver, the potter, the chamar and the sweeper performed their appointed functions and received their customary dues in kind with the exception of the goldsmith who charged his wages in cash. The proprietory body was the overlord. The rest were kamins which simply means dependents with the exception of the Brahmin at one end and the sweeper at the other

all kamins paid a hearth-cess variously known as *kudhi kamini*, *atrafi*, *haq bua*, etc. The amount of this cess was Re. 1 or Rs. 2 a year. All non-proprietors (kamins) received a house-site free, which was the subject of inheritance, but would not be alienated, and reverted to the proprietory body when the occupier died heirless or abandoned the village. Non-proprietors could graze their cattle on the village common (generally without payment), take fuel wood from it and cut grass from the fields of proprietors without any payment. British police and British courts supplanted the authority of the proprietory body and the panchayat while the methods of British administration caused all the old ties to snap.

The Land Alienation Act is another peculiar feature of the economic structure of the Punjab. This measure was conceived and enacted when the hereditary land-owning classes were being steadily expropriated and when the process of expropriation had become a definite menace. This Act does not confer any privilege on any class; it only casts a disability on agricultural classes inasmuch as it restricts their liberty to deal with their property as they like. It is true that this law was conceived in their interests and operates to their advantage in so far as it protects these classes from the consequences of their economic helplessness and ignorance. Protection of this kind in exceptional circumstances is not unknown. Minors are not allowed to deal with their property or enter into contracts. Unconsciousable bargains are not upheld in courts. Fraud and undue influence are regarded as valid grounds to avoid contracts. The level of intelligence of these classes is so low that money-lending classes can and always do take an undue advantage of them in any class of dealings. Their ignorance is colossal. Economically they are at the mercy of their creditors. Systematic fraud and undue influence were being resorted to by money-lending classes in order to oust agricultural classes from their heritage. This measure thus became a stark necessity and continues to be a necessity even now. Agricultural classes of the Punjab are also the martial classes of India. No Government can tolerate a condition of affairs in which the bulk, if not the whole, of the land would pass into the hands of a comparatively limited number of absentee landlords and the sturdy, independent and self-respecting classes from which its army is chiefly recruited would be reduced to the level of serfs, devoid of self-respect and manly-spirit. So that on political no less than on moral and economic grounds the measure is fully justified.

But it has been contended that even barristers, advocates, doctors and engineers belonging to agricultural classes are protected under this law, and that the Land Alienation Act makes birth instead of profession the basis of distinction between agricultural and non-agricultural classes. In the first instance, a legislation of this kind aiming as it does at protecting hereditary landowning classes from certain other classes cannot take note of individuals. *Ex-hypothesi* it has to deal with classes, and not individuals. Moreover, in the present case birth coincides in 999 cases out of a thousand with profession. One swallow does not make the summer and a stray member of an agricultural tribe adopting here and there a profession other than agriculture will not detract from the essentially and over-whelmingly agricultural character of his class as such.

It has further been made a point of grievance that even chamars who are the right hand men of agriculturists and depend so much on agriculture for their livelihood have not been given the benefit of this legislation. Critics in their zeal fail to realise that the underlying principle of the Alienation Act is the protection of the hereditary land-owning classes, and chamars, sweepers, etc. are not land-owning classes, hereditary or otherwise. So they have nothing to which the protection of this Act can be extended and are thus outside the principle and scope of this law. Moreover, it is open to any class to claim a place on the list of agricultural tribes on proof that it falls within the principle underlying the Alienation Act. Many classes have been added to this list since the original list was prepared.

Lastly it has been claimed that the Land Alienation Act stands in the way of many people obtaining the franchise on land revenue which is the most common qualification. The contention is erroneous for the simple reason that those who are in a position to purchase sufficient land to obtain a vote on the land revenue qualification will almost invariably be able to get a vote on the immoveable property qualification. Those who put forward this contention forget that agriculture on a limited scale which alone is ordinarily possible in the Punjab is not a paying profession, and agricultural tribes stick to this profession partly on sentimental grounds and partly on the ground that there is nothing else to which they can turn their hand. As for the so-called depressed classes in whose name pathetic appeals are sometimes made, they are not in a sufficiently strong economic position to purchase land even if it be conceded that they are keen to do so. The truth is that money-lending classes desire to use other non-agricultural classes, without any desire or authority from the latter, in order to strengthen their claim for the repeal of the Land Alienation Act with the object of being once again in the position to despoil agricultural classes by fraudulent means. That there is precious little desire on the part of non-agricultural classes to purchase land either as a means of investment or source of livelihood is conclusively proved by the result of auction sales of crown lands in colony tracts where vast areas are sold annually in open and free market without any restrictions which the Land Alienation Act imposes on certain other sales. Even when there was a boom in the prices of agricultural produce only 13 per cent. of the area sold by auction was purchased by non-agricultural tribes. This percentage has now fallen to 3 or 4. It is only agricultural tribes who are not in the habit of calculating cost in the pursuit of an honourable (and in their case hereditary) profession who purchase the bulk of the area even at these sales.

Again, temporary alienations in execution of decrees and mortgages of land for periods not exceeding 20 years are not forbidden even under the Land Alienation Act. Nor are farms and leases for specified periods. Tenancies under the crown are also open to all in respect of huge areas in the new colonies. Besides, there is no bar to the purchase of agricultural land from non-agricultural classes who still own about 12 per cent. of the total area.

Thus the complaint that the Land Alienation Act has the effect of restricting the land franchise to any appreciable extent, if at all, has little force behind it. The plain truth is that economically backward classes have not the means to purchase land and those who can afford to purchase it have not the desire to do so because land is, in fact, a losing bargain.

The figures relating to the population of agricultural tribes quoted in Raja Narendra Nath's pamphlet and relied on by Pandit Nanak Chand are wrong and incomplete. The reasons are that except in respect of the principal tribes such as Jats and Rajputs the population of agricultural tribes is difficult to calculate. The nomenclature adopted in the census report is at variance with actual facts in many cases. Minor tribes which have been notified by Government as agricultural do not, in some cases, find a place at all in the census table. Sheikhs among Muslims and Brahmins among Hindus are generally understood to be as non-agricultural. But approximately half of them have been notified as agricultural under names borne by their sub-division. To take only one instance among Hindus, Gaur Brahmins who number about three lakhs in the territories where they have been notified as an agricultural tribe do not figure as a separate tribe in the census report. Similar is the case with Mohiyal and Dutt Brahmins. The population of agricultural tribes has been considerably under-estimated by Raja Narendra Nath, particularly in the case of Hindus the under-estimate is very serious. Without claiming to have roped in all the agricultural tribes among Hindus one of us was able to bring up their total to $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions which according to the population of Hindus as calculated in the census of 1931 gave a percentage of slightly over 33 per cent. Over 4 lakhs of Adi-Dharmis who are all non-agriculturists under the Land Alienation Act have now been calculated separately from Hindus. Allowing for a rough increase of 10 per cent. in the population the strength of Hindu agricultural tribes now will be 2,450,000. The present population of non-Muslims (which term includes, Hindus Adi-Dharmis, Jains, Indian Christians, Bhuddist, Parsis, Europeans and Anglo-Indians) as shown in the statement supplied by the Punjab Government to the Franchise Committee is 6,946,496. Making an allowance of 8 to 9 lakhs for others the Hindus will be left with a total in the neighbourhood of 60 lakhs. Thus the percentage of agricultural tribes among Hindus will be slightly over 40.

The subject of agricultural and non-agricultural classes has been presented by urban Hindus in a manner which would seem to suggest that there was a real conflict of interest between these classes. Pandit Nanak Chand has even gone to the extent of suggesting that " the disputes regarding use of wells, of playing music in the village at the time of marriages, are disputes not between high caste Hindus and the untouchables but between the proprietors of the village and the non-proprietary body." The average agriculturist in the Punjab does not care a straw for *chhut chhat* (touchability or untouchability), and the trouble about the use of wells would disappear in no time but for the village Bania and the village priest who egg on the rest to deny the use of wells to untouchables

in the name of religion. We never heard of any trouble about the playing of music at the time of marriages until we came to attend the meetings of the Franchise Committee. Even as alleged the trouble is confined to a very limited and benighted part of the Punjab.

The use of the designations agricultural classes and non-agricultural classes is a little misleading. Approximately 80 per cent. of the Punjab population lives on agriculture. Some sections of this population have been declared as agricultural tribes under the Land Alienation Act. The others may be divided into three groups ; (*a*) classes which own land and cultivate it, but with whom the profession of agriculture is a subsidiary thing, a sort of second string to the bow ; (*b*) classes of agricultural tenants, agricultural artisans and agricultural labourers, and (*c*) money-lending and shop-keeping or trading classes. Though in the sense of the Land Alienation Act it is permissible to speak of agricultural tribes as indicating one division and non-agricultural tribes as indicating the other division consisting of groups (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*), yet this classification does not mean that there is any conflict of interest between the first division on the one hand and the second division on the other. As clearly shown in a previous portion of this communication the population comprised in groups (*a*) and (*b*) have no complaint against the Land Alienation Act, and the conflict of interest, if any, is restricted to the operation of the Land Alienation Act only. In all other respects the economic interests of agricultural tribes and groups (*a*) and (*b*) who also follow the profession of agriculture and may be regarded agricultural classes in varying degrees as distinct from the statutory agricultural tribes, are identical. On the other hand we fail to see any community of interest between groups (*a*) and (*b*) on the one hand and group (*c*) on the other. The real conflict of interest is between those who depend for their livelihood on agriculture and those who follow the profession of money-lending, trading or shop-keeping. The former constitute a class of debtors, the latter a class of creditors. The former are producers, the latter are consumers. The former are purchasers, the latter are retailers. The former produce raw goods, the latter act as middlemen. The former are the victims of the guiles of the shop-keepers and traders, the latter practise all the frauds of short weights, false measures, mendacious rates and a tricky balance. In one word while the agricultural tribes (Statutory), other agricultural classes and labourers sink or swim together the money-lending and the shop-keeper thrive on the former's ignorance, poverty and misfortunes.

On the contrary, if the interests of all the Kamins (non-proprietors) are one and the same as the urban Hindu—the representative of commercial, trading and money-lending interests—would have us believe why is any further representation in the name of artisan and depressed classes being asked for ? The interests of all classes other than statutory agricultural tribes are, on this hypothesis, safe in the hands of the Bania, Khatri, Arora and non-agricultural Brahmins who will be represented in excess of their share both in the electoral roll and the Council.

In a previous paragraph it has already been brought out that the Joint Parliamentary Committee considered a representation of 81·5 per

cent. for the rural population as too low. In the proposal finally adopted this representation came down to 77·4 per cent. As compared with this allocation of seats actual representation came still lower down. In the present Council the proportion of seats captured by urban and rural candidates is as follows :—

	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Sikhs.	Total.
Rural	28	8	10	46
Urban	6	16	3	25
Total ..	34	24	13	71

The above analysis of figures shows that out of 55 seats which should have gone to rural men only 46 have fallen to their share and 9 have been lost to urban men. This means that from 81·5 per cent. regarded as inadequate by the Joint Parliamentary Committee rural share has fallen to 64·8 per cent.

Now let us examine the electoral roll. Urban population according to the latest figures is 9·5 per cent.

On the electoral roll urban voters constitute 19·4 per cent. being 144,246 out of a total of 744,909.

Taking rural as an essentially agricultural and urban as an essentially non-agricultural franchise it will appear that the urban and non-agricultural element is excessively represented even on the electoral roll.

Another ground of attack urged by Pandit Nanak Chand and his urban friends is that the proprietary body in villages is, generally speaking, a compact body of statutary agriculturists. This proprietary body dominates and tyranises over non-proprietors, tramples their rights under foot, and usurps all the rights of representation of non-proprietors whether in the electoral roll or in the Council. Urban Hindus, therefore, propose that in order to counterbalance the influence of the proprietary body special means should be devised to bring non-proprietors on the electoral roll in proportion to their population. All the premises here are wrong, and the conclusions drawn could not be otherwise. There must be very few villages, indeed, if any, where the entire body consists of statutory agriculturists alone. There is always a fair sprinkling of men of non-agricultural classes in every village, and there are some villages in every Tehsil in which all main castes including Chamars residing therein are represented in the proprietary body. Again, it is the men of money-lending classes who really rule the village country-side. They always manage to keep the proprietary body sharply divided, and are thus able to maintain their supremacy. The money-lending fraternity are a determining factor in all rural elections. Their intelligence enables them to see which candidate suits their interests best and their position as creditors enables them to dominate the will of the electorate. The very fact that 9 out of 55 rural seats have been captured by urban men is a sufficient refutation of the complaint of urban Hindus in this respect. As against this no urban seat has ever been won by a candidate from

a rural area although in smaller towns there is always a considerable number of agricultural voters.

Further examination of this complaint will establish its hollowness still more clearly, excluding institutions which pay an annual land revenue of Rs. 165,167 land-owners other than members of agricultural tribes pay a land-revenue of Rs. 5,246,115 which is 11·8 per cent. of the total. But the strength of non-agricultural land-owners who are described as 'others' in the official statement is 532,265 out of a total of 3,198,992, *i.e.*, 16·6 per cent. If we add the number of institutions (3,609) which are almost invariably managed by non-agriculturists this percentage will rise to 17. This means that roughly 17 per cent. of the voters enfranchised on the land revenue qualification in rural areas will be other than members of agricultural tribes. All income-tax payers and owners of house property of the value of Rs. 4,000 are already voters. The assessable minimum of income has now been lowered from Rs. 2,000 to 1,000. The house property qualification may be lowered to Rs. 2,000. Both these qualifications will benefit, nearly exclusively, the non-proprietor or Kamin element in the village. Every gold-smith, every carpenter, and most of the barbers and a fair proportion of black-smith and other skilled artisans will be enfranchised in consequence of the lowering of these qualifications. During the War the Punjab supplied non-combatants in about the same proportion as combatants. Most of the non-combatants came from the ranks of lower Kamin classes, generally Chamars and sweepers, and are all entitled to a vote. Official plan A which is acceptable to all of us, at least as the second best alternative, seeks to enfranchise 407,000 tenants. Out of these about 50 per cent. (some of us think more) will be other than statutory agriculturists, and mostly Chamars and sweepers. In the new colonies all Kamins have received grants of a few acres each, and will be covered by the lowered land revenue qualification proposed under plan A.

The proposal to make Haisiat tax a qualification for the vote is a mere device to weigh the dice in favour of money-lending classes. Haisiat tax is essentially a money-lenders' franchise, and benefits the lower class Kamin to a very limited extent, if at all. Moreover, Haisiat tax is a very variable factor and is controlled by District Boards. In the districts of Simla, Ludhiana, Lyallpur and Rawalpindi, Haisiat tax does not exist at all, nor does the professional tax. These districts may continue to refrain from imposing this tax, and the rest may, if they like, abolish it. As for chowkidari tax, custom forbids its imposition on the lowest classes including sweepers who are most numerous, and even if the tax is made universally leviable by law its operation will be extremely uneven, will tend to break the joint Hindu family, will give a most unwieldy electorate, and will provide tremendous chances to creditor classes to sweep the polls.

Taking a comprehensive view of all the factors enumerated above we begin to apprehend lest the statutory agricultural tribes should be swamped, and will advise caution with regard to the lowering of the house property qualification which is mainly a money-lender's qualification.

We have observed with some surprise and pain a tendency to view the agricultural classes as tyrants to be curbed and weakened. These classes represent a very important interest and substantial stake in the province. They contribute over 88 per cent. of land revenue and almost necessarily the same proportion of water-rates. Their love of litigation would suggest that an equally high proportion of stamp revenue is being derived from them. They may be expected to be fairly heavy contributors to Excise Revenue also. Over 80 per cent. of them are indebted, are educationally backward and live in rural areas. They will be the best champions of all debtor and backward classes. They are chiefly responsible for working the present constitution successfully. About 80 per cent. among Sikhs, 70 per cent. among Moslems and over 40 per cent. among Hindus are statutory agricultural tribes. Raja Narendra Nath's calculation is substantially incorrect. The interests of non-statutory agriculturists and agricultural labour are more or less the same as those of statutory agricultural tribes. With the latter two categories they will form about 95 per cent. of the rural population. Even taken by themselves they form 64 per cent. of the total population and over 75 per cent. of the rural population. Having regard to all these considerations their position deserves to be strengthened further. Any accession of strength to urban elements, directly or indirectly, whether through the inflation of non-agricultural vote, or otherwise, will be as risky and undesirable as it will be unjust. Let us not forget that the Congress is not co-operating and some other elements are also sulking. It will be highly dangerous under the circumstances to refuse to strengthen tried elements of stability in society, or to introduce many untried and uncertain factors or to strengthen urban influence by emphasising non-agricultural vote. The Assembly is dominated by urban elements and has, consequently, been always intransigent, obstructive and destructive, even in the Punjab at the last election both the cities of Lahore and Amritsar elected a sweeper and a barber, not as *bona fide* candidates but to slight and redicule the constitution. Urban mentality is prone to be extremist and *anti*-government thus requiring to be discountenanced and not encouraged by unmerited favours. In any case the Franchise Committee should do nothing to smoothen the course of those who would wreck the constitution.

Even at the risk of repetition we should like to emphasise that it is wrong to draw a line between agricultural tribes on the one hand and the rest on the other as if the interests of the various component parts of the latter were identical and those of the whole opposed to the interests of agricultural tribes. It is only a clever move on the part of money-lending classes to claim the advantage of the numbers of some of their victims for themselves and usurp their share. It is mischievous and unjustifiable to marshal non-statutory agriculturists, agricultural labour, tenants and lower classes of Kamins on the side of money-lending and trading classes simply because the former set of classes are not covered by the Land Alienation Act. They are all debtor classes and comrades in (economic) misfortune along with agricultural tribes. For all purposes of representation these classes should be grouped with agricultural tribes.

Another point which has not received any notice so far may also be mentioned. One of the objects of giving representation to various sections of the community is to enable them to influence the administration in the discharge of its functions. Urban classes already posses a tremendous advantage over others in this respect inasmuch as the whole press is a monopoly of these classes.

Lastly, the tendency to multiply distinctions, classes and interests is highly to be deprecated. We have enough divisions already. To add to them unnecessarily is to introduce fresh germs of disease into the body politic and to impose a serious handicap on the constitution. Depressed classes, women, Kamin classes, agricultural classes and non-agricultural classes are all gratuitous innovations. Women are up in arms, at least in the Punjab, against any differential franchise of separate representation. And yet the trend of the questionnaire is to treat them as a separate and special group. Everybody who is of any account in the Province asserts that depressed classes are not at all a pressing problem here, and yet there is a disposition to treat them as constituting a problem. A very considerable portion of the so-called depressed classes and Kamins will be in a position to influence elections in general constituencies and a fair proportion of the rest will be represented through labour, and still there is uncalled for anxiety to treat them as separate units. This looks like forcible severance of these limbs of society. It will leave ugly scars and bruises on the body politic and is very likely to be misunderstood and resented. We have every hope that wiser counsels will prevail in the end.

Miscellaneous correspondence with the local Government and the Provincial Franchise Committee on matters arising out of replies to questionnaire.

APPENDIX.

I

TELEGRAM No. E.-682-PUN., DATED THE 15TH APRIL 1932, FROM JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, LAHORE.

Committee would be grateful for even approximate estimate of strength of non-agricultural tribes in Punjab. Please telegraph information if possible by Monday.

TELEGRAM No. E.-688-PUN., DATED THE 16TH APRIL 1932, FROM JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, LAHORE.

Reference local Governments proposal to lower existing house rent qualification in municipalities in order to produce electorate equivalent to approximately ten per cent. Please wire as precise figures as possible showing what new qualification will be and indicate your views as to possibility of any further reduction.

TELEGRAM, DATED THE 17TH APRIL 1932, FROM THE FINANCIAL COMMISSIONER, PUNJAB, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

Your two wires. (1) non-agricultural tribes derivable by subtraction of agricultural tribes from total population. Latter estimated ten millions Punjab memorand m Simon Commission descriptive chapter one, para. twenty. Figure not official but not unreasonable with allowance natural growth say one million. Attempt being made compile from recent census may take time. Compare adult landlords agricultural tribes two point six million and crown tenants sixty-four thousand in statement Punjab Provisional views. Seems possible that adult owners do not represent many other adults as supposed by Provincial Committee. (2) your E-688, as no records exist showing house values and rents in towns by classes impossible say what qualification will produce ten per cent. and it will be necessary conduct house to house survey and fix qualification in light of facts. Committee has suggested five or six rupees rental and two thousand house value.

TELEGRAM, DATED THE 17TH APRIL 1932, FROM THE FINANCIAL COMMISSIONER, PUNJAB, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

Continuation my telegram this morning compilation from Census 1921 gives agricultural tribes ten millions one sixty three thousand.

II

DEMI-OFFICIAL No. N.-499/PUN., DATED 31ST MARCH 1932, FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE CHAIRMAN, PUNJAB PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

The Indian Franchise Committee would be grateful in the light of discussions which have taken place, for the following information :—

1. Statement by districts of the number of *haisiat* or profession tax payers.
2. A note on the possibility of adopting a chaukidari tax as a basis for the franchise.
3. The Committee would be grateful if in connection with point (1) the desirability of bringing non-agricultural tribes on to the voter's list which was mentioned in the discussions this afternoon could be considered.
4. The suggestion has been made that the receipt of wages in cash or kind might be adopted as a basis for the franchise, different levels (say Rs. 12

and Rs. 8) being adopted for men and for women. What are your views on this suggestion ?

5. The Committee would be grateful for figures of literacy showing men and women separately.

6. What are your views on the possibility of polling the whole adult population of the province in a period of say four days ?

The Committee would be grateful if in replying this question weight could be given to the necessity for polling Assembly voters simultaneously with voters for the Provincial Council and to the percentage of illiteracy likely to prevail among voters.

REPLY FROM THE CHAIRMAN, PUNJAB PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

(1) Statement by districts of the number of *Haisiyat* or profession tax-payers is attached. One district besides Simla has not replied.

(2) There exists in every village a list of payers of the Chaukidari tax. No figures are available for the number. The tax is not paid into the Government treasury but direct to the headman who pays the Chaukidars their wages, so the numbers will have to be obtained by enquiry from each village, but it may be taken that the list includes all residents of the village except the poorest of the poor, and the franchise based on the Chaukidari tax would not be far removed from the adult franchise.

(3) The members of non-agricultural tribes may be divided into three main classes :—

(*a*) persons who though not members of notified tribes do actually own land. There are many who have purchased it before the commencement of the Act. Others belong to tribes which have been excluded from the Act because they are not of sufficient numerical importance in any particular district or because they are supposed to combine money-lending with agriculture. These of course will be provided for automatically.

(*b*) the second class consists of persons not members of agricultural tribe who cultivate land as tenants. This class includes considerable numbers of alleged depressed classes as Chamars. These also will be provided for.

(*c*) the third class consists of the professional money-lending and commercial classes. These are mostly but not entirely urban. Most will be covered by payment of income-tax or a house property qualification reduced, if necessary. The suggestion to enfranchise civil pensioners gives a very easy way of enfranchising a large body of this class.

(*d*) The remaining class consists of labouring and depressed classes. If the group system is excluded it is difficult to find means of enfranchising these except by some form of special electorate which presents difficulties of its own.

4. The Committee will realise from its examination of agricultural wages that it is quite impossible to assess them so accurately in cash as to afford the basis for giving or refusing the vote to any individual.

5. The statement of literacy and age is attached.

6. I prefer not to give a definite opinion on this difficult question of the number of voters that can be polled without the further examination of the experts, which will be made tomorrow.

Statement showing the number of Haisiyat or Profession Tax-payers (by districts.)

District.		District Boards.		In other local bodies.		Total.	Remarks.
		Number of assessees regarding					
		Haisiyat tax.	Profession tax.	*Haisiyat* tax.	Profession tax.		
Ambala.	Hissar ..	3,243	..	..	..	3,243	
	Rohtak ..	..	3,591	..	..	3,591	
	Gurgaon ..	..	..	..	1,962	1,962	
	Karnal ..	4,069	..	..	..	4,069	
	Ambala ..	7,260	..	..	..	7,260	
	Simla	..	..	..	..	..	
	Total ..	..	..	..	..	20,125	
Jullundur.	Kangra ..	..	5,481	..	..	5,481	
	Hoshiarpur ..	..	17,792	..	..	17,792	
	Jullundur ..	..	14,330	..	..	14,330	
	Ludhiana ..	..	16,000*	..	439	16,439	*Probable No. for the proposed tax.
	Ferozepore ..	..	11,216	..	..	11,216	
	Total ..	..	..	..	..	65,258	
Lahore.	Lahore ..	..	24,795	..	..	24,795	
	Amritsar ..	5,839	..	..	..	5,839	Includes 677 agriculturists, 129 income tax payers.
	Gurdaspur ..	2,838	..	..	..	2,838	
	Sialkot ..	3,487	..	..	..	3,487	
	Gujranwala ..	..	..	..	..	..	
	Sheikhupura ..	..	766	..	..	766	
	Total ..	..	..	..	..	37,725	
Rawalpindi.	Gujrat ..	4,000†	..	..	..	4,000	†Approximate.
	Shahpur ..	4,556	..	..	..	4,556	
	Jhelum ..	..	3,436	..	..	3,436	
	Rawalpindi ..	..	..	..	..	..	
	Attock.. ..	3,292	..	..	..	3,292	
	Mianwali ..	1,659	..	..	..	1,659	
	Total ..	..	..	..	..	16,943	
Multan.	Montgomery ..	4,321	..	..	..	4,321	
	Lyallpur ..	..	..	..	..	..	
	Jhang	5,446	..	..	..	5,446	
	Multan ..	..	4,472	..	..	4,472	
	Muzaffargarh ..	..	6,114	..	..	6,114	
	D. G. Khan ..	1,432	..	..	..	1,432	
	Total, including 361 officials.	..	..	..	..	34,785	
GRAND TOTAL ..		..	..	..	..	174,836	

Statement showing Literacy and Age.

—	—	Total	Male.	Female.
All Religions ..	Population	23,581,000	12,881,000	10,700,000
	Adults	11,655,000	6,505,000	5,150,000
	Literate adults ..	854,000	768,500	84,500
	Voters	745,000	720,000	25,000
Hindus ..	Population	6,329,000	3,466,000	2,863,000
	Adults	3,188,000	1,792,500	1,395,500
	Literate adults ..	392,000	357,000	34,000
	Voters (non-Muhammadan).	239,000	231,000	8,000
Sikhs ..	Population	3,064,000	1,703,500	1,360,500
	Adults	1,558,000	881,000	677,000
	Literate adults ..	171,000	151,000	20,000
	Voters	175,000	169,000	6,000
Muslims ..	Population	13,332,000	7,241,000	6,091 000
	Adults	6,504,000	3,602,000	2,902,000
	Literate adults ..	256,000	234,000	22,000
	Voters	330,000	320,000	10,000
Christians ..	Population	415,000	230,000	185,000
	Adults	194,000	112,000	82,000
	Literate adults ..	24,000	17,000	7,000

The Indian Franchise Committee would be grateful for the following figures :—

Questions.

1. An analysis showing the number of landlords paying Rs. 750 and Rs. 500 in the tables under plan A together with, if possible, an estimate of the average area held by them.

2. The latest figures for District Board voters.

3. Who would be enfranchised under the District Board franchise but who would not be enfranchised under plan A.

Answers.

1. The number of landlords paying Rs. 750 or more as land revenue is 1,389, and of those paying Rs. 500 or more is 3,472. It is not possible to give an estimate of the average area held by them.

2. Number of District Board voters is 1,305,831. *Vide* statement attached*.

3. Under the present rules every person is qualified to be an elector for District Boards if he :—

(1) is a male of not less than 21 years of age ; and
(2) is a zaildar, inamdar, sufedposh or lambardar ; or
(3) owns land assessed to land revenue annually of at least Rs. 5, or
(4) enjoys assignment of land revenue annually of at least Rs. 10, or
(5) is a lessee or tenant of crown land at a rent annually of at least Rs. 5, or
(6) is an occupancy tenant of land assessed to land revenue annually of at least Rs. 5, or
(7) is assessed to income tax, or
(8) is a retired, pensioned, or discharged Commissioned or Non-commissioned officer or soldier of His Majesty's Regular Forces, or
(9) has in the year preceding the publication of the roll paid not less than the sum of two rupees on account of any cess, rate or tax payable to the Board.

It will appear that persons qualified under No. 9 above alone will not be enfranchised under plan A.

FAZAL ILAHI,
Joint Secretary, Punjab Transferred Department.
MILES IRVING.

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Statement showing Voting strength of District Boards in the Punjab as it stood on 1st of April 1931.

Name of District Board.	Voting strength.
Ambala Division—	
Hissar	50,504
Rohtak	66,266
Gurgaon	54,904
Karnal	45,318
Ambala	51,393
Simla	..
Jullundur Division—	
Kangra	41,957
Hoshiarpur	90,051
Jullundur	75,480
Ludhiana	64,131
Ferozepore	79,992
Lahore Division—	
Lahore	33,337
Amritsar	57,110
Gurdaspur	60,671
Sialkot	26,681
Gujranwala	28,564
Sheikhupura	28,752
Rawalpindi Division—	
Gujrat	66,331
Shahpur	38,258
Jhelum	48,612
Rawalpindi	41,635
Attock	39,974
Mianwali	17,562
Multan Division—	
Montgomery	43,828
Lyallpur	43,953
Jhang	22,422
Multan	37,329
Muzaffargarh	17,816
D. G. Khan	13,000
Grand Total ..	1,305,831

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of the
Government of Bihar and Orissa
and the
Bihar and Orissa Provincial Franchise Committee
to the
Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.

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II. Questions relating to Federal Legislature and special interests—

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BIHAR AND ORISSA.

I

Memorandum by the Government of Bihar and Orissa.

PROVISIONAL VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

The local Government have refrained from submitting replies to the questionnaire prepared by the Franchise Committee and have embodied their provisional views in this memorandum which is intended to form a basis for discussion between them and the Central Franchise Committee. They have done so partly because they have not been able to obtain in the short time at their disposal all the facts and figures which are necessary in order to form an opinion on and to draft replies to many of the quest ons but mainly because there are some fundamental questions which need careful consideration and on which a decision must be arrived at before it is possible to work out detailed proposals regarding the franchise. Until the general plan of responsible government is outlined and until some decision is reached regarding the form of the legislature, it is difficult to frame any definite proposals about the franchise.

Need for a Second Chamber.

2. It is assumed that provincial governments will be autonomous. But the fundamental question then arises whether there will be a second Chamber and if so what will be its powers. The local Government in expressing their opinion on the report of the Statutory Commission considered that on the whole the arguments in favour of the creation of a second Chamber outweighed those against it, the main argument being that it would introduce an element of stability and responsibility in the constitution and would tend to prevent the enactment of hasty and ill-considered legislation. They pointed out that though the power proposed for the Governor would afford some check on an irresponsible egislature, yet in time those powers might become modified or become obsolete in which case the need for a second Chamber would be insistent, while even under the constitution proposed by the Statutory Commission the second Chamber might save the Governor from frequent recourse to his overriding powers and thus promote the smooth-working of the constitution. This view was based on the assumption that effective powers would be given to the Governor, but it is uncertain what safeguards will be introduced into the constitution ultimately approved and it appears at least doubtful whether the Governor will be given such effective powers as those proposed by the Statutory Commission. Under the constitution now proposed, the need for a second Chamber has become more insistent.

3. Further in dealing with the recommendations of the Statutory Commission, the local Government put forward arguments against a large and immediate increase in the electorate and suggested that it was inadvisable to do more than double the existing e ectorate, but the view accepted by the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference is that adult suffrage is the goal to be ultimately attained,

and while some members were in favour of immediate adult suffrage, even the majority recommended an immediate increase of the electorate so as to enfranchise not less than 10 per cent. of the population, and indeed a larger number if that should on full investigat on be found practicable and desirable. Various reasons may be urged in favour of a large increase. The Statutory Commission, even though they recognised that many of the present voters very imperfectly understood, if they understood at all, the full implicat on of enfranchisement or the constitutional functions of their representatives, were influenced largely by the view that the vote is a potent instrument of political education, a view from which the local Government basing their opinion on the experience of elections both to the Council and to local bodies since 1920, ventured to differ. They held, and still hold, the view that till the political education of the present electorate has developed any rapid ncrease in the number of voters will be undesirable and that it will be dangerous to swamp the present electorate which is just beginning to learn the lesson of the power of the vote by a wide extension of the franchise. Others in advocating such an increase hold the view that without it it is impossible to secure due representation of all interests in the proposed constitution, while some with an inherent belief in the virtues of democracy held that it is desirable under all conditions, even in a country where the vast mass of the people are uneducated and illiterate. It is unnecessary, however, to discuss at length these arguments but the local Government consider it necessary to emphasize the point that giving the power of the vote to a largely increased number of voters will not increase the stability of government; it will make for instability, especially under the conditions at present prevailing in India. If, on the other hand, the increase is gradual, the result will not be so marked. The need for securing a stable government must be admitted and the fact that the election of the Council by a very large electorate will tend towards instabi ity makes it the more necessary to introduce some stable element into the constitution and this can best be done by creating a second Chamber and by giving it effective powers. Some points regarding the constitution of a second Chamber are given in a subsequent paragraph; if it is to be the stabilising element in the constitution, it must be largely representative of the stake-holders in the province.

Representation of Interests.

4. Another preliminary point to be taken into account is the effect of the extension of the electorate on the representation of interests. In the Councils elected since 1920, nearly all the elected members in the general constituencies have been representatives of the landlords or of the professional classes, the latter chiefly from the urban areas. This result has been obtained even though on the present electorate the tenants largely outnumber the landlords. It may be partly due to the fact that on two occasions the only organised party in the country, the Swaraj or Congress party, has kept aloof from the elections, but in 1926 they stood as candidates and secured a large number of seats and

on this occasion they professed to represent the interests of the tenants and in their election programme held out promises of dealing with their grievances. It is doubtful, however, whether this secured their return. Many of those who were returned were themselves landlords and they refrained from pressing strongly the demands of their constituents and the attempt to amend the Bengal Tenancy Act in favour of the tenants or even in a manner which would effect a compromise between the claims of the tenants and the claims of the landlords had to be abandoned. In the recent election of 1930, at which the Congress party refrained from contesting any seat, all the candidates returned from the general constituencies were representatives of the landlords and it became necessary to secure some representation of the interests of the tenants by means of nomination.

5. Though these results have been obtained at recent elections the increase of the electorate, whether it is limited to 10 per cent. of the population or whether a larger number are enfranchised, will make a vast increase in the representation of the tenants' interests and their representatives may swamp all other interests, that of the landlords, that of the rural labouring class which is to some extent identical with that of the depressed classes as well as other minor interests. The Census figures for 1921 show that the total population whose occupation or means of livelihood was recorded as income from rent of agricultural land was 341,203, of whom 96,370 males and 17,063 females were recorded as workers; the total number of ordinary cultivators practically all of whom would be tenants was 21,836,591, of whom 6,771,626 males and 3,142,582 females were workers; the number of farm servants was 146,446 and of field labourers was 4,726,936. These rough figures will suffice to show that the question of the representation of interests presents very serious difficulties and that it may be difficult to devise a franchise which will give even a minimum of representation to all the various interests and which will avoid giving a predominating interest to one class. It is recognised that the chief object of the extension of the franchise is to secure adequate representation for all interests and to provide that no important section of the community should lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinion. But it is doubtful how far a mere extension of the franchise will secure this result and it may be desirable to consider alternative methods.

Direct and Indirect Election.

6. The next question to be considered is the extent to which it is practicable to extend the electorate, and this at once raises the question of direct *versus* indirect election. Before discussing the arguments for and against these two systems, it is necessary to refer to the suggestion of the Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference that in addition to a large number of direct electors, including 10 per cent. or an even higher percentage of the total population, there should be primary groups of all adults, who would elect representatives who would either vote in the same constituencies as the direct elector or in separate constituencies. This system of combining direct and indirect election

has, in the opinion of the local Government, little to commend it and is unlikely to prove acceptable. If the representatives of the groups vote with the direct electors, they will be swamped by them and whether this system or the alternative system of separate constituencies is adopted, it will result in a line of cleavage between the "haves" and "have-nots" and may accentuate the difference between the propertied class and others. There is also the fatal practical objection that it would be impossible to arrange for the double poll that would be involved.

7. The local Government are extremely doubtful whether it will be practicable to arrange for a direct election by an electorate consisting of 10 per cent. of the total population which in this province will amount to $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions. Such a system will be extremely expensive, a point which cannot be overlooked under present conditions and will throw a very severe strain on the whole executive machinery of Government. The difficulties which will arise are amplified in the note* annexed.

8. The system of indirect election by means of primary groups is, it must be recognised, an experiment and for that reason it is difficult to forecast the result. But the fact that it is reported to have proved successful in other Eastern countries tends to show that it would prove equally successful in India, though the existence of separate electorates for Muhammadans may make the result less certain. If we consider the question from the point of view of practicability, there is no reason to believe that it would be impracticable to introduce a general system of indirect election and it appears probable that such a system would be less expensive and would throw less strain on the administrative machinery than direct election with a very large number of voters. This aspect of the question is discussed in greater detail in the note* appended to this memorandum and some suggestions as to the system that might be followed are examined. Assuming, however, that the system is feasible, an attempt must be made to estimate its results and reactions.

9. The first question that arises is: "Who will be returned by the primary groups to the secondary college of electors—will they be really representatives of the village community by which they are elected and will they be competent to cast their votes intelligently and honestly in the secondary election?" Conditions vary to a very large extent in this heterogeneous province. In certain areas where the aboriginal population predominates, in particular in the Santal Parganas and in the Kolhan Government Estate in Singhbhum the village is a well-recognised unit; the village community consists of persons nearly all of the same tribe or caste and in each village there is a village headman who exercises some revenue and executive functions, while villages are grouped together under a circle headman who has more extensive duties and powers. In such an area partly because of this village system, partly because of the community of interest between all the residents in the village, the group system may be expected to prove specially successful; the village headman, or possibly in some cases the village priest, would be returned by the primary group and be

* Not printed.

fully able to represent their interests. The same result might be obtained in other aboriginal areas but in other parts of Chota Nagpur the village system is not so well-preserved and the inroads of Aryan settlers during the last century have divided up the aboriginal tribes, but in those parts where members of aboriginal tribes still are in a majority, it may be expected that the group system will prove successful and many persons well-acquainted with these areas are in favour of it.

10. In the non-aboriginal areas of Bihar and Orissa the results are still more difficult to forecast. In most villages there is usually some resident of the village who is respected by his co-villagers and who, if he stood as a candidate and was returned by the primary group, would be a capable representative of their interests. But some doubts have been expressed whether a person of this type, a respected elder of the village, would stand for election by the primary group, if it merely involved a journey to a distant polling station for the purpose of recording a vote. Success in the primary election would not increase his position or prestige in the village while, on the other hand, defeat in a contested election by a candidate of lower position would be regarded as ignominious. If, however, some system of village self-government such as is contemplated by the Bihar and Orissa Village Administration Act were developed, and if the representatives of primary groups were given some functions other than the mere recording of the vote, the post might become more attractive and responsible and shrewd villagers might come forward as candidates. This result may also be obtained if the political education of the masses makes more rapid progress and if they come to appreciate the power of the vote. But there is a certain risk, especially in the early years after the introduction of this novel system, that suitable candidates will not be forthcoming and that the secondary electors will be men of straw, men of the type of the village tout or professional agitator. But in considering what class of person is likely to be returned on a secondary election we have also to take into account not merely what type of candidates will be forthcoming but how the villagers will cast their votes. It is held by some that in a village election a voter will be more exposed to undue influence than if he records his vote directly by ballot at a distant polling station and hence a preference is expressed for direct election. Others hold that the experience of direct election during the last ten years shows that voters go to the polling station without any knowledge of the candidates and still less knowledge of the policy which they profess; they are caught hold of by the agents of the candidates and told to place their vote in a box of a certain colour; they do so and depart without any knowledge of the effect of their vote. In a village election, on the other hand, the elector will know that he has to choose the man he considers best able to represent his interests; he will know the rival candidates intimately and can be trusted to exercise his judgment wisely.

11. A further point which should not be overlooked in considering the question of indirect election is the question of the size of the

secondary college of electors. If the number of secondary voters is small, and if unreliable people are returned by the primary groups, corruption and bribery or intimidation might become rife, until public opinion in India definitely expresses itself against these methods. If corruption of secondary electors becomes prevalent, the standard of secondary elector will fall still lower and only professional politicians will stand as candidates. This objection could be lessened by increasing the number of secondary electors, *e.g.*, by providing two or more from each group or by having large secondary constituencies.

12. Though risks are involved, there appears no reason to hold that the system will prove a failure ; it may not give so stable a government as one based on a system of direct election with a high franchise, but it will, on the other hand, prevent that sense of instability and uncertainty which would certainly be felt if the Constitution was based on a low franchise and direct election ; it will also tend to secure better representation of all interests.

Adult suffrage in indirect elections.

13. Assuming, therefore, that a general system of indirect election is adopted, the further question arises whether there should be adult suffrage in the primary groups and whether a low property qualification should be necessary to entitle a person to vote.

14. From the point of view of practicability it does not make any material difference whether all the adults in a village have the right to vote or only a limited number ; adult suffrage would not increase to any marked extent the work involved in holding a group election. On the question whether in a system of indirect election adult suffrage is desirable or not there are divergent views. On the one hand, it is urged that the country is by no means fit for adult suffrage, even in the indirect system and that its introduction would increase the sense of instability. The primary groups would include not merely the landholders, tenants and shop-keepers in a village who could be expected to vote with a due sense of responsibility, but also the irresponsible half-educated youth of the village. There is a risk that this class would dominate an election. Indirect election is likely to prove some check on instability but this result will be less likely to be obtained if you do not have a limited primary electorate. The imposition of a property qualification, however low, will ensure that all voters have some position and some stake, however small, in the country. With adult suffrage the vote will be regarded as of no value and the chances of suitable secondary electors being returned are greatly lessened.

15. On the other hand, it is argued that if a large percentage of the population is enfranchised, it will make very little difference to the Constitution or its working if a further step is taken and adult suffrage is introduced forthwith with the group of village system of election. It is anticipated that the village, as a whole, will exercise its powers wisely and will select the best man. It is further urged that in this province the line of party cleavage in furture will be between landlords and tenants, that if a low property qualification is imposed, this will result in the

enfranchisement of tenants only who will be in a predominating majority over the landlords and all other classes. If the franchise is extended still further, other classes such as the rural labouring class will be included and it is possible, though on this point also there are very divergent opinions, that this class, if enfranchised, will support the landlords on whom they are in some cases economically dependent as against the tenants. Adult suffrage will help, therefore, to stabilise the position of the landlords which might be jeopardised by a large increase in the electorate based on a low property qualification which would give an overpowering vote to the one class of tenants. This view, it may be suggested, tends to regard the conflict of interests between landlords and tenants in a province such as Bihar as more fundamental than it really is. It is true that there are disputes between these two classes over minor points but at bottom their interests are identical. There is really a more fundamental difference between the landlords and tenants on the one side and the labouring classes on the other, between the "haves" and the "have-nots". There may also prove to be in future more marked diversity of interest between the town and the country, between the agricultural and the industrial interests.

Franchise qualification.

16. Though the local Government for reasons already given are not in favour of a wide extension of the franchise, yet it is desirable to examine what should be the franchise qualification, assuming that it is decided to enfranchise 10 per cent. of the population. The present franchise is based on payment of revenue, rent or cess in rural areas and on payment of municipal tax in urban areas. The present rural franchise gives rise to some practical difficulties which are described in greater detail in the note annexed.* It is difficult to make even an approximately accurate estimate of the number of voters who will be enrolled if payment of a certain amount of cess or rent is the qualification ; the preparation and maintenance of the electoral roll is laborious and also, a more serious difficulty, it is not easy in a province where rents vary to a very large extent between district and district and even between village and village to equalise the qualification over the whole province. Chaukidari tax is, however, in force throughout the whole province except some aboriginal areas ; it is assessed on all owners and occupants of houses in a village according to their circumstance and property and a list of all assessees which could be used as the electoral roll is kept both in the village and in the office of the Subdivisional Magistrate. If the franchise qualification is the payment of chaukidari tax of any amount (six annas per annum is the minimum amount payable) it will mean the enfranchisement of all householders except the very poorest, and it has been ascertained by enquiry that the total number of persons assessed to this tax in the province (excluding those areas in which the tax is not in force) is 2,741,012 (2,695,755 males and 45,257 females), a figure which is not very far short of 10 per cent. of the rural population. If a higher franchise is desired and the qualification is fixed at payment of Re. 1 as chaukidari tax, the total number of persons qualified would be only 1,331,076, of whom

* Not printed.

18,817 would be females. Chaukidari tax is thus the simplest qualification and at the same time the one most intelligible to the villager ; if the payment of chaukidari tax in any form is adopted, it will also mean that practically every interest is represented. In urban areas payment of tax by owners or occupants of houses is suitable and is the existing qualification for municipal elections ; it would, it is calculated, enfranchise about 136,893 persons of the urban population of 1,432,381. Payment of income-tax should continue as a qualification and it may also be necessary to include for rural areas payment of land revenue or cess though it is probable that most payers of revenue or cess will also be payers of chaukidari tax.

Educational qualification.

17. A further question that has been considered is whether any educational qualification should by itself be a franchise qualification without any property qualification. The argument in favour of making education a qualification irrespective of property is that thereby you may enrol some intelligent and educated men who would otherwise not be qualified and thereby improve the electorate. But if a low property qualification such as payment of municipal, chaukidari or income-tax of any amount is adopted, the number enfranchised by any additional qualification would be very small. On the other hand, there are objections to adopting any educational qualification, especially if the general qualification is based on property, for it goes contrary to the principle that representation should be based on payment to the State. With a low property qualification, it is anticipated that the only effect of an educational qualification in particular in rural areas, will be to enfranchise the junior educated members of a joint family. It remains, therefore, to consider the problem of the joint family.

Joint family.

18. Under the present rules only the head or manager of a joint family gets the vote, a system which is strictly logical, for it may be argued that if the manager represents the family in other matters he should also represent them in electoral matters. It has the practical effect however, of disfranchising a larger number of the members of families of higher caste among whom the joint family system prevails and it has been suggested that all members of a joint family should be given the vote. If, however, a joint family consisting of four members pays Rs. 64 as rent and if each member of the family is given a vote, there will at once be the anomaly that each member of the family obtains the vote by payment of only his share of Rs. 16 as rent, while a member of a separate family who pays Rs. 64 has only a single vote. It is difficult to get over the anomaly but the local Government consider that if the property qualification of the payment of minimum chaukidari tax is adopted, some method of enfranchising more adult members of a joint family is desirable. This might be done by giving votes to other adult members of a family, in addition to the head of the family, in proportion to the amount of tax paid, if they have reached a certain educational standard. This would get over the difficulty of joint families, and would give some weight to

educational qualifications, without unduly stressing them. A similar system might be adopted in the case of Muhammadan families, where the joint family system does not exist, but one member of the family pays the tax. This suggestion though possibly not free from objection gets over the difficulty of joint families and the objection that an educational qualification by itself is undesirable.

Women's suffrage.

19. Though His Majesty's Government attach special importance to the question of securing a more adequate enfranchisement of women than under the present system which applies to women the same qualifications as men and has produced a women's electorate numbering less than one-twentieth of the total male electorate, the local Government adhere to the opinions which they expressed on the recommendation of the Statutory Commission that as far as Bihar and Orissa is concerned, no case has been made for a rapid enfranchisement of women by giving the vote to the wives and widows of men with the necessary franchise qualification. They there pointed out that such a proposal had been generally condemned, in particular, by the higher castes who represented that it would lead to a duplication of the voting power of the less responsible and less educated classes of the community and also that a large increase in the number of women voters would render the actual holding of elections more difficult. It is difficult in fact to appreciate the reasons in support of this proposal. If it is put forward with the object of benefiting the cause of women and of securing that the legislature pays adequate attention to their special problems, this object will not be attained, for there is not the faintest chance that a woman candidate will ever be elected even if the number of women voters is substantially increased.

20. The local Government fully recognise that it is desirable that the new legislature should pay adequate attention to the problem of the women of India, the development of education, the provision of medical relief, etc. But this will not be secured by bringing women into the turmoil of politics and by endeavouring to drag them out of the "purdah" to record their votes at a polling booth. It will be better attained for many years to come by providing for special seats for women in the provincial legislatures and thereby ensuring that the Council has the benefit of the opinions of a few educated women. These seats may either be fitted by nomination or if that system is thought to be out of date by allowing the Council to co-opt a certain number of women members. If neither of these proposals is regarded as feasible, then the only alternative would be to create a special electorate for the whole province consisting of educated women ; even if a low educational qualification was adopted, the total number of voters would not be large for in 1921 only 67,000 women were recorded as literate in the Census ; voting would have to be conducted by post but this does not present any insuperable practical difficulties. Apart from the special electorate, women possessing the property qualification fixed for men would be enfranchised, but judging by the last election, the percentage which will actually record their votes will be small.

Second Chamber.

21. Up to this point some of the questions that arise in regard to the franchise for a lower Chamber have been considered. The need for a second Chamber has already been emphasized and many of the suggestions in regard to a lower Chamber have been based on the assumption that there will be a second Chamber. It remains to put forward some suggestions in regard to the second Chamber. The local Government do not propose to make definite suggestions as to the size of either Chamber but these questions will require careful consideration.

22. In their opinion on the report of the Statutory Commission the local Government suggested that the second Chamber should consist of three elements ; one-third should consist of persons directly elected by voters on a high franchise, thereby securing an adequate representation of the stake-holders in the country ; one-third to be elected by the lower Houses, thereby establishing connection between second Chamber and the general electorate and one-third to be nominated non-officials, thereby securing in the upper Chamber persons of ripe administrative experience, such as retired officers, etc. The suggestion that one-third should be nominated non-officials no longer appears practicable under the scheme of provincial autonomy now proposed and if it is considered desirable to obtain for the upper Chamber persons of age and experience who are unwilling to enter the turmoil of a contested election, some other means must be devised. The system of other democratic countries may be examined to see by what means this end is secured ; possibly election by a College of Electors, consisting of persons with administrative experience might be suitable. Apart from this it is, however, essential that at least one-third of the Chamber should be elected by electors with a high property qualification, such as that in force at present for the Council of State. By this means only can adequate representation of the stake-holders be secured and unless such representation is secured the stability of the constitution will be endangered.

Special Interests.

23. If in the interest of a stable constitution, the propertied classes are represented in the upper Chamber, it remains to consider whether any special representation should be given to special interests in the lower Chamber. Under the present constitution there are special constituencies for—

(*a*) landholders (five seats) ;
(*b*) the mining industry (two seats) ;
(*c*) the planting industry (one seat) ;
(*d*) Europeans (one seat) ;
(*e*) University (one seat).

Industrial interests other than planting and mining, the Anglo-Indian community, the domiciled Bengali community and the Indian Christian community are represented by means of nomination. It is doubtful whether any special representation is needed for the domiciled Bengali

community or the Indian Christian community but this is a point on which the views of the members of these communities should be considered. The Anglo-Indian community, though not large in this province, will need some representation for its interests are very different from those which will receive representation in the general constituencies. Europeans will also have to retain some seats for their advice and experience may be useful especially in the early days of the new constitution. The mining interest and the industrial interests will secure representation in the upper Chamber for they will form a considerable percentage of the electorate of stake-holders. The main question is thus whether the landholders who will also have a predominant voice in the electorate of the second Chamber should also have special representation in the lower Chamber. There can be little or no doubt that even a moderate extension of the franchise will decrease the representation of the landholders in the lower Chamber and may reduce it to insignificance. Their interests will, it is true, be protected to some extent by their influence in the upper Chamber but it is doubtful if this will be sufficient. Constant friction between the upper and lower Houses will not lead to smooth and efficient working of the constitution. If, on the other hand, the landholders are also represented in the lower Chamber, this friction may be avoided. It is desirable that representatives of the stake-holders should have the opportunity of placing their views directly before the democratic lower Chamber and this can only be secured by the reservation of seats for some members of this class.

II

Provisional memorandum by the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Franchise Committee.

The following Press Communiqué was issued by the local Government on the 19th January 1932 :—

" The Governor in Council has appointed a Provincial Franchise Committee to advise on the question which will be examined by the Central Franchise Committee which has been appointed by His Majesty's Government. The following have agreed to serve as members of the Committee :—

1. Lady Imam.
2. Babu Chandreshwar Prasad Narayan Singh, M.L.C.
3. Rai Bahadur Lakshmidhar Mahanti, M.L.C.
4. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.L.C.
5. Mr. Saiyd Muhammad Athar Husain, M.L.C.
6. The Reverend Brajananda Das, M.L.C.
7. Babu Swayambar Das, M.L.C.
8. Babu Shiva Shankar Jha.
9. Babu Gur Sahay Lal.
10. Maulvi Saiyid Mubarak Ali Sahib.
11. Mr. A. P. Middleton, I.C.S.
12. Mr. G. E. Owen, M.L.C., I.C.S.
13. Rai Bahadur Satish Chandra Mukharji, Secretary and Member.

The Committee will elect their own Chairman. The questionnaire prepared by the Central Committee has been widely circulated in the province and any person wishing to give an opinion on the questions included therein is requested to send in his opinion to the Secretary with as little delay as possible and not later than February 7th, 1932. The Secretary can supply spare copies of the questionnaire, if needed."

Mr. E. Danby was subsequently appointed as a member of the Committee.

At the first meeting of the Committee on the 20th January 1932 the Hon'ble Mr. J. T. Whitty, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Member of the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council, welcomed the members of the Committee on behalf of Government. His speech is appended as annexure A* to this report. Babu Chandreshwar Prasad Narayan Singh was unanimously elected as Chairman.

The Committee subsequently met on the 23rd January 1932 and on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th February, 1932. For convenience of reference, the provisional views of the Committee have been stated under each question of the questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee. In

* Page 134.

dealing with these questions the Committee has kept in view the following observations of the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee :—

" The Franchise Committee of the Round Table Conference considered that adult suffrage was the goal which should ultimately be attained but majority thought that it was not practicable to reach that goal immediately and recommended the immediate increase of the electorate so as to enfranchise not less than 10 per cent. of the population, and indeed a larger number—but not more than 25 per cent. of the total population —if that should, on full investigation, be found practicable and desirable."

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.

1.—Extension of Franchise.

Question 1 (a).—What means can you suggest by which the existing franchise for the provincial legislature could be extended so as to include 10 per cent. of the population in the electoral roll ?

According to the Census of 1931, the total population of Bihar and Orissa excluding the Feudatory States is 37,677,576. The statement below shows the number of non-Muhammadans and Muhammadans, both male and female, in British Bihar and Orissa :—

I

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan.	Total.
Male	16,679,026	2,115,112	18,794,138
Female ..	16,730,244	2,153,194	18,883,438
Total ..	33,499,270	4,268,306	37,677,576

If 10 per cent. of the total population be enfranchised, the total number of voters would be 3,767,757. Women constitute approximately half the total population. The approximate number of persons of and above 21 years of age in 1931 is given below —

II

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan.	Total.
Male	8,236,409	995,036	9,231,445
Female ..	8,518,355	1,052,343	9,570,698
Total ..	16,754,764	2,047,379	18,802,143

According to the above table, 50 per cent. of the total population are persons of and above 21 years of age and of these the women slightly outnumber the men. If the wives and widows of and over 21 years of age of male voters are enfranchised, the number of such women who have attained majority will be as follows :—

III

Description.	Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan.	Total.
Married ..	5,762,900	730,000	6,492,900
Widows ..	2,656,100	308,000	2,964,100
Total ..	8,419,000	1,038,000	9,457,000

At present, the main franchise qualification in urban constituencies is the payment of Rs. 3 annually as municipal or cantonment rates. In the general elections of 1930, the total number of urban votors was as follows :—

IV

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan.	Total.
Male	53,623	12,786	66,409
Female ..	3,058	1,315	4,373
Total ..	56,681	14,101	70,782

The existing franchise qualifications for rural constituencies vary in different parts of the province. They are mainly property qualifications, *viz.*, payment of revenue, cess and rent by proprietors, tenure-holders and tenants at certain rates per annum. The statement gives the total number of voters in rural constituencies during the general elections of 1930 :—

V

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan.	Total.
Male	319,498	35,562	355,060
Female ..	1,695	787	2,482
Total ..	321,193	36,349	357,542

The total urban population of Bihar and Orissa including the town of Jamshedpur is 1,516,119. As no municipal tax or any other tax or rate is levied in Jamshedpur " notified area ", the population of the town has been excluded for the present for purposes of calculation. Proposals for enfranchising the population of Jamshedpur are being separately considered. The table below gives the urban population of Bihar and Orissa excluding Jamshedpur :—

VI

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan.	Total.
Male	607,457	177,539	784,996
Female ..	492,213	155,172	647,385
Total ..	1,099,670	332,711	1,432,381

The total urban population being 1,432,381, the number of urban voters if 10 per cent. of the urban population be enfranchised, will be 143,238. At present one of the main qualifications for the municipal franchise is the payment of Rs. 1-8-0 as municipal tax. Enquiries were made as to the total number of persons on the municipal electoral roll. Figures were also obtained for the number of persons who pay Rs. 1-8-0 as tax in Doranda and Jugsalai " notified area " and in the Patna New Capital under the Patna Administration Committee. The results reported have been tabulated in the statement which is appended to this report as annexure B*. The total number of voters on the municipal electoral roll

* Pages 136-137.

and of persons who pay Rs. 1-8-0 as tax in the "notified areas" of Doranda and Jugsalai and in the Patna New Capital, is 148,943, of whom 121,579 are non-Muhammadans and 27,367 are Muhammadans. Of these, only 995 are women. Although women are entitled to vote in municipalities, very few of them are enrolled as voters. This is due to the indifference of women generally in the matter of having their names registered as electors whereas the number on the municipal electoral roll is only 995. The question of increasing the number of women voters is dealt with in the portion of the report relating to women's suffrage. The figures given above show that approximately 10 per cent. of the total population in urban areas will be enfranchised if all the voters on the municipal roll and those who pay Rs. 1-8-0 as tax in other urban areas are brought under the franchise for the local Council. Having in view these figures the Committee is of opinion that the extension of the franchise in the manner suggested in the question can be effected if the main municipal franchise, *viz.*, payment of Rs. 1-8-0 as tax or fee is adopted as the basis of the franchise qualification for the Council in urban areas.

In round figures, the rural population of the province is 36,000,000; franchise, *viz.*, payment of Rs. 1-8-0 as tax or fee is adopted as the basis. Parganas have been left out as these areas will have to be dealt with separately. This will be explained later on. The table below gives the figures of population in rural areas :—

VII

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadans.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Male	14,704,370	1,818,794	16,523,164
Female ..	14,836,045	1,775,083	16,721,128
Total ..	29,540,415	3,703,877	33,244,292

10 per cent. of the total population will be 3,324,429. Before the general elections of 1920 a suggestion was made that it would be simpler and more economical if the payment of chaukidari tax was made the basis of franchise for the local Council in rural areas and in favour of this it was urged that all classes would be represented including wage-earners, figures of voters could be easily compiled from chaukidari assessment list maintained in each sub-divisional office and no special staff would be required for the preparation of the electoral roll. It was also urged that the electoral roll could be prepared far more expeditiously than at present and it would not necessitate laying down franchise qualifications for different areas. After the general elections of 1926 the Elections Officer, Mr. Berthoud, observed as follows :—

"The franchise in rural areas is based on property qualification, but the vast bulk of the residents in these areas is as indifferent as ever in election matters and this causes considerable difficulty in hunting up property qualifications with a view to compiling a complete and correct roll. It would simplify work if the payment of chaukidari tax were made the basis of the franchise in rural areas, inasmuch as an up-to-date

register of assessees under the Chaukidari Act is maintained almost everywhere, from which a list of voters could be compiled with less difficulty. This is a question of some importance." For meeting the cost of upkeep of the rural police, *viz.*, village chaukidars (watchmen) and dafadars (head watchmen), a certain rate is levied in each village under section 15 of the Village Chaukidari Act VI of 1870. This rate is assessed according to the circumstances and the property to be protected of the persons liable to the same, provided that the amount assessed on any one person is not more than Re. 1 a month and that all persons who in the opinion of the *panches* (village officials) are too poor to pay half an anna a month are altogether exempted from assessment. The minimum chaukidari tax is half an anna a month or 6 annas a year. The payment of the minimum chaukidari tax has been adopted as a franchise qualification for the election of members of the Union Board or Panchayat under the Bihar and Orissa Village Administration Act III of 1922. In view of the advantages of adopting the payment of chaukidari tax as the basis of franchise qualification, the Committee had enquiries made in order to ascertain the number of persons who pay chaukidari tax of Re. 1 and of 6 annas a year. The Act is in force in the Patna, Tirhut, Bhagalpur (except in the Santal Parganas) and Orissa (except in the districts of Sambalpur and Angul) Divisions and a similar Act, *viz.*, the Chota Nagpur Rural Police Act I of 1914, is in force in the Chota Nagpur Division. The results of the enquiries are tabulated in a statement which forms annexure C* to this report. The table below shows the total number of persons paying chaukidari tax of 6 annas a year :—

VIII

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadans.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Male	2,561,945	322,988	2,884,933
Female ..	40,268	7,417	47,685
Total ..	2,602,213	330,405	2,932,618

If the payment of the minimum chaukidari tax of annas 6 is adopted as the basis of franchise qualifications, 2,932,618 out of a total of 33,244,292 persons or about 9 per cent. of the rural population will have the right to vote. So far as men in rural areas are concerned, about 17·5 per cent. of the total male population or 35 per cent. of the adult male population will be enfranchised. The relative voting strength of the two main communities, non-Muhammadans and Muhammadans, would be more or less the same. The total number of women chaukidari tax-payers is 47,685 or approximately 1·6 per cent. of the total number of such tax-payers. As stated above, the question of increasing the number of women voters will be dealt with in the portion of the report regarding "Women's suffrage". It may be mentioned here that the chaukidari tax provides for assessment of *separate interests*. If the chaukidari tax is adopted as the basis of franchise, the adult members of a joint family other than the head of the family will have no right to vote. The same principle has been adopted in the existing Electoral Rules. Where property is held or

* Pages 138-141.

payments are made on the principle of a joint family, the family is adopted as the unit for deciding whether the requisite qualification exists, and if it does exist, the person qualified is, in the case of a Hindu joint family, the manager or head thereof and, in other cases, the member authorised in that behalf by the family concerned. The Committee has considered the question whether disqualification of the other members of a family entitled to vote should be removed and all adult members of such a family given the franchise. This, however, is bound to involve the question of lowering the franchise qualification in favour of Hindu joint families. As the Chaukidari Act provides for the assessment of the separate interests, some at least of the adult members of a joint family, who live joint in mess but have separately recorded shares for which they pay revenue, rent or cess separately of an amount sufficient to make them liable to chaukidari assessment, will be included in the electoral roll. Some again will be so included if there is an educational qualification in addition to the property qualifications. Having regard to the figures shown in Statement C* the Committee considers that approximately 10 per cent. of the population will be included in the electoral roll if the payment of the minimum chaukidari tax is adopted as the basis of the franchise qualifications in rural areas.

Question 1 (*b*).—Do you consider that such an electorate will be capable of casting an intelligent vote ?

The majority of members of the Committee are of opinion that the percentage of voters who cast their votes intelligently under the existing franchise is very low and that it would be lower still if the franchise is further extended. Babu Gur Sahay Lal holds the view that the proportion of intelligent voters is increasing at every general election and there is no reason why the number of such voters will not increase further if the franchise is lowered, the political education of the masses being only a question of time. Pandit Shiva Shankar Jha is of opinion that it would make no difference in the proportion of intelligent voters if 10 per cent. of the total population were enfranchised.

Question 1 (*c*).—Do you consider that such an electorate would be administratively manageable having regard to the arrangements likely to be feasible for the preparation, maintenance and revision of the Electoral Rolls, and for the recording and counting of votes ?

The answer to the question depends on whether the election should be by the direct method or by the indirect method. The task of preparation, maintenance and revision of electoral rolls will, no doubt, be simplified if the municipal rolls are taken as the basis of franchise for urban areas and chaukidari assessment lists as the basis for rural areas. But if the direct method is adopted it will be necessary to print the rolls, and the cost of printing an electoral roll containing the names, qualifications and addresses of 37 lakhs of persons would be enormous. By the direct method of election there will be also considerable administrative difficulties

* Pages 138—141.

in the recording and counting of votes of such a large number of voters. It may be possible to make some sort of polling arrangements for 10 per cent. of the population by increasing the number of polling stations, employing all available Government officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial, and also a number of Government pensioners and invoking the aid of Honorary Magistrates and a few other reliable non-officials including members of local bodies. The pensioners, however, might often be too old for the very strenuous work of presiding at a poll and the other non-officials, including members of local bodies, would probably have inadequate executive experience and in many cases may be taking part in the election. In certain areas where the staff available will not be sufficient for conducting the election of non-Muhammadan voters in rural areas in one day, it may be necessary to spread the election over more than one day. But this would mean an unusual amount of strain on the administrative machinery, and would be unwise and impracticable—if there be a joint electorate for non-Muhammadans and Muhammadans.

Moreover, a protracted election, if party feeling was high, will tend to increase the chances of rioting and serious breaches of peace. At any rate, it will be a make-shift arrangement which is bound to break down if the franchise is further extended in future and if adult suffrage is the goal to be ultimately reached. It is true that indirect election is not without its drawbacks, specially in India where there are several religious communities and sects or sub-sects under each community. There is also the risk that in the interval between the primary and the secondary election pressure or undue influence may be brought to bear on a secondary voter by interested persons. But this risk will be minimised if the interval between the two elections is shortened and if the number of secondary electors is increased. This may be done by allowing the primary groups to elect, 2, 3 or even 4 representatives so that each community or each important caste or sect may have a secondary elector of its own choice. The Committee has given its careful consideration to this question. The majority of its members are of opinion that if adult suffrage is to be the goal, it would be necessary to adopt the indirect method of election later on and that it would be better to adopt it now in order to familiarise the people with the method which they would have to ultimately adopt. They consider that it will solve all difficulties and will work admirably if it is ultimately decided to have a joint electorate with or without reservation of seats for all communities. It will facilitate the recording of votes of women, if they are given the vote. If the system of indirect election is adopted, the group must be the chaukidari village which is a well-known unit and is defined in the Village Chaukidari Act. Two of the members of the Committee, namely, Pandit Shiva Shankar Jha and Babu Gursahay Lal are definitely opposed to any form of indirect election on the ground that the candidates will not be in direct touch with their voters and that money-lenders and village touts will play a very prominent part under this system. According to them, indirect election has no life in it and is likely to promote undesirable factions in villages and corruption will be rife. This opinion is also, to

a large extent, shared by Babu Swayambar Das who would not like professional politicians to get a chance of succeeding in the elections whether by direct or indirect method.

Question 1 (d).—If answer to (*b*) and (*c*) is in the negative, what alternative qualifications for the electorate would you propose ?

The Committee is of opinion that the payment of chaukidari tax in rural areas and of Rs. 1-8-0 as municipal tax or fees in urban areas if adopted as basis of the franchise qualification will produce the desired number of voters. Some of the members (Pandit Shiva Shankar Jha, Babu Gur Sahay Lal, Babu Swayambar Das and Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray) think that in order to increase the number of voters, who will be able to cast their votes intelligently, the Committee may suggest an alternative educational qualification. This will be also dealt with under 2(*d*). On the other hand, those who favour indirect election, feel that the question does not arise since everybody who is somebody will have the chance to exercise his vote in a group with whom he is directly concerned and is in touch, so that no question of intelligent voting could arise. It has also been shown that such a system would be workable if adopted.

Question 1 (e).—If the answer to (*b*) and (*c*) is in the affirmative, do you consider that it would be practicable and desirable, having regard to the same consideration, to enlarge the electoral roll still further and, if so, what means would you suggest for the purpose ?

The majority of the Committee consider that whatever system of election be adopted, it was not desirable for the present to extend the franchise to more than 10 per cent. of the total population though it would be quite practicable to enlarge the electoral roll still further under the indirect method. Some of the members, namely, Lady Imam, Babu Gur Sahay Lal, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray and Pandit Shiva Shankar Jha are of opinion that the franchise should be extended still further up to 25 per cent., if it is practicable. Others, however, think that the question would not arise if indirect election with adult suffrage is adopted.

Question 1 (f).—It has been suggested that, assuming adult suffrage to be impracticable at present, all adults not entitled to a direct vote should be grouped together in primary groups of about 20 or in some other suitable manner for the election of one or more representative members from each group, who would be entitled to vote in the provincial election either in the same constituencies as the directly qualified voters or in separate constituencies to be framed for them. The suggestion has been discussed mainly with reference to rural villages, but might be made applicable to towns also.

Do you consider that any such system would be feasible and advantageous in the areas with which you are acquainted, and, if so, would you advise that the group electors should vote in the same constituencies as the directly qualified electors, or in separate constituencies composed of group electors only ?

(*g*) It has been proposed that in the event of separate constituencies being framed for group electors, only group electors should be qualified to stand as candidates for such constituencies.

Are you in favour of this course ?

The Committee has been unanimous in its decision that a combination of the two systems, direct and indirect, will lead to quite undesirable results, as it will always tend to bring about feelings of distinction between the two classes and may ultimately result in a sort of class war. It will also be impracticable from the administrative points of view as it will throw a very heavy strain on the electoral machinery.

Question 1 (*h*).—Do you consider it would be feasible and advantageous to abolish all existing qualifications for voters and to extend a system of the nature described in (*f*) (corrupt group) adult voters, confining electorate for all constituents to secondaries chosen by groups of primary voters ?

(*i*) In the event of your answer to (*f*) or (*h*) being in affirmative, what do you consider would be a suitable size for out groups referred to above ? On what basis would you constitute them and whom would you charge with the duty of framing them ?

(*j*) Would you require any special qualifications, whether property, educational or other, in person chosen by out groups to vote on their behalf for election of members ? If so, what ?

Lady Imam would answer this question as follows : " Yes. This is an improvement on the scheme described in (*f*). If the entire basis of the franchise is rested on primary groups of adults, men and women, the nearest approach to universal suffrage will be made. This scheme has the additional merit of reducing administrative difficulties. As for instance, a primary group of one hundred adults will be represented by one of its own secondary group to be its representative, and this representative will be a direct voter to election to the legislature. With local non-official aid the administrative arrangements of the primary and the secondary groups can be easily carried out at a nominal cost. Considering the size of the province I would fix the strength of the primary group at one hundred of whom not less than five per cent. should have the property or literacy qualification. I would further restrict the election of the representatives of the primary group to only such as may have either of these two qualifications. Thus, the primary representatives will represent the majority in the primary groups. As regards the secondary group, I would fix its number at twenty-five. In this way, the elected

representatives of the secondary group will represent groups of the aggregate strength of two thousand five hundred adults. In this way, the number of direct voters to election to the Legislatures in a single constituency will be reduced to a manageable size, thereby largely obviating administrative difficulties. I have put forward the above suggestion as a general exposition of the scheme. It may be that in some separate communal elections the strength of the primary and secondary group may have to be lowered but that will make no difference in principle. As in some parts of the province there may be congested areas and in some sparse population a fractional primary group may be joined to a neighbouring group of the same class."

The majority of the members do not favour this type of indirect election. They prefer a system of indirect election in which there is but one primary election followed by the general election by the electors selected by the primary groups.

2. Franchise Qualifications.

Question 2 (a).—Do you consider that in the areas with which you are acquainted there is any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas? If so, what measures would you suggest in order to rectify such disparities?

The Committee recognises that at present there is some disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas. They consider, however, that the adoption of the payment of minimum chaukidari tax for rural areas and of the municipal franchise for urban areas will remove such disparities.

Question 2 (b).—It has been suggested that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers, and that the franchise system should be so contrived as to secure this result, in so far as it may be practicable.

Are you in agreement with this suggestion, and, if so, what measures would you suggest for giving effect to it in your province on the assumption (*a*) that separate electorates are retained, (*b*) of joint electorates with reservation of seats and (*c*) of joint electorates without reservation of seats?

From annexures B and C* it will be seen that the relative voting strength of the non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan population in rural and urban areas will be practically the same if the franchise qualifications suggested are adopted.

Question 2 (c).—Is the possession of property of some kind in your opinion a suitable test of fitness for the franchise—the term "property" should be understood in its widest sense as including ownership of landed property and also occupation of land or house property or receipt of income or wage whether in cash or kind? If so, do you consider the existing property

* Printed at pages 136 and 138, respectively.

qualifications suitable ? If you do not, what modification do you suggest ?

The majority of the Committee considers that a franchise qualification based on property is necessary. As stated above, chaukidari tax is assessed according to circumstances, and the property to be protected of the persons liable to the same. It is levied in rural areas on small traders according to their income and on agricultural labourers according to their wages. A voter should have some stake in the country and in suggesting the payment of chaukidari tax and the municipal franchise as the basis the Committee has kept this point in view.

Question 2 (d).—Are you in favour of introducing a qualification based on education, independently of property, and, if so, what educational qualification would you suggest ?

The Committee is in favour of introducing a qualification based on education apart from property but not independently of property. The general opinion is that all men who have passed the Middle standard (Middle English or Middle Vernacular and the corresponding oriental examinations in *tols* and *madrasas*) and women who are literate, that is, able to read and write a letter, should have the right to vote. Some of the members, Babu Gursahay Lal, Babu Swayambar Das and Rev. Brajananda Das, are in favour of lowering the educational qualification for men to the passing of the upper primary examination only. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray recommends that a lower educational standard should be fixed for the aboriginals.

Question 2 (e).—Are you in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and extending it so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces ?

The members are unanimously in favour of this.

3. Women's Suffrage.

Question 3 (a).—At present women are admitted to the suffrage on the same terms as men, but as the existing qualifications are mainly based on property and the payments of taxes, the number of women on the provincial electoral rolls is only a little over a quarter of a million as compared with 6½ million men. The Statutory Commission proposed that the wives and widows (if over 25 years of age) of men, entitled to vote under the property qualification, should be enfranchised, and that in addition an educational qualification should apply to women over 21 as well as to men. In the franchise sub-committee of the Round Table Conference it was suggested that the age-limit should be 21 for women as for men.

Are you in favour of increasing the women's electorate in the ways suggested or would you prefer any other method, if so, what method ? To what extent would you favour increase in women's electorate ?

(*b*) In the event of a system of group representation being established as proposed in paragraph 1 (*f*), do you consider that women should be formed into groups, and, if so, should separate groups be formed for women or should groups contain both men and women?

Of the members, Lady Imam is in favour of the proposal of enfranchising wives and widows of the men entitled to vote under the qualifications mentioned above; literacy may be an additional qualification. The other members are, however, of opinion that literacy and the property qualifications should be the franchise qualifications for women. The number of adult literate women in the province is about 72,000. The property qualifications may bring in only another 8,000 as in the case of women such qualifications are likely to overlap educational qualifications. Altogether there will be about 80,000 women voters. For them, the indirect method of election is, in the opinion of the Committee, most suitable, particularly in rural areas. If 80,000 women voters be allowed to vote in the first stage in groups of 25, the total number of secondaries will be 3,200. For them the system of postal voting may be adopted. Should it be decided to introduce direct method of election, the Committee considers that it will be necessary to have separate polling booths for them as the majority of women in the province observe *purdah*.

Question 3 (*c*).—The suggestion has been made that at any rate as a temporary measure legislature should co-opt women members to the extent not exceeding 5 per cent. by a system of proportional representation so as to ensure some representation of women in legislature. What are your views?

The majority of the Committee is of opinion that women should have separate representation in the Council and a certain number of seats should be reserved for them.

4. Depressed Classes.

Question 4.—Do you consider that the depressed classes are likely, through such general franchise as you favour, to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates, and, if so, to what extent? If your answer is in the negative, are you in favour of the institution of (*a*) separate electorates for the depressed classes, and, if so, on what basis or (*b*) joint electorates with reserved seats. The possible application of the group system of representation to the depressed classes should be specially considered.

It is difficult to give an exhaustive list of the castes or sects who come under the definition of depressed classes. The only classes which can be called depressed are *Mushars*, *Dusadhs*, *Chamars*, *Doms and Mehtars*. Their number is not sufficiently large to justify their being grouped in a separate electoral roll. The problem of depressed classes is not so acute in Bihar as in Bombay or South India. The Committee

considers that there is no need for special representation of the depressed classes. A sufficiently large number of them would be entitled to vote if the qualifications as suggested above are adopted; they may be included in the non-Muhammadan electoral roll. The Chairman, Mr. Middleton and Mr. Danby do not think that a sufficient number of depressed classes and untouchables would be included, if the property qualification, as suggested in the beginning of this memorandum, is adopted as the basis of franchise. They, however, consider that the difficulties of their representation will have been very greatly solved, if the indirect election with adult suffrage is adopted; and if each primary group is allowed to elect two or more secondaries, there is every possibility of some candidates of the depressed classes succeeding at the polls. The Committee is unanimous that there is no need for a separate electorate for the depressed classes and that it would be unwise and unworkable.

5. Representation of Special Interests.

Question 5 (*a*).—What are the special measures which you recommend for representation of labour where it is or can be organised as in industrial areas, (*b*) where it is organised as in case of Agricultural and Plantation Labour? On what basis would you allot representation of labour in each case?

A. 5 (*a*). The Committee is not in favour of special representation for the university and for the domiciled Bengalis.

All the members favour the retention of special representation for the Europeans.

As regards Commerce, most of the members agree that it should have special representation.

The Committee is generally in favour of a separate representation for the Indian Christians. Rev. Brajananda Das and Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, however, consider that they may vote in the general electorate but should have seats reserved for them.

The Committee is divided in the matter of giving special representation to the landholders. Some of the members are of opinion that if a second chamber was established in which the landholders are likely to be sufficiently represented, it is not necessary for them to be specially represented in the Lower House. There are others who think that they would be able to contest seats successfully in the general constituencies. But the majority considers that as the landholders have a considerable stake in the country and as they are likely to be out-numbered by the general voters, some sort of special representation should be provided for them in the Lower House. The maintenance of special representation for the landholders in the Lower House is also essential because their absence in the parliament of the people might tend to increase the hostility against them as a class and may finally result in the unpopularity of the upper chamber.

5 (*b*). Regarding industrial labour the Committee is of opinion that it is not necessary to provide special representation but a separate constituency should be formed for Jamshedpur town for which franchise qualifications are being considered.

About agricultural labour, the general opinion is that a sufficient number of members will be returned from the general constituencies on the chaukidari tax basis.

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. Allocation of seats to British Indian Provinces.

In the third report of the Federal Structure Committee the following allocation of seats to provinces of British India in the two chambers of the federal legislature was tentatively suggested :—

Names of Provinces.	Upper Chamber.	Lower Chamber.
Madras	17	32
Bombay	17	26
Bengal	17	32
United Provinces	17	32
Punjab	17	26
Bihar and Orissa	17	26
Central Provinces (if Berar is included)	7	12
Assam	5	7
North-West Frontier Province ..	2	3
Delhi	1	1
Ajmer-Merwara	1	1
Coorg	1	1
British Baluchistan	1	1
Total ..	120	200

As a working hypothesis for the purpose of arithmetical calculation at the present stage it may be assumed that the general legislature will be approximately of the size included in the report of the Federal Structure Committee.

(*a*) The Federal Structure Committee proposed that the representatives of British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislature by a single transferable vote. Do you agree with this proposal or have you any alternative to suggest ? (*b*) Do you consider that the franchise qualifications ought to be different for the Federal and Provincial Legislature ? If so, what do you consider it ought to be in the case of the Federal Legislature ?

(*c*) The majority of members of the Federal Structure Committee considered that election to the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would cast their vote directly for the candidates of their

choice. Under a scheme of this nature there would be more than a million inhabitants on an average in each constituency. The constituency would in some cases be of enormous size especially if communal electorates were introduced. In view of obvious difficulties which must confront a candidate in canvassing and maintaining contact with such large constituency the Committee recommended that alternatives of direct and indirect elections should be fully explored and suggested that while it might be possible without difficulty to adopt direct election in certain areas some form of indirect election might prove desirable in rural areas.

The Franchise Committee would be glad to have your views on this difficult question. In the event of your favouring some system of direct election it would be very useful if you would indicate the nature of the constituency that you would form having regard to the number of seats which you consider ought to be allotted to your province.

The Committee is of opinion that the members for the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be elected by both the Houses of the Provincial Legislature. As regards the Lower House of the Federal Legislature the members are divided in their opinion. Some consider that the members of the Lower House should be elected by the direct method as at present the qualifications for the voters being either on the basis of the existing franchise qualifications for the Legislative Assembly with modifications or payment of chaukidari tax of an amount sufficient to bring in an electorate four or five times the present number. Others are of opinion that members of the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should be elected by the members of the provincial legislature from amongst themselves and from outsiders. A suggestion was also made that the voting for the Lower House might be by indirect method as in the case of the provincial body.

7. Size of Provincial Legislature.

The majority of the Committee is of opinion that the number of members of the Legislative Council should be raised from 103 to 200, a few expert members being added when special problems are under consideration. Others think that 150 to 175 should at least be the number of members.

8. Qualification of candidates.

The Committee is of opinion that the present qualifications are suitable but some changes might be made in the list of disqualifications.

9. Bicameral Legislature.

On this question the members are not unanimous.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, Pandit Shiva Shankar Jha, Babu Gursahay Lal and Babu Swayambar Das are strongly opposed to the creation of a second Chamber in this province as necessity for it has not yet been established and as the respective functions of the Upper and Lower Houses have not yet been defined. The majority of the members are,

however, of opinion that a second Chamber is an absolute necessity, especially during the transition stage. It exists in almost all the democratic countries of the world and exercises a steadying influence on hasty or ill-conceived decisions of the Lower House. The utility is apparent from the fact that it is being established where it did not exist before. There has been some apprehension in the minds of the people that the creation of 2 Chambers will put one in subordination of the other. I cannot do better in this respect than to quote the views of the Federal Committee :—

> "It would be misconception of the aims which we have in view to regard this Chamber as a drag or impediment on the activities of the other. In our view, the two Chambers will be complementary to each other, each representing somewhat different, but, we hope, not antagonistic, aspects of the Federation as a whole. Absolute equality between the two Chambers of a bicameral Legislature is no doubt unattainable, and, if it were attainable, might well result in perpetual deadlock ; and there is no less doubt that, the provisions of the constitution notwithstanding, the evolution of political development will inevitably result, in the course of time, in placing the centre of gravity in one Chamber."

CHANDRESHWAR PRASAD NARAYAN SINGH,
Chairman, on behalf of the Committee.

The 9th February 1932.

ANNEXURE A.

Speech of the Hon'ble Mr. J. T. Whitty, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Member of the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council.

I have come here to welcome you on behalf of the Government of Bihar and Orissa at the first meeting of our Provincial Franchise Committee. I am not going to attempt to explain the work which you have to do; you know as much about that as we do from the speeches of the Prime Minister and others and from the questionnaire which has been sent to you. All I wish to do besides welcoming you and wishing you success in your work is to explain very briefly how your Committee has been constituted.

Ordinarily, Government would have wished to have consulted the Legislative Council as to the composition of a Committee of this kind. Unfortunately they were not able to do so owing to the shortness of time. It was necessary to appoint the Committee at once in order that you might have time to formulate your ideas, and to collect as much material as possible before meeting the Franchise Committee which is coming from England. The Franchise Committee from England is expected to be in Patna on the 15th February, and that would be before the first meeting of the Legislative Council.

As Government were unable to consult the Council, we have tried to select a Committee which will represent as many important interests as possible in our province. I will not attempt to tell you what interests each member represents; I hope this will be obvious to you; but in any case, now that you are on the Committee, you will want to work together as a united body, and to put up a case which will be fair to every interest and not unduly biassed in favour of any particular one.

Government are grateful to you all for having agreed to serve, and for your readiness to give up your time to a great work of public service.

It is unnecessary for me to explain how vastly important this work is. Franchise is really the foundation of the whole edifice of any democratic constitution, and I am sure you will recognise its importance, and also that in appointing the Franchise Committee Government have taken the most important step that can be taken to get the new constitution started, and have taken it with the greatest possible promptitude. They wish to show that they intend that this work shall go forward with the utmost possible despatch, and to make quite clear their determination that there shall be no delay in introducing the new constitution, whatever the difficulties that have been created by the attitude of the Congress party.

I should like also to assure you that Government are anxious to give you every possible help in your work. I think they have shown this by the official members who have been appointed to the Committee. I ask you to accept my best wishes for the success of your deliberations.

ANNEX

Total number of urban

Serial No.	Districts.	Total population of municipal towns in Bihar and Orissa					
		Non-Muhammadans.			Muhammadans.		
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Patna* ..	111,429	90,335	201,764	39,526	31,252	70,778
2	Gaya	45,878	34,715	80,593	13,691	10,901	24,592
3	Shahabad ..	46,486	40,067	86,553	15,665	15,412	31,077
	Divisional Total	203,793	165,117	368,910	68,882	57,565	126,447
4	Saran	28,672	23,340	52,012	9,530	8,933	18,463
5	Champaran ..	17,969	13,293	31,262	7,216	7,008	14,224
6	Muzaffarpur ..	35,886	27,454	63,340	9,822	8,842	18,664
7	Darbhanga ..	38,960	32,792	71,752	13,894	12,579	26,473
	Divisional Total	121,487	96,879	218,366	40,462	37,362	77,824
8	Monghyr ..	35,513	30,996	66,509	8,708	7,992	16,700
9	Bhagalpur ..	35,969	27,320	63,289	13,531	12,260	25,791
10	Purnea ..	19,196	12,409	31,605	8,603	6,015	14,618
11	Santal Parganas	22,438	17,741	40,179	4,523	3,834	8,357
	Divisional Total	113,116	88,466	201,582	35,365	30,101	65,466
12	Cuttack ..	41,180	34,215	65,395	6,688	6,473	13,161
13	Puri	20,359	16,734	37,093	344	131	475
14	Balasore ..	8,240	5,988	14,228	1,893	1,722	3,615
15	Sambalpur ..	7,126	6,743	13,869	590	558	1,148
	Divisional Total†	76,905	63,680	140,585	9,515	8,884	18,699
16	Hazaribagh ..	19,693	18,126	37,819	6,644	6,394	13,038
17	Ranchi‡ ..	25,910	22,526	48,436	8,223	8,156	16,379
18	Singhbhum§ ..	13,805	11,090	24,895	3,201	2,601	5,802
19	Manbhum ..	27,322	22,084	49,406	4,072	2,915	6,987
20	Palamau ..	5,426	4,245	9,671	1,175	1,194	2,369
	Divisional Total	92,156	78,071	170,227	23,315	21,260	44,575
	Grand Total for Bihar and Orissa (excluding Jamshedpur).	607,457	492,213	1,099,670	177,539	155,172	332,711

N.B.—The total number of female voters in Bihar and Orissa

URE B.

voters in Bihar and Orissa.

acording to the Census of 1931.						
Total.			Non-Muhammadan male voters in municipalities.	Muhammadan male voters in municipalities.	Total number of male voters in municipalities.	Remarks.
Male.	Female.	Total.				
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
150,955	121,587	272,542	23,633	5,596	29,229	*The population of Patna New Capital and persons paying a tax of Rs. 1-8-0 and over to the Patna Administration Committee have been included in the figures shown against Patna district. Similarly those living within the jurisdiction of Dinapore Cantonment have been included. †There is no municipality in Angul district. ‡The population of and persons paying a tax of Rs. 1-8-0 and over in Doranda Notified Area have been included in the figures shown against "Ranchi." §The population of Jamshedpore has not been included in this statement. It is an industrial town with a population of 83,738 but has no municipal committee. No tax or rate is imposed upon the people of this town; proposals to enfranchise them are being considered separately. The population of and persons paying a tax of Rs. 1-8-0 and over in Jugsalai Notified Area have been included in the figures shown against "Singhbhum."
59,569	45,616	105,185	9,300	1,706	11,006	
62,151	55,479	117,630	12,570	2,822	15,392	
272,675	222,682	495,357	45,503	10,124	55,627	
38,202	32,273	72,475	5,670	1,496	7,166	
25,185	20,301	45,486	3,600	903	4,503	
45,708	36,296	82,004	7,878	1,660	9,538	
52,854	45,371	98,225	11,080	2,688	13,768	
161,949	134,241	296,190	28,228	6,747	34,975	
44,221	38,988	83,209	6,443	1,238	7,681	
49,500	39,580	89,080	6,219	2,136	8,355	
27,799	18,424	46,223	4,309	1,474	5,783	
26,961	21,575	48,536	4,378	771	5,149	
148,481	118,567	267,048	21,349	5,619	26,968	
47,868	40,688	88,556	6,614	982	7,596	
20,703	16,865	37,568	2,883	32	2,915	
10,133	7,710	17,843	785	239	1,024	
7,716	7,301	15,017	1,380	135	1,515	
86,420	72,564	158,984	11,662	1,388	13,050	
26,337	24,520	50,857	3,178	1,074	4,252	
34,133	30,682	64,815	3,222	729	3,951	
17,006	13,691	30,697	1,510	309	1,819	
31,394	24,999	56,393	5,023	769	5,792	
6,601	5,439	12,040	1,258	256	1,514	
115,471	99,331	214,802	14,191	3,137	17,328	
784,996	647,385	1,432,381	120,933	27,015	147,948	

is only 995 (Non-Muhammadan—643 and Muhammadan 352).

ANNEX

Number of Chaukidari Tax-

Serial No.	District.	Area.	Rural population			
			Non-Muhammadan.			
			Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		Sq. m.				
1	Patna	2,068	747,597	704,939	1,452,536	64,203
2	Gaya	4,714	1,030,328	1,023,980	2,054,308	103,746
3	Shahabad	4,371	879,453	876,415	1,755,868	57,595
	Divisional Total ..	11,153	2,657,378	2,605,334	5,262,712	225,544
4	Saran	2,683	1,043,674	1,081,777	2,125,451	138,173
5	Champaran	3,531	886,999	873,191	1,760,190	168,772
6	Muzaffarpur ..	3,036	1,223,109	1,263,365	2,486,474	175,030
7	Darbhanga	3,348	1,316,336	1,337,969	2,654,305	201,769
	Divisional Total ..	12,598	4,470,118	4,556,302	9,026,420	683,744
8	Bhagalpur	4,226	1,068,358	1,031,709	2,100,067	111,726
9	Monghyr	3,927	1,000,876	991,272	1,992,148	100,700
10	Purnea	4,971	654,138	614,432	1,268,570	447,744
	Divisional Total ..	13,124	2,723,372	2,637,413	5,360,785	660,170
11	Cuttack	3,654	956,989	1,078,219	2,035,208	23,277
12	Balasore	1,085	447,674	478,680	926,354	13,768
13	Puri	2,492	468,980	506,563	975,543	10,531
	Divisional Total ..	7,231	1,873,643	2,063,462	3,937,105	45,576
14	Hazaribagh	7,021	647,464	660,380	1,307,844	78,155
15	Ranchi	7,105	717,375	735,291	1,452,666	25,555
16	Palamau	4,916	366,983	367,581	734,564	36,194
17	Manbhum	4,147	850,975	799,132	1,650,107	57,640
18	Singhbhum	3,879	397,062	411,150	808,212	4,216
	Divisional Total ..	27,068	2,979,859	2,973,534	5,953,293	201,760
	Grand Total for the province of Bihar and Orissa (excluding the districts of the Santal Parganas, Sambalpur and Angul).	71,174	14,704,370	14,836,045	29,540,415	1,818,794

N. B.—The Village Chaukidari Act, 1870, is in force in the Patna, Tirhut, Bhagalpur (except in and the Chota Nagpur Rural Police Act, 1914, in the Chota Nagpur Division.

URE C.

payers in Bihar and Orissa.

according to the Census of 1931.					Number of persons paying 6 annas and above as chaukidari tax.		
Muhammadans.		Total.			Non-Muhammadan.		
Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
71,451	135,654	811,800	776,390	1,588,190	98,682	2,778	101,460
125,223	228,969	1,134,074	1,149,203	2,283,277	203,183	2,516	205,699
62,696	120,291	937,048	939,111	1,876,159	202,430	3,321	205,751
259,370	484,914	2,882,922	2,864,704	5,747,626	504,295	8,615	512,910
152,369	290,542	1,181,847	1,234,146	2,415,993	150,338	1,800	152,138
171,239	340,011	1,055,771	1,044,430	2,100,201	124,607	1,192	125,799
197,517	372,547	1,398,139	1,460,882	2,859,021	164,309	2,165	166,474
211,795	413,564	1,518,105	1,549,764	3,067,869	183,515	3,250	186,765
732,920	1,416,664	5,153,862	5,289,222	10,443,084	622,769	8,407	631,176
111,919	223,645	1,180,084	1,143,628	2,323,712	148,805	2,511	151,316
111,097	211,797	1,101,576	1,102,369	2,203,945	200,334	2,770	203,104
424,006	871,750	1,101,882	1,038,438	2,140,320	146,244	1,195	147,439
647,022	1,307,192	3,383,542	3,284,435	6,667,977	495,383	6,476	501,859
29,666	52,943	980,266	1,107,885	2,088,151	241,537	2,570	244,107
14,352	28,120	461,442	493,032	954,474	128,825	2,308	131,133
11,512	22,043	479,511	518,075	997,586	73,618	951	74,569
55,530	103,106	1,921,219	2,118,992	4,040,211	443,980	5,829	449,809
80,501	158,656	725,619	740,881	1,466,500	92,365	1,396	93,761
24,113	49,668	742,930	759,404	1,502,334	157,283	4,616	161,899
35,938	72,132	403,177	403,519	806,696	67,838	1,071	68,909
46,750	104,390	908,615	845,882	1,754,497	140,975	3,104	144,079
2,939	7,155	401,278	414,089	815,367	37,057	754	37,811
190,241	392,001	3,181,619	3,163,775	6,345,394	495,518	10,941	506,459
1,885,083	3,703,877	16,523,164	16,721,128	33,244,292	2,561,945	40,268	2,602,213

the districts of Santal Parganas) and Orissa (except in the district of Sambalpur and Angul) Divisions

ANNEX

Number of Chaukidari Tax-

Serial No.	District.	Number of persons paying 6 annas and above as Chaukidari tax—*contd.*					
		Muhammadan.			Total.		
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
1	2	16	17	18	19	20	21
1	Patna	10,671	1,123	11,794	109,353	3,901	113,254
2	Gaya	24,260	1,046	25,306	227,443	3,562	231,005
3	Shahabad ..	12,559	378	12,937	214,989	3,699	218,688
	Divisional Total ..	47,490	2,547	50,037	551,785	11,162	562,947
4	Saran	16,564	351	16,915	166,902	2,151	169,053
5	Champaran ..	17,342	252	17,594	141,949	1,444	143,393
6	Muzaffarpur ..	24,920	419	25,339	189,229	2,584	191,813
7	Darbhanga ..	25,300	474	25,774	208,815	3,724	212,539
	Divisional Total ..	84,126	1,496	85,622	706,895	9,903	716,798
8	Bhagalpur ..	14,934	424	15,358	163,739	2,935	166,674
9	Monghyr ..	15,984	1,158	17,142	216,318	3,928	220,246
10	Purnea	119,574	786	120,360	265,818	1,981	267,799
	Divisional Total ..	150,492	2,368	152,860	645,875	8,844	654,719
11	Cuttack	5,576	97	5,673	247,113	2,667	249,780
12	Balasore	2,729	41	2,770	131,554	2,349	133,903
13	Puri	1,457	23	1,480	75,075	974	76,049
	Divisional Total ..	9,762	161	9,923	453,742	5,990	459,732
14	Hazaribagh ..	10,961	257	11,218	103,326	1,653	104,979
15	Ranchi	4,649	111	4,760	161,932	4,727	166,659
16	Palamau	7,798	307	8,105	75,636	1,378	77,014
17	Manbhum ..	7,338	167	7,505	148,313	3,271	151,584
18	Singhbhum ..	372	3	375	37,429	757	38,186
	Divisional Total ..	31,118	845	31,963	526,636	11,786	538,422
	Grand total for the province of Bihar and Orissa (excluding the districts of the Santal Parganas, Sambalpur and Angul).	322,988	7,417	330,405	2,884,933	47,685	2,932,618

URE C—*contd.*

payers in Bihar and Orissa.

Number of persons paying Re. 1 and above as Chaukidari tax.								
Non-Muhammadan.			Muhammadan.			Total.		
Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
77,726	1,929	79,655	6,761	904	7,665	84,487	2,833	87,320
96,754	1,056	97,810	11,887	657	12,544	108,641	1,713	110,354
117,328	1,778	119,106	7,422	175	7,597	124,750	1,953	126,703
291,808	4,763	296,571	26,070	1,736	27,806	317,878	6,499	324,377
100,414	905	101,319	10,443	168	10,611	110,857	1,073	111,930
63,812	616	64,428	8,849	82	8,931	72,661	698	73,359
87,660	669	88,329	11,963	154	12,117	99,623	823	100,446
100,990	1,662	102,652	12,702	246	12,948	113,692	1,908	115,600
352,876	3,852	356,728	43,957	650	44,607	696,833	4,502	401,335
88,916	1,362	90,278	8,143	199	8,342	97,059	1,761	98,820
88,658	1,025	89,683	6,225	467	6,692	94,883	1,492	96,375
100,710	768	101,478	88,491	533	89,024	189,201	1,301	190,502
278,284	3,155	281,439	102,859	1,199	104,058	381,143	4,354	385,497
46,836	250	47,086	960	32	992	47,796	282	48,078
30,113	355	30,468	546	6	552	30,659	361	31,020
24,464	211	24,675	553	18	571	25,017	229	25,246
101,413	816	102,229	2,059	56	2,115	103,472	872	104,344
49,555	589	50,144	5,983	107	6,090	55,538	696	56,234
48,672	944	49,616	1,123	48	1,171	49,795	992	50,787
17,680	192	17,872	1,980	86	2,066	19,660	278	19,938
48,434	979	49,413	2,492	64	2,556	50,926	1,043	51,969
16,434	310	16,744	224	3	227	16,658	313	16,971
180,775	3,014	183,789	11,802	308	12,110	192,577	3,322	195,899
1,205,156	15,600	1,220,756	186,747	3,949	190,696	1,391,903	19,549	1,411,452

(a) Supplementary note to the provisional memorandum of the Provincial Franchise Committee by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.L.C.

I do not think that the combination of the two systems of direct and indirect election will lead to any undesirable results. In the absence of adult suffrage, such a combination is, I think, the next best method of making the Government of the country really representative. I am therefore in favour of extending the direct (primary) franchise to 10 per cent. of the adult population or beyond (up to 25 per cent.), if it can be made administratively practicable, and for the rest of the adult population group representation by the Zetland scheme. Both the primary and the secondary elections must be held by secret ballot. A certain proportion of the adult population have been accustomed to direct voting for over a decade now, and I think it would be a retrograde step to deprive them of the political education that the exercise of such direct franchise is calculated to impart. From the point of view of the raiyats indirect election will facilitate and increase the chances of corrupt practices and will thus minimise the chances of securing real representation.

The combination of direct election for a certain proportion of the adult population and indirect election for the rest will have the further advantage of enabling us to discover the comparative merits of the two systems. It is not certain that the indirect system of election has been attended with satisfactory results in either Egypt or Turkey or Palestine. From the latest edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica we learn that in Egypt, after many ephemeral cabinets King Faud had to dissolve Parliament in July 1928 for three years and carry on the Government by Royal Decrees, that in Turkey the second cabinet of Ismet Pasha ushered in a reign of terror and a law of maintenance of order had to be passed, and that in Palestine the system of Government at present is (or until recently was) Government by Ordinances. In Syria the experiment has not yet had a sufficient trial as it was only as late as 1928 that the National Constituent Assembly of Syria was constituted.

I do not think that the enlarged electorate will be incapable of casting votes as intelligently as the present electors. Provincial Councils should be empowered to expand automatically the direct franchise for the province after one or two terms.

I think that the aborigines of the province do not possess adequate representation in the Council. To give them better representation, the number of seats allotted to the Ranchi, Singhbhum and Santal Parganas districts require to be increased. According to population they should be given 20 per cent. representation in he Provincial Council. And if no provision is made for protection of their special interests, weightage should be given to them in addition to a 20 per cent. representation in the Council.

II. I am in favour of enfranchising the wives and widows of the men entitled to vote under the property qualification.

I am certain that the *Musahars*, *Chamars*, *Doms* and *Mehtars* are not the only " depressed classes " in this province. Some other communities (*e.g.*, the Pans, the Ghasis, etc.), would certainly come under that category.

III. I am opposed to separate electorates for any community except perhaps the European. As regards commerce, I do not think that in this province there are any particular reasons for their special representation. If reservation of seats is made for any community the domiciled Bengali community should have a few seats reserved for them.

I do not think that there is any risk of the landlords going without adequate representation through the general electorates.

I am further of opinion that such cleavage as exists between landlords and tenants will gradually disappear if the landlords contest seats only in the general electorates and, necessarily, seek to secure the goodwill of their tenants for that purpose. As a matter of fact by the extension of franchise, the landlords are likely to gain still larger proportion of votes in the Council, because in widening of the franchise a large number of poorer people and landless labourers will be enfranchised and as most of them are indebted to landlords and mahajans, these landlords and mahajans are almost sure to be returned in larger numbers.

I can see little advantage in having a Bicameral Legislature in the Province. Such advantages as it may have are more than out-balanced by its disadvantages. Not to speak of the large additional expenditure, the institution of a Provincial Second Chamber will result in the deprivation of the Lower House of many of its capable members who may feel attracted to the Upper House. Past experience shows that a fairly large number of landlords will enter the Lower Chamber by election through the general electorates, so that neither special representation for them in the Lower Chamber, nor any further safeguarding of their interests by the creation of an Upper Chamber is called for. Even if an Upper House be created in the Province, there need be no special representation of the landlord class or any other particular interests in that House as that may mean undue protection of vested interests from legislative interference. A provincial Upper Chamber, like the federal Upper Chamber, should, if constituted at all, be composed of an aristocracy of intellect and character, and not an aristocracy of wealth and rank. It should moreover be based on an extensive franchise although the qualifications for membership should be fairly high. If a provincial Second Chamber may have to be instituted, the electorates for the Lower House should also form the electorates for the Upper House. But as for qualifications for a candidate to the Second Chamber, he must be of an age not lower than 45 years and must possess the minimum educational qualification of being a graduate of some recognised University or some equivalent educational attainment, or must be either a retired member of the provincial or higher services under Government or members of other non-Government services of equal status, or payers of income-tax on an income of not less than Rs. 6,000 a year, present and past chairmen and vice-chairmen of local bodies, Directors of District and Sub-divisional Co-operative Societies, and the like.

For the Federal Upper Chamber, elections may be made by the provincial legislatures from amongst their own members of the age of 45 years or upwards.

Supplementary note to the provisional memorandum of the Provincial Franchise Committee by Babu Swayamber Das, M.L.C., Pandit Shiva Shanker Jha, and Babu Gursahay Lal.

The draft memorandum on behalf of the Provincial Franchise Committee was handed over to us at about 5 P.M. on 9th February 1932 along with a demi-official No. 1-F—18 from the Secretary in which we were desired to return the memorandum to the Secretary by 6 P.M. on the same day with such remarks as we might make. The time was so short that it was impossible to comply with this request.

We feel, however, that we would be failing in our duty if we did not place certain points in connection with the said memorandum before the All-India Franchise Committee. We, therefore, submit this note as an addendum to the said memorandum.

An indirect election will mean that people in general will have to delegate their right of election to a few prominent men in villages who will owe no allegiance to the body that selected them and may or may not at the poll support the person or policy preferred by their principals. Some similar experiments were tried in the pre-reform days when District Boards and Municipalities sent a member from among themselves to vote for them at the election. But the way in which they voted did not in the generality of the cases commend itself to the bodies concerned. Indirect election by grouping the electors is never desirable in this province where there are diverse castes, creeds, etc. It will tend to create mutual ill-feeling and hostility among neighbours to the detriment of public peace and tranquillity. The indirect election by grouping presupposes a double election which will be fraught with considerable danger, such as, the disappearance of independence and domination of each group by bullying and powerful individuals. This obviously is a very apparent disqualification for such a system which the domestic life in rural areas clearly evidences. In the present system of independent direct voting it is impossible to locate an inimical voter and he, therefore, does not reap the fruits of ill-will consequent on his not selecting a powerful candidate. The result of indirect election by grouping will be that one who has the means of indulging in abuses will be the representative of groups. The groups will naturally select the leading village touts, mahajans and other influential people having the backing of the landed magnates. We can emphatically assert that it will put malpractice at a premium. The indirect election will also create a tremendous administrative problem, namely, that of supervising group elections and ensuring fairness to rival candidates. Besides, if the persons chosen by those groups be the only electors a second voting will be reduced to a farce. But even if they vote with others in the general electorate no candidate can afford to neglect these primary elections and therefore real electioneering will begin here. Such a system will increase rather than decrease the difficulties of electioneering and polling. Direct election is the *sine qua non* of responsible government. It makes the representative feel that he stands in a genuine relation to a voter. From the point of view of political education it is of the highest importance

that the electors should have direct voice in the selection of their representatives. If the object of the proposed Reforms be to democratise the legislatures and to conciliate public opinion by the nearest approach to its demands, direct election alone will serve the purpose. If the object be, however, to antagonise public opinion and make the legislatures still more undemocratic, nothing is calculated to serve the object better than the introduction of indirect election. It will have the effect of disenfranchising many of even those who enjoy the franchise at present—people have become accustomed to direct voting for the last 10 or 11 years—and it will be most impolitic to change it at the present juncture. We assert that the direct election is practicable both economically and administratively and will not certainly be more costly than the indirect system. These are also some of the arguments advanced against indirect election by some of the prominent persons (some of them Government officials of high experience and some very big zamindars and public men) who have sent answers to the questionnaire.

We find that the memorandum gives elaborately the view points held by some including the officials whereas the other view points which were placed before the Committee by other members and which go against the views of the former have not been incorporated in the memorandum. As an instance in point the memorandum gives elaborate grounds in favour of indirect election but does not mention its evil effects and the difficulties involved in it. We have, therefore, given the arguments against indirect election in a summary way.

We also mention below the passages in the memorandum to which we do not subscribe.

Q. 1 (c).—" But if the direct method ..... enormous ". This point was never discussed in the committee and it does not find place in the Secretary's note either. The committee would have compared the cost which was incurred in preparing the electoral roll of the past elections with the costs which is likely to be incurred and then it could be said that the cost would be enormous. In our opinion the cost would not be enormous.

In the same question the passage towards the end of the first paragraph " But this would ..... if there be joint electorate ".

It may be the opinion of one or two members of the committee but this cannot be mentioned in the memorandum on behalf of the committee.

" Moreover a protracted election ..... reached ". This passage in the memorandum should have no place. It may be the view of the officials but I am sure that majority of the non-officials are against such a view. The memorandum should contain that the majority of the members is of opinion that direct method of election is practicable though expenses will increase to some extent and it is administratively feasible. It is painful to find that the memorandum does not contain this important observation made by the majority of the members.

Again in the second paragraph the passage " But this risk..... electors is increased ". This has been inserted in support of the indirect method of election. If this was the opinion it should have been discussed in the committee. We strongly protest against an observation made in the memorandum on behalf of the committee of which the members had absolutely no information, and which was never placed before the committee.

Then again the passage " This may be done.....its own choice ". This passage shows that the committee intends in a way to introduce caste election in the primary election. This view point is also a novel one which should not find place in the memorandum on behalf of the committee.

Question 3. Women's suffrage.

" For them the indirect method of election.....rural areas."

The view of the members on the point should have been mentioned here.

Question 3 (c).

The answer is entirely against the view of the committee. The committee definitely came to the conclusion that women should not have separate representation and no seat should be reserved for them in the legislature.

Lady Imam, the only woman representative on the committee, definitely observed that she was for extending the franchise to women but not for reserving seats in the parliament. She further stated that if the voting strength of the women will increase, they will be able to send some women to the Council from the general constituencies.

Question 4.

Unnecessarily the question of indirect election has been introduced while dealing with depressed classes. The passage " They, however.... succeeding at the polls " should be deleted.

Question 5 (a).

The passage " but the majority considers.....of the upper chamber " should be deleted. These passages have been mentioned as some of the members feel strongly on the subject but this is no ground that it should find place in the memorandum on behalf of the committee.

Question 5 (b). Towards the end.

" A sufficient number of members will be returned ". " Returned " should be substituted by " enfranchised ". No member of the committee said that sufficient number of members of agricultural labour will be returned to the Council.

(6) Towards the end.

" And from outsiders ". This should be deleted. No member of the committee ever suggested that the members of the Lower House of the

Federal Legislature should be elected partly from among the members of the Provincial Legislatures and partly from among the outsiders.

SHIVA SHANKER JHA,
GURSAHAY LAL,
SWAYAMBER DAS,
Members,
Bihar and Orissa Provincial
Franchise Committee.

The 10th February 1932.

Supplementary note to the provisional memorandum of the Provincial Franchise Committee by Mr. S. M. Athar Hussain, M.L.C.

(1) Page 6 of the memorandum. Lines 22—23. Change " two " into " three ".

Add after Babu Gursahay Lal, " and Mr. Athar Hussain."

The amended sentence would run like this :—

" Three of the members of the committee namely Pandit Shiv Sanker Jha, Babu Gur Sahay Lal and Mr. Athar Hussain are definitely opposed to any form of indirect election....."

(2) *Add* at page 6 at the end of Q. 1 (*c*), before Q. 1 (*d*).

" Mr. Athar Hussain desires that it should be placed on record that under no circumstance any form of indirect election would be acceptable as a substitute for separate electorate. If it is ultimately decided to have indirect election, separate registers for the Muslims and non-Muslims should be maintained from the primary stage onwards."

(3) *Add* at page 9, at the end of Q. 3 (*b*), before Q. 3 (*c*).

" Mr. Athar Hussain is of opinion that women should only come in under the general franchise qualifications."

(4) *Add* at page 10, after the 1st paragraph before 4—depressed class.

" Mr. Athar Hussain is opposed to the reservation of seats for women in the Council. He is of opinion that as there is no prejudice against the women, a duly qualified woman has as much a chance, if not better, of success at the poll as a male candidate."

(5) *Add* at page 10, lines 26-27

" and Mr. Athar Hussain."

The amended sentence will read like this :

" Chairman, Mr. Middleton, Mr. Danby and Mr. Athar Hussain do not think that a sufficient....."

(6) At page 10, last sentence of Q. 4.—

Substitute " The majority of the committee " *for* " the committee is unanimous."

(7) *Add* at page 10, at the and of Q. No. 4, before 5. Representation of special interest.

" Mr. Athar Hussain is of opinion that should the representatives of the depressed classes desire a separate electorate, it should be conceded and that such electorate would be neither unwise nor unworkable." " Separate electorate only would afford to them the representation which their proportion to the population warrants."

(8) *Add* at page 10, after line 6 of the answer to Q. No. 5 (*a*).

" Mr. Athar Hussain desires it to be noted that he is opposed to any special representation to commerce in this province."

(9) *Add* at page 11, after line 6.

" Mr. Athar Hussain desiress to place on record that if special representation is prescribed for the landlords, 25 per cent. of such representation should be earmarked for the Muslims to be secured by separate electorate."

(10) *Add* at page 12, at the end.

" Mr. Athar Hussain desires to place on record that he can agree to the establishment of a second chamber only if 25 per cent. seats are reserved for the Muslims to be secured by separate electorate."

III

Supplementary Questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Government of Bihar and Orissa.

LETTER No. S.633/32-F. C., DATED 16TH FEBRUARY 1932, FROM JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA.

I am desired to note for your information the points in regard to which the local Government offered, during the joint discussion on the 12th February, to supply further information to the Indian Franchise Committee.

(1) (*a*) *Group System.*—Detailed scheme which the Government considers to be practicable in regard to the formation and composition of primary groups, nomination (if any) of secondary electors, method of election of secondary electors, technical difficulties that may arise in arranging such elections.

(*b*) The question of direct election in urban areas and indirect in rural areas with proper weightage.

(2) *Extension of the Franchise.*—An estimate of the number of electors who would be placed on the electoral roll if such a roll were based on—

(*a*) all paying (*i*) As. 6 (*ii*) Re. 1 Chaukidari tax.

(*b*) One elector for every 20 of balance of adult population grouped geographically in both village and town.

(3) *Depressed classes.*—

(*i*) How many depressed classes representatives are there in the existing council ?

(*ii*) What are the number of depressed classes in Bihar and Orissa on the basis of untouchability and unapproachability, *i.e.*, denial of access to wells and to temples or other social disability under which they suffer. Exhaustive list of castes or sects so classified.

(*iii*) What number of electors estimated under (2) above would belong to depressed classes as defined above.

(4) What educational qualification for the franchise does Government recommend.

(5) What qualifying service or other qualification, if any, in the Indian Auxiliary Force and the Indian Territorial Force does Government recommend as a condition of eligibility under 2 (*a*) of the questionnaire ?

(6) The opinion of Government as to the number of members of the new Council on the basis of—

(*a*) bicameral
(*b*) unicameral } legislature.

(7) Are *trade unions* suitable basis of labour representation.

I enclose copy of a letter* which has been sent to the Chairman of the Provincial Committee in regard to similar questions on which their final views have been asked for. The Chairman hopes that it will be possible for the local Government to send their reply by the 15th of March at the latest

* Not printed.

IV

Second memorandum by the Government of Bihar and Orissa on certain matters relating to Franchise.

1. (*a*) Group system.

Detailed scheme which the Government consider to be practicable in regard to the formation and composition of primary groups, nomination (if any) of secondary electors, method of election of secondary electors, technical difficulties that may arise in arranging such elections.

(*a*) It is assumed that if the system of indirect election in rural areas is adopted there will be adult suffrage ; if a property qualification is adopted the actual polling arrangement in the village would be rather more difficult and there might be more disputes as to the qualification of an elector. If it was further considered necessary to have an electoral roll of persons qualified as voters, the cost of preparing and printing such a roll would be high. It would however be possible to conduct an election using the chaukidari assessment register as an electoral roll, but difficulty might arise if any additional qualification was prescribed.

(*b*) Assuming adult suffrage, the following is a rough outline of the scheme which the local Government consider may be practicable.

1. *Primary group.*—The primary group shall be the chaukidari village or some corresponding unit in areas where the chaukidari tax is not in force.

2. *Number of secondary electors.*—The chaukidari village shall not be subdivided into groups, but each chaukidari village shall elect such number of secondary electors as may be prescribed for the secondary election.

3. *Primary voters.*—All adults over the age of 21 in the chaukidari village shall be entitled to vote, the only qualification being residence in the village. There shall be no disqualification.

4. *Notice of election.*—The Election Officer shall cause to be proclaimed in each primary unit the day on which and the hours between which votes will be recorded.

5. *Selection of panches.*—On arrival at the village the Election Officer will select two persons to act as *panches* or umpires who will decide all disputes that may arise either in regard to nomination, identity of voters, polling, etc., The Election Officer and the *panches* shall each have one vote in deciding disputes and the decision of the majority shall be final.

6. *No right of appeal.*—There shall be no right of appeal either to a special election court or to the civil court or to any authority whatever in regard to the decision of the *panches*, nor shall any primary election be set aside by any court on any ground whatsoever ; nor shall it be possible to obtain any injunction in regard to a secondary election on the ground of any infringement in a primary election.

7. *Nomination of candidates.*—After selection of *panches* the Election Officer shall call for nominations which shall be made either orally or in writing and shall record the nominations in a register with the names of the proposer and seconder who must be in all cases adult residents of the group who are not themselves candidates for election.

8. *Voting by ballot.*—Voting will be by ballot. The Election Officer shall announce to the assembled voters the names of the candidates whose nomination has been accepted and shall allot to each candidate a coloured box and shall explain to the villagers that they must place their voting disc in the box bearing the colour allotted to the candidates whom they support. Each voter will have one vote only even though more than one candidate is to be elected by the group. The voting discs will be given at a fixed time and no voting disc will be given to any voter who turns up after the hour prescribed.

9. The voter will then proceed to the room or enclosure in which the boxes are placed and will place his vote in the box. The Election Officer will then open the boxes in the presence of the voters and count the votes and declare the result of the poll. In the event of an equality of votes, the election will be decided by lot.

10. The election in the secondary group will take place as soon as practicable after the completion of the primary election, and the procedure for secondary election shall be similar to that at present in force for direct election.

(*c*) The following further notes are given to give further explanation and to show possible difficulties in regard to the proposed scheme :—

(1) *Primary groups.*—It is essential that a well organised unit shall form the primary group. The chaukidari village from 60—100 houses is a well organised unit of suitable size. The population being about 400 to 600, there would be approximately 200 to 300 adults.

(2) *Number of secondary electors.*—(*i*) To subdivide this unit either by caste or geographically into smaller groups would be an almost impossible task and would make the holding of the first election very difficult ; it might also give rise to political disputes in a village and have other undesirable results. A special staff would be needed for a considerable period to go round all the chaukidari villages and make a local investigation to decide how each village should be subdivided. It would not be possible to carry this out with the ordinary district staff. For these reasons the local Government have recommended that the unit should not be reduced but the number of secondary electors returned by each group should be increased.

(*ii*) In fixing the number of secondary electors various considerations arise which will have a material effect upon the polling and other arrangements in the primary and secondary election. It is recognized that if the number of secondary electors is small, there is a grave risk of corruption and intimidation by such well known weapons as the boycott. If for instance there was only one secondary elector in each chaukidari village, there would only be 4,000 or less secondary electors in a district

consisting perhaps of 5 or 6 constituencies. One advantage that would result from so small a secondary electorate would be that it would make the holding of a secondary election easy. On the other hand if there was one secondary elector for every 20 adults, the total number of secondary electors in the province would be 831,000 or about double the present electorate ; in a village with a population of 500 of which 250 would be adults, there would then be twelve secondary electors. It might be possible to find 12 persons in each village for a secondary electorate and with this large number it might also be possible to secure representatives of various interests. But if there was any system of reservation of seats except possibly in the case of Muhammadans who would, it is assumed, have a separate secondary electorate, it would make the actual holding of the poll more complicated. With the secondary electorate of 831,000 a secondary election would not present any serious difficulties as it has been calculated that it would be possible to poll 2 per cent. of the population or roughly 3 times the existing electorate and the number of secondary electors should not be more than this or roughly 1,100,000 or 1,200,000.

(4) *Primary voters.*—No qualifications other than residence in the village and age are suggested. If further qualifications or disqualifications are prescribed, the number of disputes will be increased and the task of the Election Officer who will be employed temporarily for the election on a low salary will become more difficult.

(5) *Selection of Panches.*—It is possible that the selection of *panches* or umpires might delay the conduct of the poll which it is necessary should be completed in a very short time so as to enable the Election Officer to deal with 3 or 4 villages in one day. It might however be possible to elect the *panches* beforehand and to have the same *panches* for a circle of villages ; members of the chaukidari panchayat or union board might be suitably employed in all villages of a circle.

(6) *No right of appeal.*—Though the election will be conducted by a lowly paid officer employed temporarily for the purpose, it will be necessary to give him full powers to decide all disputes with the aid of the *panches* and not to allow any technical irregularity to be used as a ground for staying a secondary election.

(7) *Nomination of candidates.*—It is recognized that in some countries where the system of primary election is in force, candidates are to have some educational or property qualification, but this might make the acceptance of nomination by the Election Officer more difficult and it is desirable to keep the procedure as simple as possible. The only qualification that might be suitable would be an age qualification.

If an unduly large number of nominations are presented, it may make it more difficult to conduct the polling, but it is doubtful whether this would occur frequently ; it is more probable that the number of nominations will be less than the number of vacancies. It is difficult to suggest any suitable means of restricting the number of nominations. A further question that has been considered is whether nominations should be put in at the time of the actual polling or shortly before it. If they are

put in before, say on the previous day, it would facilitate the conduct of the actual poll as the Election Officer would know for how many candidates provision had to be made. On the other hand, there is considerable advantage in that the poll and all the preliminary operations shall be conducted in the presence of the assembled villagers ; if nominations were accepted previously, allegations might be made that they had been wrongly accepted and rejected.

(8) *Voting by ballot.*—The question has been considered whether any special arrangement can be made for recording women's votes, but this is regarded as impracticable while in particular any arrangement for purdah women would complicate the election. It is thought however that possibly the women may come to vote if within the period allotted for holding the poll they are allowed to come after the men.

(*b*) The question of direct election in urban areas and indirect in rural areas with proper weightage.

The local Government see no objection to having direct election in towns and indirect in rural areas ; one advantage of this will be that many of the present electors will still retain a direct vote. Both indirect and direct election present no serious administrative difficulties, but in municipalities the tax-payers have become accustomed to exercising a direct vote. Under indirect election the division into primary groups would not be as easy as in villages and the groups might not be so homogeneous.

2. Extension of the Franchise.

An estimate of the number of electors that would be placed on the roll if such a roll were based on—

(*a*) all paying
  (*i*) annas six ;
  (*ii*) rupee one chaukidari tax ;

(*b*) an elector for every 20 of balance of adult population grouped geographically in both village and town.

(*a*) The statement annexed to the note* on the arrangements for direct and indirect elections shows approximately the number of voters that would be enfranchised if (*i*) payment of chaukidari tax in any form (*i.e.*, annas six) was the qualification (column 10), and (*ii*) if payment of rupee one chaukidari tax was the qualification (column 13). In some districts chaukidari tax is not paid so there would have to be some other similar qualification such as rent or cess and some allowance must be made for this. Thus under (*i*) the number of voters would be about 3,000,000 or possibly slightly less ; under (*ii*) the number would be 1,400,000 approximately.

(*b*) The adult population being about 50 per cent. of the total population would amount to 16,625,000 in rural areas. Hence if 3,000,000 were directly enfranchised, and the balance divided up into groups of 20, there would be $\frac{13,625,000}{20}$=681,250 groups.

* Not printed.

Similarly if 1,400,000 were directly enfranchised there would be $\frac{15,222,500}{20}$=761,125.

(*iii*) In regard to urban areas where no chaukidari tax is in force, it is not very easy to calculate and the figures are not available to show what would be the voters under a franchise qualification corresponding to six annas and rupee one chaukidari tax. The existing number of voters on the present municipal franchise which is payment of municipal tax or fee of Rs. 1-8-0 or the possession of certain other qualifications is 140,000 while the total population is 1,432,381, and the adult population about 700,000. Thus with a direct electorate of 140,000, the indirect electorate would be $\frac{7,000,000-140,000}{20}$=28,000.

3. Depressed Classes.

(*i*) How many depressed classes representatives are there in the existing Council ?

There are two nominated members, one of whom is a Pasi. There are some elected members who belong to the caste of Kalwar but for the reasons given in the note* annexed, the local Government do not consider that this caste should be included in the " Depressed Classes".

(*ii*) What are the numbers of the depressed classes in Bihar and Orissa on the basis of untouchability and unapproachability, *i.e.*, denial of access to wells and temples or other social disability under which they suffer ? Exhaustive list of castes and sects as classified.

An attempt has been made in the note* annexed to explain the position in regard to depressed classes in this province which gives as much information as is available for a reply to this question.

(*iii*) What number of electors estimated under (2) above would belong to depressed classes as defined above ?

Without careful enquiries it is not possible to give an estimate Figures are being collected for certain typical villages to ascertain as far as possible what number of the " depressed classes " pay chaukidari tax and the information so collected will be supplied later.

4. What educational qualifications for the franchise does the local Government recommend ?

The local Government invite attention to the opinions expressed in paragraphs 17 and 18† of their previous memorandum. On the whole, they are not in favour of an educational qualification if the property qualification is lowered to a large extent and consider that it should only be used to enfranchise members of a joint family.

5. What qualifying service or other qualifications, if any, in the Indian Auxiliary Force and the Indian Territorial Force does Government recommend as a condition of eligibility under 2 (a) of the questionnaire ?

The problem is not of importance in this province as there are very few members of the Indian Territorial Force, there being only one-half

* Pp. 158—160.
† Pp. 114—115.

battalion. The Indian Auxiliary Force consists of only Europeans and Anglo-Indians. With a low property franchise, most soldiers of the Indian Territorial Force would get a vote. As far as this province is concerned, there is no reason to enfranchise members of this force and not to enfranchise persons serving in the police, but the local Government have no objection to the decision arrived at in other provinces, where the problem is more important, applying also to Bihar and Orissa.

6. The opinion of the local Government as to the number of members of the new Council on the basis of—

(*a*) unicameral
(*b*) bicameral
} legislatures.

The local Government invite attention to the opinion which they gave on the report of the Statutory Commission and to which they adhere. This was as follows :—

The Commission recommend a large increase in the size of provincial councils and consider that an immediate increase to 200 or 250 in the case of the more important provinces is desirable. In view of the large area of the existing provinces they suggest that an even larger increase will ultimately be required. An immediate increase to 200 or 250 will more than double the present number of elected members in the Council of Bihar and Orissa (76), and the local Government are of opinion that so large an increase is neither necessary nor desirable. Though the constituencies are large, the interests of the electors are similar and can be sufficiently represented if the Council consists of 150, or about double the existing number of elected members. If the Council is enlarged to 200, the local Government anticipate a serious difficulty in securing a sufficient number of suitable members, especially if there is, as recommended later, a second Chamber, and if also an increase is made in the number of provincial representatives in the Assembly. Candidates at present standing for election are in many cases men of little ability and education, and an increase in numbers would mean an even lower standard. Further, a large increase will not only lead to a large increase of expenditure, which the province can ill-afford, but will also cause serious difficulties in the transaction of public business. In the present Council private members have shown a marked tendency to ask questions and move resolutions on petty matters of purely local interest ; till members of the enlarged Councils are better educated in parliamentary procedure, this tendency will undoubtedly continue, and effective work may become impossible owing to prolonged debates. The local Government accordingly consider that, for the province of Bihar and Orissa as at present constituted, the Council should not exceed 150 members.

The local Government further emphasize the point that with a unicameral legislature it will be difficult to secure adequate representation of special interests, such as the landholders, and refer to their opinion* previously expressed on the need for a second Chamber. Subject to these remarks they consider that if there is a single Chamber it should

* P. 107.

consist of about 150—160. If there are two Chambers the Lower Chamber should not be more than 150 while the second Chamber should consist of 30 members. This will mean that the present number of general constituencies (urban 9, rural 57) will be doubled, some being, if necessary, reserved for the depressed classes and labour. There should be in a single Chamber the following special constituencies :—

Landholders	10
Europeans (including Planters)	2
Mining interest	4
Anglo-Indians	2
Women	5
University	2
Total ..	25

This would give a Council of 157 members.

With two Chambers the representation of special interests in the Lower Chamber may be reduced as they will secure representation in the Upper Chamber. The landholders might have only five seats in the Lower Chamber and the other special constituencies named above might also be reduced by half, except those reserved for women. There would thus be 10 special constituencies instead of 25.

Thus the unicameral legislature would have 157 members and bicameral would have 147 in the Lower Chamber and 30 in the Upper Chamber.

7. Are trade unions a suitable basis of labour representation ?

That trade unions are not yet sufficiently advanced or developed in Bihar and Orissa to form a basis of labour representation is shown by the following extracts from the memorandum submitted by the Labour Federation of Jamshedpur, one of the three registered trade unions in the province, to the Royal Commission on Labour in India :—

" Trade unions in the modern sense have been only of recent origin in India ; they have generally come into existence at a time when relations have been strained almost to a breaking point, if not actually broken, with the employer. They attain some sort of cohesion and efficiency during the period of struggle, after which they generally go to sleep. There is not that sustained interest nor that development that comes to it when carried on during peaceful times. One reason assigned for this state of affairs is in the attitude of employers, who look upon every combination of workers with the most suspicious blasting eye. He deliberately imposes an acute and prolonged struggle on such combination, which generally perishes through weariness and lack of sustenance. Very often it has been suggested that the employer is helped in his persecution of trade unions by the heavy hand of administration, and that

accusation has a ground, if nothing else at least, by Government's aloofness in a struggle that can at best be described as one-sided.

In their despair these trade unions that have generally sprung up through the initiative of some enterprising workmen or work women, who have as a rule more native ability than cultivated talent, finding themselves unequal to the various machinations and tactics of employers have recourse to politicians in the neighbourhood, who put a totally different complexion on the struggle. More often false issues are raised and we have known cases where industrial disputes have degenerated into political tussles. Effects on industry and on the workmen of such non-industrial struggles are disastrous, they not only cripple industries but detrimentally postpone the growth of trade union or solidarity amongst the workmen who recall the adage ' once bitten twice shy '.

A healthy trade union is the best guarantee for an industry's stability and prosperity, and as employers may be prone to form their own combinations, it would pay them to encourage a like movement against their workers and a history of workmen's struggles has strengthened this trend of thought. Workmen's combinations when well led, well organised and confined to labour alone, have exerted a very healthy influence both on the well-being of workers and that of industry.

Trade unions generally in this country have had such short existence that the only benefit they have been able to distribute amongst its members is in the nature of strike pay, when they have had funds enough for the purpose, and that not too often either. Mutual benefit, unemployment, sickness and old age schemes have had no time to develop and if we are not wrong a state of affairs will continue in a like manner for some time still to come.

The Golmuri Tin Plate Workmen's Union was registered in March 1929 and was also under the presidentship of Mr. Manek Homi; it was said that it had 2,857 members. This also owed its origin to a strike which is described in the written evidence of the Royal Commission on Labour already cited. It may be noted that there is another union in Jamshedpur, known as the Tata Association which is not registered. There are frequent disputes between this Association and the Federation which represents different classes of employees. The President of the Association, Mr. Homi, has recently been convicted in several cases, the most recent one being for embezzlement of the funds of the Federation. Both these unions are thus *ad hoc* organisations created at the time of the strike. They could not be used for franchise purposes, and do not represent the mass of the labour under ordinary conditions."

A similar view is expressed by one senior officer of the Indian Civil Service who is well acquainted with labour conditions in Jamshedpur :—

" Even in so advanced an area as Jamshedpur we have not as yet an independent trade union. The Labour Association is a Bengali body, controlled partly by the politicians and partly by the Company. The one body that might have developed into trade union, the Labour

Federation, has apparently come to grief. The workers have shown themselves able to be united for a definite and limited purpose and for a limited time, but they have not shown themselves able to run an organisation with a far-sighted policy consistently preserved. Their special interests must continue to be represented by nomination. If left to elect a representative in any kind of constituency they will elect a politician not an expert as Labour needs."

This view that such trade unions as exist at present are merely *ad hoc* organisations is borne out by the history of the three registered trade unions in the province. Thus the Labour Federation of Jamshedpur referred to above owed its origin primarily to the strike at the Tata Iron and Steel Company of 1928. The Golmuri Tin Plate Workmen's Union was formed at the time of the strike in those works in 1929-30. Both were organised by the same individuals and both are now moribund, the organiser and president having been convicted on various criminal charges including that of embezzling the funds of the Federation. Even the East Indian Railway Union of Khagaul has not a more satisfactory history; after the conclusion of the strike at Lilooah on that railway the membership fell from 26,092 in 1928-29 to 36 in 1930-31. There are no trade unions in the colliery areas of the province. Such being the fact there is no room for doubt that trade unions are *not* a suitable basis of labour representation.

Note on Depressed Classes by Mr. M. G. Hallett, C.I.E., I.C.S.

1. The problem of the depressed classes does not exist in an acute form in Bihar and Orissa where the conditions are very different from those which, it is believed, obtain in Southern India where there is a more marked line of cleavage between the high castes and the untouchables. Attempts have been made at various times during the Census enquiries to ascertain what are the " untouchable " or " depressed " classes. Thus in 1911 various criteria were laid down to ascertain what castes do not conform to certain religious standards, *e.g.*, deny the supremacy of Brahmans or do not worship the great Hindu gods, and what castes are subject to certain religious disabilities. An extract from paragraphs 519-521 of the Census Report of 1911* is annexed for reference. The criterion then adopted led to the inclusion of a large number of aboriginal tribes, *e.g.*, Ho, Munda, Oraon, Santal, etc., who are really outside the Hindu religion. The problem of their protection is a real one, and this was fully recognised by the Statutory Commission in those parts of their report which deal with the backward tracts, but their problem is entirely distinct from the problem of the low caste Hindus mainly by reason of the fact that unlike the low caste Hindus, who are scattered over the whole of the province, they are congregated in certain districts in which they outnumber the Aryan residents. Of the castes enumerated in the Census of 1921, the following castes, or, to use the more accurate term, tribes

* Pp. 163—166.

should be classified as aboriginal, that is to say, persons whose tribal religion is animistic and has in its purest form no connection with Hinduism.

	1931 Census.
Ho	523,158
Khond	315,709
Munda	549,764
Oraon	637,111
Santal	1,712,133
Kora	49,036
Ganda	245,799

All these castes in 1911 were held to satisfy the criterion that they denied the supremacy of Brahmans. There are certain other small aboriginal tribes which have been separately enumerated in the last Census, but their number is small and they are usually found in areas inhabited by the major aboriginal tribes, *e.g.*, Asur, Bihar, Birjia, Juangs, etc. To these should also be added castes which are probably aboriginal and animistic in origin but who have become more split up and having penetrated into areas with a large Aryan population had become to some extent more Hinduized.

2. In 1911 certain castes were included in the category of castes which suffer from religious disabilities, but which in spite of this are high in the social scale and are often men of education, wealth and property, *e.g.*, Kalwars and Suris who satisfied the following criteria :—(5) are not served by good Brahmans as family priest, (7) are denied access to temples, and (8) cause pollution by touch or within a certain distance—Telis who satisfied criteria (5) and (7). It is somewhat doubtful whether Kalwars and Suris, whose hereditary profession is shop-keeping and the sale of liquor, fall within criterion (8). This disability is rapidly disappearing and many of them have risen very high in the social scale. These three castes numbered in 1931 as follows :—

Kalwar	(not available ; in 1921—169,227).
Suri	(not available ; in 1921—251,195).
Teli	1,210,496.

These castes must certainly be excluded from the category of depressed classes.

3. These exceptions being made, we come to the depressed classes proper and it is desirable to analyse to some extent the list prepared at the recent Census which is more restricted than the list given in the Census of 1921. A copy is annexed.*

4. In the first place this list contains some tribes which are probably in origin aboriginal and whose main habitat is in the aboriginal tracts of Chota Nagpur. Thus the Bhuiyas numbered 625,824 in 1931, of which 220,000 were in Chota Nagpur, 80,000 in the adjacent Santal Parganas and over 100,000 in the States. There were also over 100,000 in Gaya. Palamau is their chief habitat. They are usually Kamias or Serfs and they present a problem of their own but this problem is not very different from

* P. 167.

that of the other aboriginal tribes. If the franchise in Chota Nagpur is so devised as to secure representation of the aboriginal, it might be possible to secure representation of this caste in Palamau, the chief habitat, in this way.

5. A somewhat similar caste are the Rajwars though possibly more Hinduized. They number in all 133,952, of which about 50,000 are in Gaya, 10,000 in the Santal Parganas and 39,000 in Manbhum. These are thus intermingled with the aboriginal tribes and live on the outskirts of the backward tracts.

6. The Bhumij (274,058 in 1931) are also chiefly in Chota Nagpur and in Manbhum 45,000 (in 1921), Singhbum 24,000 and Orissa States 38,000. Their problem is thus similar to that of the aboriginals of this area.

7. Two other castes closely inter-connected with the aboriginals but included in the Census list of Depressed Classes are Ghasi and Turi. The Ghasis number 76,320 and their habitat is the Chota Nagpur Division, Sambalpur and the States. They correspond to Chamars in Bihar as they deal in hides and are often for this reason cattle poisoners; they are frequently criminal. They are a depressed class of an aboriginal area, not of a Hindu area. Turis are probably aboriginal and animistic in origin; like the Doms of Bihar they do basket work, but I do not think they do scavenging work. Their total number is 54,573, all of whom except 5,000 in Gaya and Purnea are in the Chota Nagpur Division and the Santal Parganas. Neither of these tribes would suffer under the proposed constitution if some special arrangements are made for backward tracts. The Bauris (of whom I know little) may also be included in the Chota Nagpur category for out of 315,000, about 150,000 are in Manbhum and the Santal Parganas and the rest in Orissa.

8. There are next two wandering tribes, some members of which are criminals, Kanjaria, a very small caste recorded only in Purnea as numbering only 2,566 and Nats, chiefly in the Patna Division and Purnea and numbering only 9,628.

9. I pass on to the castes which are more widely scattered over the districts of Bihar and of Orissa proper.

(1) *Chamars.*—1,296,001—The bulk of these are in Bihar proper, a smaller number in Chota Nagpur and still fewer in Orissa. They deal in hides and dead cattle; and for this reason suffer religious disabilities. They are poor and uneducated and usually are without land, though employed out as labourers.

Mochi should also be included with Chamars; they number 22,863 and are only in Manbhum and the Santal Parganas.

(2) *Chaupal.*—This small tribe exists only is Purnea. I know nothing of it but it has a total membership of only 2,737.

(3) *Dhobi.*—The need for washerman being universal, this caste which numbers 414,221 is distributed over the whole province. They are thus primarily a labouring class.

(4) *Dusadh.*—The Dusadh are primarily a North Bihar caste and possibly the aboriginal inhabitants of this area, as they have, I believe, traditions of a Dusadh Raj. From the census table of 1931, I find that the alternative title of Gahlot Rajput is given to them, which goes to show that they are striving to rise in the social scale. They number 1,290,936. Educationally they are backward and as a result have few Government posts. They would hardly admit that they are a depressed class except when it is a quesion of Government appointment. The problem of the representation of a caste such as this is really the problem of the representation of the agricultural labourers.

(5) *Dom, Halalkhor, Hari.*—These three castes really fall together for their usual profession in that of scavenger and hence they are subject to more real religious disabilities. They are probably the only castes which are regarded as causing pollution. They number 269,346 ; 22,289 and 115,613.

(6) *Kurariar.*—A very small caste from Purnea including only 631 persons which need not be taken into account.

(7) *Lalbegi.*—An even smaller caste from Patna, of which there are only 157 members and really a sub-caste of Mehter.

(8) *Mushahar.*—These are found chiefly in Bihar and in particular in the Bhagalpur Division. They number 720,051 and are chiefly agricultural labourers who are without land.

(9) *Pasi.*—This caste, whose profession is toddy-tapping, is scattered over the province, but the greater number is in the Patna Division, where toddy trees flourish. They number 172,061. They often have small holdings and work as labourers. Educationally they are backward.

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(10) *Pan.*—These are an untouchable caste in Orissa, the untouchability being due to the fact that they eat beef. They number 418,169. There are also other castes in Orissa which suffer from religious disabilities and a long list* has been given by Mr. Sridhar Samal, of which a copy is annexed. Census figures are not available, but I doubt if the total number is large.

CONCLUSION.

10. It will be seen that the above analysis of the castes which have from time to time been classified as depressed bear out the statement made at the beginning of the note that the problem of depressed classes is not real in Bihar. Provided special arrangements are made for the backward tracts and some degree of protection is afforded to the aboriginal tribes, this will embrace a large section of the so-called depressed classes and we are only faced with the problem of these castes of Bihar. It is doubtful how far religious disabilities really affect their position ; the religious disabilities, *e.g.*, access to a well or temple, vary from district to district or even from village to village. If the other inhabitants of a village are high caste Brahmans or conservative Rajputs, a small colony of Chamars or Doms or

* Page 168.

possibly of Dusadhs might not be allowed access to a well, but in other villages they would not be interfered with. Their inferiority rests not so much on the existence of some religious disabilities as on the fact that they are usually landless labourers who are consequently poverty-stricken and ill-educated.

11. If we include the major castes of Chamars and Mochis (about 1,300,000), Dhobi (414,000), Dusadh (1,300,000), Doms, Halalkhors and Haris about 400,000, Pasis 172,000 and from Orissa Pans 418,000, we have between 5 and 6 millions which is a fairly large percentage of the total population, but as against this it must be remembered that many of them are also labourers and if the franchise secures representation for them, no further representation is needed. In any case representation by means of separate electorate or even joint electorate with reserved seats seems out of the question for these castes which are so widely distributed. The only representation that can be granted is by means of nomination or co-option, as was suggested by the local Government when dealing with the Simon report.

APPENDIX I.

Extract from Report on Census of India, 1911, Volume V, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Sikkim, Part I.

519. *Religious disabilities.*—The result of the inquiry referred to above was to show that anything in the nature of an uniform standard is impossible. It was recognised that Hinduism being a term connoting not only religion but also race, birth-place and social organization it is difficult to say whether a man is within the pale or not on the basis of the proposed tests, some of which refer to his beliefs, others to his social standing, and others to his relations to Brahmans. The Census Commissioner decided therefore that instead of raising the question whether the members of particular castes should be " regarded as Hindus " or not, a list should be prepared of the castes and tribes contributing more than 1 per mille to the total population, and returned and classed as Hindus which *qua* castes do not conform to certain standards or are subject to certain disabilities, *viz.*, (1) deny the supremacy of the Brahmans*; (2) do not receive the *mantra* from a Brahman or other recognized Hindu Guru; (3) deny the authority of the Vedas; (4) do not worship the great Hindu gods; (5) are not served by good Brahmans as family priests; (6) have no Brahman priests at all; (7) are denied access to the interior of ordinary Hindu temples; (8) cause pollution by touch or within a certain distance; (9) bury their dead; (10) eat beef and do not reverence the cow. In accordance with the Census Commissioner's instructions, inquiries were made in each district regarding the castes which would come within any one or more of these categories, and the result is shown below.

Caste or tribe.	Bengal.		Bihar and Orissa.	
	Total No.	Categories.	Total No.	Categories.
Bagdi	1,015,738	5, 7, 8	..	..
Baishnab (Bairagi)	423,985	1, 5, 6, 9	78,739	9
Bauri	313,654	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10	292,503	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Beldar	..	..	88,921	2, 5
Bhuinmali ..	91,973	5, 7, 8	..	..
Bhuiya	69,044	2, 5, 6, 7, 8	663,757	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Bhumij ..	90,282	1, 5, 6, 7, 8	272,672	5
Bind	..	..	134,818	5
Chakma ..	58,672	1, 5, 6	..	..
Chamar ..	136,553	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10	1,114,467	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Chasadhoba ..	57,550	5	..	..

* This category includes two distinct groups, *viz.*, (*a*) certain sectarian groups which owe their origin to a revolt against the Brahmanical supremacy; and (*b*) the aboriginal tribes and also certain low castes who, being denied the ministrations of Brahmans, retaliate by professing to reject the Brahmans.

Caste or tribe.	Bengal.		Bihar and Orissa.	
	Total No.	Categories.	Total No.	Categories.
Dhoba or Dhobi ..	228,052	5, 7, 8	376,623	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Dom	173,991	5, 6, 7, 8, 10	241,903	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Dosadh ..	..	..	1,189,274	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Ganda	..	..	211,775	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Gareri	..	..	92,435	5
Hari	173,706	5, 6, 7, 8, 10	119,468	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Ho	..	..	419,221	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Jogi or Jugi ..	361,141	1, 5, 6, 7, 9	..	..
Kaibartta (Jaliya)	326,988	5	..	..
Kalu	111,562	5, 7	..	..
Kalwar	..	..	180,825	5, 7, 8
Kamar	263,392	7	..	..
Kandh (Khond) ..	..	..	302,883	1, 2, 5, 6, 7
Kandra ..	..	..	155,806	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
Kaora	112,281	5, 6, 7, 8, 10	..	..
Kapali	154,418	5, 7	..	..
Kewat	..	..	420,506	5
Kharia	..	..	105,472	5, 6, 7
Kharwar ..	..	..	85,876	5
Koch	125,046	5	..	..
Kora	46,497	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10	48,983	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
Kumhar ..	..	..	513,327	5
Mal	108,163	5, 6, 7, 8, 10	..	..
Mallah	..	..	362,927	5, 7
Malo	247,200	5	..	..

Caste or tribe.	Bengal.		Bihar and Orissa.	
	Total No.	Categories.	Total No.	Categories.
Muchi	455,236	2, 5, 7, 8, 10	31,339	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Munda	67,252	1, 2, 5, 6, 8	410,440	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Musahar ..	..	..	626,795	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Namasudra ..	1,908,728	5, 7, 8	..	..
Nuniya	..	..	319,102	5
Oraon	165,337	1, 5, 6, 8	474,673	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Pan	..	..	464,046	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Pasi	..	..	150,142	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Patni	63,447	5	..	..
Pod	536,568	5, 7, 8	..	..
Rajbansi ..	1,805,833	5, 7	..	..
Rajwar	..	..	131,971	5
Santal	669,420	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10	1,399,450	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Savar	..	..	191,798	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
Shaha	324,927	5, 7	..	..
Sonar	55,295	5, 7	..	..
Subarnabanik ..	109,429	5	..	..
Sunri	119,325	5, 7, 8	257,114	5, 7, 8
Sutradhar ..	177,433	5, 7	..	..
Tanti	..	..	613,277	5, 7
Teli	..	..	1,071,906	5, 7
Tipara	130,025	1, 5	..	..
Tiyar	215,270	5, 7, 8	60,397	5, 7, 8

520. This list merely summarizes the reports received and must be accepted with reserve. The utmost care has been taken to place the castes under the different categories only when there was a general consensus of opinion about them, and to reject views that were manifestly based on misconception; but in other cases I was

not in a position to judge of the correctness or incorrectness of the reports received, and errors may have been made. The variations of opinion were remarkable. In one district a caste would be included under one or other of the heads, in another it would be excluded. Such divergencies were most pronounced in Bihar and Orissa, especially as regards castes that in Chota Nagpur or Orissa are only semi-Hinduized, but elsewhere have a respectable status.

In neither Province has any caste been placed under the third or fourth category. Several castes were returned under the third category, but they are all at such a low level of education that they are not in a postion to pronounce any opinion about the Vedas. In fact, they scarcely know what the Vedas are and cannot be said either to accept or reject them. A number of castes were also returned under the fourth category, but though the great Hindu gods are not regularly worshipped by them, they recognize their divinity and render them occasional homage; Devi under one form or another is almost universally worshipped either regularly or occasionally. It is, therefore, difficult, if not impossible, to affirm positively that any castes do not worship the great Hindu gods. Several castes have, moreover, been excluded from the second class, though it was reported that they came under it. This is due to the fact that among the Baishnabs the Nityananda Gosains " open the door of fellowship to all sorts and conditions of men, be they Brahmans or Chandals, high caste widows or common prostitutes ". These Gosains are unquestionably recognised as Hindu Gurus, and the Baishnabs certainly receive *mantras* from them. As regards the eighth class, it must be remembered that, largely as a result of the growing popularity of travelling by train and the necessities imposed on travellers, the idea of pollution by touch is ceasing to have its old hold over the mind of the Hindus though it is still as potent as ever among orthodox Hindus of the old school and high caste widows. The burial of the dead, is moreover, often due merely to poverty. Members of the depressed classes who cannot afford fuel for cremation will light a small fire near the corpse as a humble substitute, which will, they believe, have the same purifying effect as actual cremation. Even the degraded classes, who eat beef, will not kill a cow for food or purchase beef, but merely eat the flesh of cows that have died a natural death. It is doubtful whether they can be said not to revere the cow. Personally, I should be inclined to say that they revere it when alive, but not when dead.

521. Many of the castes or tribes entered in the list are either frankly animistic or contribute largely to the ranks of Animists. Their Hinduism is often doubtful or more than doubtful. At home where their manner of worship and general method of life are known, they are not regarded as Hindus; but when they go far afield they arrogate the title. In Bengal, for instance, more Mundas and Oraons were returned as Hindus than as Animists, but in Bihar and Orissa, there are four Munda Animists to every Munda Hindu, while among the Oraons the Animists outnumber the Hindus by eight to one. Altogether there are 28 castes or tribes in Bengal, and 30 in Bihar and Orissa, of whom some were returned as Hindus and others as Animists, the figures being as shown below :—

	Hindus.	Animists.
Bengal	937,551	823,280
Bihar and Orissa	3,988,111	2,696,118

APPENDIX II.

Statement showing the number of depressed classes in Bihar and Orissa during the Census of 1931.

1. Bauri.
2. Bhogta.
3. Bhuiya.
4. Bhumij.
5. Chamar.
6. Chaupal.
7. Dhobi.
8. Dosadh.
9. Dom.
10. Ghasi.
11. Ghusuria.
12. Godra.
13. Gokha.
14. Halalkhor.
15. Hari.
16. Irika.
17. Kandra.
18. Kanjar.
19. Kela.
20. Kurariar.
21. Lalbegi.
22. Mahuria.
23. Mangan.
24. Mochi.
25. Mushahar.
26. Nat.
27. Pan.
28. Pasi.
29. Rajwar.
30. Siyal.
31. Turi.

APPENDIX III.

List of depressed communities in Bihar and Orissa, prepared by Mr. Sridhar Samal.

Names of depressed communities.	Area in which they are regarded as depressed.
1. Chamar	Throughout the province.
2. Dhobi	
3. Dom	
4. Hadi	
5. Muchi	
6. Savar	
7. Tiyar	
8. Mehtar	
9. Bhangi	
10. Halalkhor	
11. Turi	
12. Ahirgaura	
13. Dusadh	In Bihar.
14. Musahar	
15. Pashi	
16. Bator	
17. Byadha	
18. Jolaha (Hindu)	
19. Bauri	In Orissa.
20. Ghusuria	
21. Gokha	
22. Kela	
23. Mahuria	
24. Siyal	
25. Chamar	
26. Ghasi	
27. Kandra	
28. Pan	
29. Ganda	
30. Nolia	
31. Dhed (domiciled)	
32. Mahar (domiciled)	
33. Golah	
34. Kudma (Balasore)	
35. Baghuti	
36. Ujia (Balasore)	
37. Keshuria (Balasore)	
38. Khadala (Balasore)	
39. Sayar	
40. Bettra	

V

Supplement to the second memorandum by the Government of Bihar and Orissa.

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 3061-A., DATED THE 22ND/23RD MARCH 1932.

I am desired to say that the local Government agree with their Provincial Committee's remarks regarding the estimate of the number of depressed classes electors who would be placed on the roll on the basis of—

(*a*) six annas

(*b*) one rupee chaukidari tax payment. The Provincial Committee's remarks are as follows:—

"Enquiries have been made by the local Government at the request of the Committee in eight selected small rural areas and in two wards in two municipalities of the province regarding the number of depressed classes, the number of depressed classes voters if payments of (*a*) six annas and (*b*) rupee one or more as chaukidari tax were adopted as the basis of franchise qualifications and regarding the degree of their untouchability and unapproachability. The results of these enquiries have been tabulated in two statements which form Annexure D* to this report. These statements show that in the eight selected rural areas averaging a population of 7,000—5 per cent. of the depressed classes would be enfranchised on a basis of payment of six annas chaukidari tax but that if the qualification were raised to Re. 1 only 1 per cent. would be on the electoral roll. But the percentages are not uniform in the different selected areas, and the Committee do not feel justified in drawing any definite inference from these figures as to the effect of either basis of tax in enfranchising the depressed classes in the province as a whole."

A copy of the printed statements referred to is enclosed together with a copy of the printed papers† which contain the replies received from District Officers about these enquiries. "Depressed Classes" for the purposes of these enquiries were taken to include those‡ enumerated at 1931 census.

2. Your Committee has asked in its§ telegram of the 11th March for a statement showing by categories and classes what elements of the population would (*a*) be enfranchised and (*b*) remain unenfranchised under the local Government's proposals. The local Government's general

* Printed as Appendices II and III (Pp. 228-231). † Not printed.

‡ *Vide* p. 167.

§*Copy of Telegram from the Joint Secretary, Indian Franchise Committee, to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, No. E.-B. & O.-302, dated the 11th March 1932.*

Chairman would be grateful if local Government's final recommendations could be accompanied by statement showing by categories and classes as accurately as possible what elements of the population would (*a*) be enfranchised (*b*) remain unenfranchised under them.

views regarding representation of interests have been given in paragraphs 4 and 5* of their first memorandum. They have suggested three alternative proposals as practicable for giving effect to the large extension of the franchise proposed by the Indian Franchise Committee.

The *first* is the system of indirect primary village elections in which the whole adult population, male and female, will participate. This system would enfranchise all elements of the population and weightage could be given if necessary at the secondary elections by reserving a certain number of the places of secondary electors for special interests *e.g.*, women, depressed classes, aborigines (in some districts), Indian Christians (in some districts), industrial labour (in colliery areas) and so on.

A *second* alternative suggested which would enfranchise about 9 per cent. of the population was the enfranchisement in rural areas of all persons paying the minimum chaukidari tax (six annas) and in urban areas of all persons paying Re. 1-8-0 municipal tax. The main elements of the population which would on those basis be at an appreciable disadvantage with the other elements of the population in the matter of enfranchisement would be women and landless labourers. Industrial labour could be enfranchised, as proposed by the Provincial Committee, by creating a special constituency at Jamshedpur and special voting qualifications based on wages in the colliery areas in Chota Nagpur. The depressed classes would also be at a disadvantage as compared with the cultivator class in rural areas.

A *third* practicable alternative basis of the franchise suggested was the payment in rural areas of one rupee chaukidari tax and in urban areas of Rs. 3-8-0 municipal tax. This would enfranchise between 4 and 5 per cent. of the population. On this basis only a negligible proportion of the depressed class would probably be enfranchised in the rural areas. It is not possible at such short notice to give any more accurate information than the above.

3. In the Committee's telegram of the 18th March statistics regarding the future Federal Assembly voters have been asked for. The proposal of the majority of the Provincial Committee would give an electorate of 404,172 for the Federal Lower House. This would therefore roughly be the number of women who would be enfranchised by enfranchising the wives of that electorate. The local Government's views on this question have already been given in paragraphs 19 and 20† of their first memorandum. They are unable to make any final recommendations themselves as to the electorate for the federal lower chamber until they know what is to be the electorate for the provincial lower chamber and whether there is to be a second Provincial Chamber.

4. The local Government have read the summary of the proposals of the Government of Madras relating to the depressed classes and women sent with Laithwaite's demi-official letter‡ No. 175-B. & O., dated the 11th March; but conditions in this province are entirely different from those in Madras, and the Madras proposals could not in the local Government's opinion be applied to this province.

* Pages 108 and 109. † Page 115. ‡ Not printed.

VI

Final memorandum by the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Franchise Committee.

INTRODUCTION.

The Bihar and Orissa Franchise Committee was appointed by the local Government on the 19th January 1932 in a Press Communiqué which ran as follows:—

"The Governor in Council has appointed a Provincial Franchise Committee to advise on the questions which will be examined by the Central Franchise Committee which has been appointed by His Majesty's Government. The following have agreed to serve as members of the Committee:—

1. Lady Imam.
2. Babu Chandreshwar Prasad Narayan Singh, M.L.C.
3. Rai Bahadur Lakshmidhar Mahanti, M.L.C.
4. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.L.C.
5. Mr. Saiyid Muhammad Athar Husain, M.L.C.
6. Reverend Brajananda Das, M.L.C.
7. Babu Swayambar Das, M.L.C.
8. Babu Shiva Shankar Jha.
9. Babu Gursahay Lal.
10. Maulvi Saiyid Mubarak Ali Sahib.
11. Mr. A. P. Middleton, I.C.S.
12. Mr. G. E. Owen, M.L.C., I.C.S.
13. Rai Bahadur Satish Chandra Mukharji, Member and Secretary.

The Committee will elect their own Chairman. The questionnaire prepared by the Central Committee has been widely circulated in the province and any person wishing to give an opinion on the questions included therein is requested to send in his opinion to the Secretary with as little delay as possible and not later than February 7th, 1932. The Secretary can supply spare copies of the questionnaire if needed."

Mr. E. Danby was subsequently appointed as a member of the Committee.

At the first meeting of the Committee on the 20th January 1932 the Hon'ble Mr. J. T. Whitty, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Member of the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council, welcomed the members of the Committee on behalf of Government. He explained to them the great importance of the work which lay before them and the responsibilities involved, franchise being the real foundation of the whole edifice of any democratic constitution. Babu Chandreshwar Prasad Narayan Singh was unanimously elected as Chairman.

The Committee subsequently met on the 23rd January and on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 8th February. It was placed at some disadvantage

owing to the short notice given of the arrival of the Indian Franchise Committee in Patna on the 10th February 1932. At the request of the Indian Committee, the Provincial Committee formulated its provisional views which were embodied in a memorandum and placed before the Indian Committee on its arrival. Both the Committees had joint sittings on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th February and paid a visit to Khusrupur and Bakhtiarpur on the 14th February to witness a demonstration of the group system of election in two typical villages. They also examined about twenty witnesses on behalf of Government, representative associations and various communities in the province. The Provincial Committee has greatly profited by the valuable discussions it had with the Central Committee at the joint sittings, and the elucidation of important points in course of examination of the witnesses has also materially helped it in clarifying the issues placed before it. In its subsequent deliberations the Committee has kept in view all these discussions and has modified its opinion in certain particulars in the light of them. The Committee met again on the 23rd, 25th and 26th February and from the 6th to the 11th March day to day and examined the following witnesses :—

1. Babu Brajamohan Panda, M.L.C., for Sambalpur Non-Muhammadan rural constituency.
2. Mr. N. K. Ghosh, M.L.C., for the Chota Nagpur Division Non-Muhammadan urban constituency.
3. Babu Devendra Nath Samanta, M.L.C., for Singhbhum Non-Muhammadan rural constituency.
4. Mr. E. S. Hoernle, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas.
5. Babu Bhawani Sahay, President of the District Bar Association, Patna.
6. Maulvi Saiyid Muhammad Hafeez, M.L.C., for Patna University constituency.
7. Rai Bahadur Ram Ran Vijay Sinha, M.L.C., (nominated), representing Industrial Interests other than Planting and Mining.
8. Mr. P. C. Tallents, C.I.E., I.C.S., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa (with regard to Angul).
9. Baby Arikshan Sinha, *Ex*-M.L.C., Muzaffarpur, representing tenants.
10. Mr. L. B. Seal, Personal Assistant to the Commissioner of the Patna Division, representing Indian Christians.
11. Mr. Girija Bhushan Dutt, Secretary, Tenants' Association, Angul.

The present memorandum of which the draft was considered at the meetings of the Committee held on the 15th and 16th March, embodies the final views of a majority of the Committee. Mr. Danby could not take any part in the deliberations of the Committee after the 13th February

as he had to leave this country for England. It has not been possible to secure unanimity of opinion on a number of material points. The replies to the questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee are noted below :—

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.

1.—Extension of Franchise.

Question 1 (a).—What means can you suggest by which the existing franchise for the provincial Legislature could be extended so as to include 10 per cent. of the population in the electoral roll ?

Total population of the province.—According to the Census of 1931, the total population of Bihar and Orissa, excluding the Feudatory States is 37,677,576. The statement below shows the number of non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan persons, both male and female, in British Bihar and Orissa :—

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan.	Total.
Male	16,679,026	2,115,112	18,794,138
Female	16,730,244	2,153,194	18,883,438
Total ..	33,409,270	4,268,306	37,677,576

If 10 per cent. of the total population be enfranchised, the total number of voters would be 3,767,757. Women constitute approximately half the total population. The approximate number of persons of and above 21 years of age in 1931 is given below :—

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan.	Total.
Male	8,236,409	995,036	9,231,445
Female	8,518,355	1,052,343	9,570,698
Total ..	16,754,764	2,047,379	18,802,143

Urban areas.—The total urban population of Bihar and Orissa is 1,516,119. No municipal or any other tax or rate is levied in the Jamshedpur " notified area " which is the headquarters of the Tata Iron and Steel Company and as such has a large industrial population. It is proposed to frame a separate labour constituency for Jamshedpur " notified area " and the adjoining " notified area " of Jugsalai, of which the total population is 92,459. This will be discussed under the heading " 5—Representation of Labour ". The table below gives the urban population of Bihar and Orissa excluding the Jamshedpur and Jugsalai " notified areas " :—

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan.	Total.
Male	603,449	176,472	779,921
Female	489,365	154,374	643,739
Total ..	1,092,814	330,846	1,423,660

At present the main franchise qualification in the urban constituencies is the payment of Rs. 3 annually as municipal or cantonment rates. In the general elections of 1930, the total number of urban voters was as follows :—

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan.	Total.
Male	53,623	12,786	66,409
Female	3,058	1,315	4,373
Total ..	56,681	14,101	70,782

The existing number of urban voters for the Legislative Council, *viz.*, 70,782, represents 5 per cent. of the total urban population which is 1,423,660. If 10 per cent. of the urban population be enfranchised, the number will be 142,366 (excluding Jamshedpur and Jugsalai " notified areas "). At present, one of the main qualifications for the municipal franchise is the payment of at least Re. 1-8-0 as municipal tax. Enquiries were made regarding the total number of persons on the municipal electoral roll. Figures were also obtained for the number of persons who pay Re. 1-8-0 as tax in the Doranda " Notified Area " and in the Patna New Capital under the Patna Administration Committee. The figures reported have been tabulated in the statement which is appended to this report as Annexure A.* The total number o voters on the municipal electoral roll and of persons who pay at least Re. 1-8-0 as tax in the Doranda " Notified Area " and in the Patna New Capital is 140,225, of whom 114,723 are non-Muhammadans and 25,502 are Muhammadans. Of these, only 960 are women. Although women have a limited franchise in municipalities very few of them, owing to their apathy, are actually enrolled as voters. The question of increasing the number of women voters is dealt with in the portion of the report relating to " Women's suffrage ". The figures given above show that approximately 10 per cent. of the total population in the urban areas will be enfranchised if all the voters on the municipal roll and those who pay Re. 1-8-0 as tax in the other urban areas are brought under the franchise for the local Council. Bearing in view these figures, the Committee is of opinion that the extension of the franchise in the manner suggested in the question, *i.e.*, up to 10 per cent. can be effected if the main municipal franchise, *viz.*, payment of at least Re. 1-8-0 as tax or fee is adopted as the basis of the franchise qualification for the Council in urban areas.

Rural areas.—In round figures, the rural population of the province is 36,000,000. For purposes of calculation, the districts of Sambalpur, Angul and the Santal Parganas have been left out. These areas have been dealt with separately. The table below gives the figures of population in rural areas :—

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan.	Total.
Male	14,704,370	1,818,794	16,523,164
Female	14,836,045	1,885,083	16,721,128
Total ..	29,540,415	3,703,877	33,244,292

* Not printed.

The existing franchise qualifications for the rural constituencies of the Legislative Council vary in the different parts of the province. They are mainly property qualifications, *viz.*, payment of revenue, cess and rent by proprietors, tenure-holders and tenants at certain rates per annum. The statement below gives the total number of voters in rural constituencies (including those in Sambalpur and the Santal Parganas) during the general elections of 1930, Angul being excluded from the scope of reforms :—

Description of persons.	Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan.	Total.
Male	319,498	35,562	355,060
Female	1,695	787	2,482
Total ..	321,193	36,349	357,542

The existing number of rural voters is 357,542. They form approximately 1 per cent. of the total population (36,000,000). If 10 per cent. of the total population be enfranchised, the total number of voters should be 3,324,429 excluding the voters in the districts of Sambalpur, Angul and the Santal Parganas or 3,600,000 including the voters in these districts.

Before the general elections of 1920 a suggestion was made that it would be simpler and more economical if the payment of chaukidari tax was made the basis of franchise for the local Council in rural areas and in favour of this it was urged that all classes would be represented including wage-earners. Figures of voters could be easily compiled from the chaukidari assessment lists maintained in each sub-divisional office and no special staff would be required for the preparation of the electoral roll. It was also urged that the electoral roll could be prepared far more expeditiously than at present and it would not necessitate laying down different franchise qualifications for different areas. After the general elections of 1926 the Elections Officer, Mr. Berthoud, observed as follows :—

" The franchise in rural areas is based on property qualification, but the vast bulk of the residents in these areas is as indifferent as ever in election matters and this causes considerable difficulty in hunting up property qualifications with a view to compiling a complete and correct roll. It would simplify work if the payment of chaukidari tax were made the basis of the franchise in rural areas, inasmuch as an up-to-date register of assessees under the Chaukidari Act is maintained almost everywhere, from which a list of voters could be compiled with less difficulty. This is a question of some importance."

For meeting the cost of upkeep of the rural police, *viz.*, village chaukidars (watchmen) and dafadars (head watchmen), a certain rate is levied in each village under section 15 of the Village Chaukidari Act VI of 1870. This rate is assessed according to the circumstances and the property to be protected of the persons liable to the same, provided that the amount assessed on any one person is not more than Re. 1 a month and that all persons who in the opinion of the *panches* (village officials) are too poor to pay half an anna a month are altogether exempted from assessment. The

minimum chaukidari tax is half an anna a month or six annas a year. The payment of the minimum chaukidari tax has been adopted as a franchise qualification for the election of members of the union board or *panchayat* under the Bihar and Orissa Village Administration Act III of 1922. In view of the advantages of adopting the payment of chaukidari tax as the basis of franchise qualification the Committee had enquiries made in order to ascertain the number of persons who pay chaukidari tax of at least Re. 1 and of six annas a year. The Act is in force in the Patna, Tirhut, Bhagalpur (except in the Santal Parganas) and Orissa (except in the districts of Sambalpur and Angul) Divisions and a similar Act, *viz.*, the Chota Nagpur Rural Police Act I of 1914, is in force in the Chota Nagpur Division except in certain parts of Singhbhum district. The results of the enquiries are tabulated in a statement which forms Annexure B* to this report. If those who pay six annas or more as chaukidari tax be given the right to vote, the position will be as follows :—

Class.	Population.	Number of voters.	Percentage.
Non-Muhammadan ..	29,540,415	2,602,213	8·8
Muhammadan	3,703,877	330,405	8·9
Total ..	33,244,292	2,932,618	8·8

Of the total number of voters, only 40,268 would be non-Muhammadan women and 7,417 Muhammadan women, the total number of women tax-payers being 47,685 or 1·6 per cent. of the total number of tax-payers. So far as men in rural areas are concerned, about 17·5 per cent. of the total male population or 35 per cent. of the adult male population would be enfranchised. The relative voting strength of the two main communities will be more or less the same.

If those who pay Re. 1 or more as chaukidari tax are enfranchised, the position will be as follows :—

Class.	Population.	Number of voters.	Percentage.
Non-Muhammadan ..	29,540,415	1,220,756	4·1
Muhammadan	3,703,877	190,696	5·1
Total ..	33,244,292	1,411,452	4·3

Of the total number of voters, only 15,600 would be non-Muhammadan women and 3,949 Muhammadan the total number of women voters being 19,549 or about 1·4 per cent. of the total number of taxpayers.

The figures show slight disparity in the voting strength of the non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan communities. Of the total number of chaukidari tax-payers about 2 per cent. are minors and another 2 per cent. are expected to be landlords who have been recorded several times as voters on the chaukidari assessment lists because they pay chaukidari tax in each village within their estates or tenures in which they have their *tahsil* (collection) offices. If these factors are taken into account, the chances are that the disparity will be removed.

* Not printed.

The question of increasing the number of women electors is dealt with in the portion of the report regarding " Women's suffrage."

It may be mentioned here that the Chaukidari Act provides for assessment of *separate interests*. If the chaukidari tax is adopted as the basis of franchise, the adult members of a joint family other than the head of the family will have no right to vote. The same principle has been followed in the existing electoral rules. Where property is held or payments are made on the principle of a joint family, the family is adopted as the unit for deciding whether the requisite qualification exists, and if it does exist, the person qualified is, in the case of a Hindu joint family, the manager or head thereof and, in other cases, the member authorized in that behalf by the family concerned. The Committee has considered the question whether the present disqualification of the other members of a family entitled to vote should be removed and all adult members of such a family given the franchise. But it would obviously be anomalous to lower the franchise qualification only for members of Hindu joint families. As the Chaukidari Act provides for the assessment of *separate interests*, some at least of the adult members of a joint family, who live joint in mess but have separately recorded shares for which they pay revenue, rent or cess separately of an amount sufficient to make them liable to chaukidari assessment, will be included in the electoral roll. Some again will be so included if there is an educational qualification as an alternative to the property qualifications; and we have suggested such a qualification in our answer to question 2(*d*). Having regard to the figures shown in Annexure B*, the Committee considers that approximately 9 per cent. of the population will be included on the electoral roll if the payment of the minimum chaukidari tax is adopted as the basis of the franchise qualifications and about 4·5 per cent. if chaukidari tax-payers of Re. 1 or more are enfranchised in rural areas.

It remains to consider the case of Sambalpur, Angul and the Santal Parganas where it is not at present possible to adopt the payment of chaukidari tax as the basis of franchise qualification. The district of Angul has so far been treated as a " backward tract ", outside the scope of the Reforms. It has an area of 1,681 square miles and a population of 222,736. It consists of two subdivisions, the Sadr and the Khondmals. The Sadr subdivision, which is more advanced, has a total population of 140,458 and the chaukidari tax is paid in kind which is now being commuted to cash. When this commutation has been finished, it may be possible to make the payment of chaukidari tax the basis of franchise qualification. For the present it will be necessary to make payment of rent of Rs. 6 or more the basis of franchise qualification as this is likely to yield an electorate of approximately 6 per cent. of the total population. The Khondmals subdivision is more backward and is 90 miles away from the Sadr subdivision and separated from it by the Baud Feudatory State. The Committee is not aware whether this tract will be brought under the scheme of Reforms. The majority of the members, however, consider that if it is so included, some sort of franchise qualification, such as the

* Not printed.

payment of plough tax or of rent sufficient to bring in an electorate of about 5 per cent. of the population, could probably be adopted for the area. The district has no urban area at present.

The Santal Parganas has an area of 5,161 square miles and a rural population of over two millions. In the major portion of the district the chaukidars receive no pay but enjoy profits from lands in lieu thereof, which are set apart for the purpose at the time of the settlement. At present a proprietor who pays Rs. 12 per annum as local cess, a tenure-holder whose tenure is assessed for the purpose of local cess at not less than Rs. 100 per annum and a raiyat who is liable to pay rent or cess amounting to Rs. 24 or annas twelve respectively are entitled to vote. On these qualifications there are only 2,000 and 14,000 Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan voters in the district who return one and two members respectively. These property qualifications would have to be lowered so as to yield an electorate of approximately 5 per cent. of the population.

The district of Sambalpur has an area of 3,824 square miles and a rural population of 865,000. Here too the chaukidars do not receive their pay in cash but enjoy the profits from lands set apart for them at the time of the settlement. At present a proprietor who pays not less than Rs. 12 per annum as cess, a tenure-holder whose tenure is assessed for the purpose of local cess at not less than Rs. 100 per annum and a raiyat who is liable to pay annual rent or local cess amounting to Rs. 16 or annas eight respectively are entitled to vote. On these qualifications the total existing number of non-Muhammadan voters for the Legislative Council is about 8,000; the number of Muhammadan voters is very small and they are included in the Orissa Muhammadan rural constituency. In order to enfranchise 5 per cent. of the total population, it will be necessary to lower the franchise for raiyats to payment of rent or cess amounting approximately to Rs. 6 or annas three respectively.

It has not been possible for the Committee within the short time at its disposal to make detailed enquiries regarding the exact amount of revenue, rent or cess which will enfranchise the requisite percentage of population in the districts of the Santal Parganas, Sambalpur and Angul. To arrive at correct figures, it will be necessary to consult the settlement record-of-rights and make elaborate calculations which will take time.

The Committee is of opinion that in addition to the property qualifications noted above, including the payment of chaukidari tax, all assessees to income-tax should, as at present, be given the right to vote, both in the urban and rural areas of the province. This, in the case of Hindu joint families, is likely to enfranchise some adult members other than the head of the family.

Question 1 (b).—Do you consider that such an electorate will be capable of casting an intelligent vote ?

The majority of the members of the Committee are of opinion that the percentage of voters who cast their votes intelligently under the existing franchise is low and that it is likely to be lower if the franchise is

further extended. Babu Gursahay Lal and some other members hold the view that the proportion of intelligent voters is increasing at every general election and there is no reason why the number of such voters will not increase further if the franchise is lowered, the political education of the masses being only a question of time. Pandit Shiva Shankar Jha, Babu Gursahay Lal, Babu Swayambar Das and Rai Bahadur S. C. Ray are of opinion that it would make no difference in the proportion of intelligent voters if 10 per cent. of the total population were enfranchised.

Question 1 (c).—*Do you consider that such an electorate would be administratively manageable, having regard to the arrangements likely to be feasible for the preparation, maintenance and revision of the electoral rolls, and for the recording and counting of votes ?*

The answer to the question depends on whether the election should be according to—

(A) wholly indirect system, or

(B) combination of the direct and indirect systems, or what is called the " hybrid " system, or

(C) wholly direct system.

(A) Wholly indirect system.

The majority of the members agree that the indirect system of election, according to the system of primary chaukidari village election, as described in the local Government's memorandum forwarded with their letter of the 14th March 1932, is the only system of election which would enable the goal of universal adult suffrage to be reached within the lifetime of this or the succeeding generation. But the same majority are not in favour of this system, and they consider that the following objections to it require emphasis. The question of separate electorates for Muhammadans makes the system of indirect election very complicated in a province such as Bihar and Orissa in which the Muhammadans form only 11 per cent. of the total population and are scattered over the area of a district. The difficulties will be accentuated if the franchise is extended to only a certain percentage of the total population and qualifications are laid down for restricting the franchise to that percentage. As the non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan population in this province is in the proportion of 8 : 1, the total number of adult Muhammadan male primary voters will be approximately 1,000,000. There are more than 83,000 villages in British Bihar and Orissa. Therefore it follows that the average number of Muhammadan male adults inhabiting a village is 12 and it will be necessary to form groups of primary Muhammadan male electors from at least two villages. As the Muhammadans form a small percentage of the total population in Chota Nagpur and particularly in Orissa, the formation of primary groups of 20 Muhammadan electors will be extremely difficult in these two divisions, and also in other areas

where the Muhammadans are thinly and widely scattered. This is illustrated in the table given below :—

Serial No.	Subdivision.	Number of villages.	Total population.	Total Muhammadan population.	Total Muhammadan adult male population (approximately).	Average number of Muhammadan adult male voters in a village.	Total number of Muhammadan male secondary voters.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Buxar (Shahabad)	772	336,768	18,512	4,628	6	231
2	Dumka (Santal Parganas).	2,681	456,686	16,346	4,086	1·5	204
3	Khurda (Puri) ..	1,073	367,244	10,285	2,571	2·5	128
4	Bargarh (Sambalpur)	1,191	537,406	900	225	Less than one. No percentage can be usefully worked out.	11
5	Angul (Sadr) ..	467	140,458	205	51		3
6	Khunti (Ranchi) ..	1,157	373,800	3,007	750		38
7	Singhbhum (Sadr)	1,582	513,231	3,016	754		38

From the above table it will be seen that Buxar subdivision has 6 Muhammadan adult males in each village, Dumka (Santal Parganas has 1·5, Khurda has 2·5, Bargarh in Sambalpur has ·2, Angul practically *nil*, and Khunti and Singhbhum Sadr will each have to elect 38 secondary voters for the entire subdivision. If this is the position with regard to the Muhammadan male voters on the assumption that there is an universal adult suffrage, it will be an obviously impossible situation for the Muhammadan female voters who mostly observe *pardah* and will not stir out of their villages. Besides, the adoption of any voting qualification restricting the franchise will create further difficulties in the grouping of Muhammadan electors in rural areas.

The system, the same majority of members hold, has its draw-back specially in India where there are several religious communities and sects or sub-sects under each community. Such a system will tend to create ill-feeling and hostility among the members of the different castes in villages and there will be endless frictions in the formation of groups. It will be necessary to employ temporary officers on low pay who will be subject to temptations and undesirable influences specially if there be no appeals against their decisions. It will be difficult to make suitable arrangements for preventing breaches of the peace and rioting, should these occur as a result of party-feeling or for wrong decisions on the part of the election officer. The primary groups will be subject to undesirable influences and are likely to select the leading village touts, money-lenders and other influential people who, even if they are not themselves elected, would induce them to elect secondaries at their dictation, and thus corruption will be rife. The candidates for seats in the Legislative Council will not be in direct touch with the primary voters and there is no guarantee that the secondaries would cast their votes in favour of the

man whom the primaries wanted. In other words the primary electors would not have direct voice in the selection of their representatives. As there will be an interval between the primary and secondary elections, pressure or undue influence may be brought to bear on the secondaries by interested persons. It will be looked upon as a retrograde step by the existing voters who have been accustomed to the direct poll for over a decade. From the administrative point of view there is the risk of the system being a complete failure if a large section of the people non-co-operate and combine to withhold their votes. If there is a by-election, the holding of primary and secondary elections will take some time and the constituency will remain unrepresented in the Council for months unless the primary elections are dispensed with and the old electoral roll of secondary voters are utilized for the purpose of the by-election. The Chairman and Mr. Owen disagree with the majority on this subject and advocate indirect election in all rural constituencies. A note of dissent recorded by them is appended. Lady Imam also is in favour of the indirect system of election and the group system of election advocated by her has been explained in a note appended to this report.

(B) Combination of the Direct and Indirect Elections.

A combination of the two systems in the same constituencies would, in the opinion of all members of the Committee (including the minority who are in favour of substituting indirect for direct election in rural constituencies), be unworkable and undesirable. The secondary voters would be swamped by the propertied direct voters; class-feeling would be intensified, the conduct of the primary elections would be unmanageable. *Ad hoc* and often illiterate village *panches* and temporary and not highly paid election officers of the status of ministerial officer could not effectively conduct elections at which members of the villages would have to be disqualified from voting on the ground of payment or non-payment of tax or other disqualifications verifiable only from a written electoral roll. The system would be most complicated and very expensive. The Committee is not therefore prepared to suggest any scheme as workable.

(C) Wholly Direct System.

The following observations of the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee have an important bearing on this question :—

"The Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference considered that adult suffrage was the goal which should ultimately be attained but the majority thought that it was not practicable to reach that goal immediately and recommended the immediate increase of the electorate so as to enfranchise not less than 10 per cent. of the population, and indeed a larger number—but not more than 25 per cent. of the total population—if that should, on full investigation, be found practicable and desirable."

In view of these observations a majority of the Provincial Committee was at first under the impression that it was mandatory to enfranchise 10 per cent. of the total population in this province. They were therefore inclined at the outset to recommend the indirect system of

election as, on the materials before them, they had considerable misgivings whether it would be administratively practicable to poll 10 per cent. of the total population by the direct method. In the course of the discussions at the joint meetings, it however transpired that in making the observations cited above the Central Committee had in view the percentage of existing electors in the major provinces of India and did not take into account the fact that only 1 per cent. of the total population had the franchise in this province. While in Bombay and Madras the enfranchisement of 10 per cent. of the total population would mean trebling the size of the existing electorate, in Bihar and Orissa it would mean a ten-fold increase in the number of the existing voters. The majority of members have, therefore, after mature consideration confined their attention to exploring the possibilities of increasing the size of the electorate in this province to an extent which would be administratively manageable according to the direct method, having regard to the arrangements likely to be feasible for the recording and counting of votes. They have come to the conclusion that if the franchise is extended to 5 per cent. of the total population, it would be possible to make the necessary polling arrangements with the existing staff of Government officers and to finish the poll, as at present, in two days, one day being set apart for Muhammadan and the other for non-Muhammadan voters. This will mean the enlargement of the electoral roll in the rural areas to five times its present size, *i.e.*, from 357,000 to roughly 1,750,000 and would be mainly effected by adopting the payment of chaukidari tax of Re. 1 and upwards as the basis of the franchise qualifications in 18 districts and by lowering the existing qualifications in the three remaining districts. As has been noted above, the franchise in urban areas has already been extended to 5 per cent. of the total urban population. Some of the members are not in favour of extending the franchise any further but the majority consider that the ratio of voters to population should be the same in urban as in rural areas. The majority are aware that it might be possible to bring under the franchise 10 per cent. of the total population and to provide for their poll by the direct method, if the poll were spread over three or four days instead of two as has been suggested above. But this, in their opinion, would throw a greater strain on the administrative machinery than it would bear, would be more expensive, would dislocate public work in courts and offices and other public institutions and would be exposed to the risk of a break-down which is inherent in all protracted elections. They are definitely of opinion that for the present the franchise should not be extended to more than 5 per cent. of the population and it ought to be left to the future autonomous Council to enlarge the electorate still further should they consider it desirable and find it administratively possible. A note has been prepared on the feasibility of polling arrangements if approximately 5 per cent. of the total population is enfranchised and forms Annexure C* to this report. Some members think that any deficiency in the number of Government officers may be made good by enlisting the services of honorary magistrates, members of local bodies and senior members of the Bar who do not themselves

* Not printed.

take an active part in the elections—a view not subscribed to by the majority.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, Pandit Shivashankar Jha, Babu Gursahay Lal, Babu Swayambar Das, Rev. Brajananda Das, Rai Bahadur Lakshmidhar Mahanti, Rai Bahadur S. C. Mukharji, Mr. Middleton, Maulvi Saiyid Mubarak Ali Sahib and Mr. S. M. Athar Husain are in favour of the system of direct election. In their opinion direct election is the *sine qua non* of responsible Government. It makes the representative feel that he stands in a genuine relation to the original voter. It is the system to which a certain proportion of the adult population has been accustomed for over a decade. It makes the people appreciate the value of the vote to a greater extent than by any other system of election, and minimises the chances of corruption to the greatest extent possible. While Rai Bahadur Lakshmidhar Mahanti, Mr. Middleton, Maulvi Mubarak Ali Sahib, Mr. Athar Husain and Rai Bahadur S. C. Mukharji would extend the direct electorate to only 5 per cent. of the total population, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, Rev. Brajananda Das, Pandit Shivashankar Jha, Babu Gursahay Lal and Swayambar Das are in favour of giving the franchise to 10 per cent. and hold the view that it would be administratively possible to poll this percentage of population by spreading the elections over three or even four days. Rai Bahadur Lakshmidhar Mahanti and Maulvi Mubarak Ali Sahib, however, suggest that the franchise may be extended to 10 per cent. of the population in towns only. Maulvi Mubarak Ali's reason is that the urban population is familiar with ballot boxes since the year 1865, while the rural population is used to it since 1920. As it has been proposed to increase the franchise in rural areas by five times, he is in favour of doubling the franchise in towns. He sees no justification why there should be no increase at all in municipal areas simply on the ground that there would be disparity between the enfranchised population of the rural and urban areas. The other members noted above are of opinion that the same percentage should be adopted for both the urban and rural areas. The Chairman and Mr. Owen, if the alternative of indirect election in rural constituencies and adult suffrage is rejected, would recommend an extension of the direct franchise to 5 per cent. of the rural and at least 10 per cent. of the urban population.

Question 1 (d).—If the answer to (b) and (c) is in the negative, what alternative qualification for the electorate would you propose?

The answer to this question has been given in dealing with the answers to clauses (b) and (c). In order to increase the number of voters who will be able to cast their votes intelligently, the Committee suggests an alternative educational qualification. This will be dealt with under 2 (*d*).

Question 1 (e).—If the answer to (b) and (c) is in the affirmative, do you consider that it would be practicable and desirable, having regard to the same consideration, to enlarge the electoral roll still further and, if so, what means would you suggest for the purpose?

The majority of the Committee does not consider it desirable to extend the franchise for the present to more than 5 per cent. of the total population.

Question 1 (f).—It has been suggested that, assuming adult suffrage to be impracticable at present, all adults not entitled to a direct vote should be grouped together in primary groups of about 20 or in some other suitable manner for the election of one or more representative members from each group, who would be entitled to vote in the provincial elections either in the same constituencies as the directly qualified voters or in separate constituencies to be framed for them. The suggestion has been discussed mainly with reference to rural villages, but might be made applicable to towns also.

Do you consider that any such system would be feasible and advantageous in the areas with which you are acquainted, and if so, would you advise that the group electors should vote in the same constituencies as the directly qualified electors, or in separate constituencies composed of group electors only?

This contemplates election either by the indirect system or by what is known as the 'hybrid' system. For the reasons given in dealing with answers to question (c), the majority of the members are not in favour of either of these systems.

Question 1 (g).—It has been proposed that in the event of separate constituencies being framed for group electors, only group electors should be qualified to stand as candidates for such constituencies.

Are you in favour of this course?

In view of the answer to question (f), this question does not arise.

Question 1 (h).—Do you consider that it would be feasible and advantageous to abolish all the existing qualifications for voters and to extend a system of the nature described in (f) *and to confine electorate for all constituencies to secondaries chosen by groups of primary voters?*

Question 1 (i)*—In the event of your answer to* (f) *or* (h) *being in the affirmative, what do you consider would be a suitable size for the groups referred to above? On what basis would you constitute them and whom would you charge with the duty of framing them?*

Question 1 (j)*—Would you require any special qualification, whether property, educational or other, in the person chosen by such groups to vote on their behalf for the election of members? If so, what?*

These questions have been answered under question (c). The majority of the members think that the franchise should be extended to only 5 per cent. of the population and the polling should be conducted according to the direct method. Lady Imam has answered these questions in her note* which is appended to this report.

2. Franchise qualifications.

Question 2 (a).—Do you consider that in the areas with which you are acquainted there is any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas? If so, what measures would you suggest in order to rectify such disparities?

* Pages 196—199.

The Committee recognizes that at present there is disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas. The existing urban electorate forms about 5 per cent. of the total urban population while the electors in rural areas are only 1 per cent. of the total rural population. To remove this disparity, it has been suggested under question 1 (*c*) by the majority that the same percentage of population should be brought under the franchise both in the urban and rural areas.

Question 2 (b).—It has been suggested that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers, and that the franchise system should be so contrived as to secure this result, in so far as it may be practicable.

Are you in agreement with this suggestion, and, if so, what measures would you suggest for giving effect to it in your province on the assumption (i) that separate electorates are retained, (ii) of joint electorates with reservation of seats and (iii) of joint electorates without reservation of seats?

If the franchise is extended to only 5 per cent. of the total population in the urban and rural areas and the qualifications suggested above are adopted, the relative voting strength of each community will be as follows :—

Description.	*Urban.*	*Rural.*
Non-Muhammadan	5·1	4·1
Muhammadan	4·2	5·1
Total ..	4·8	4·3

If the franchise be extended to 10 per cent. of the total population, the relative voting strength of each community will be as follows :—

Description.	*Urban.*	*Rural.*
Non-Muhammadan	11	8·8
Muhammadan	8·1	8·9
Total ..	10·3	8·8

The slight disparity noticeable in the above table is likely to be removed if there is an additional educational qualification and all income-tax assessees are brought under the franchise. Another factor has been stated in reply to question 1 (*c*).

Question 2 (c).—Is the possession of property of some kind in your opinion a suitable test of fitness for the franchise? (The term "property" should be understood in its widest sense as including not only the ownership of landed property, but also the occupation of land or house property or the receipt of income or wages either in cash or kind). If so, do you consider the existing property qualifications suitable? If you do not, what modification do you suggest?

The majority of the Committee consider that a franchise qualification based on property is necessary. As stated above chaukidari tax is

assessed according to the circumstances and the property to be protected of the person liable to the same. It is levied in rural areas on small traders according to their income and on agricultural labourers according to their wages. A voter should have some stake in the country and in suggesting the payment of chaukidari tax and municipal tax as the basis, the Committee has kept this point in view.

Question 2 (d).—Are you in favour of introducing a qualification based on education, independently of property? If so, what educational qualification would you suggest?

The Committee is in favour of introducing a qualification based on education, independently of property. The general opinion is that all men who have passed the middle standard (middle English or middle vernacular and the corresponding oriental examinations in *tols* and *madrasas*) and women who are literate, that is, able to read and write a letter, should have the right to vote. Some of the members, *viz.*, Babu Gursahay Lal, Babu Swayambar Das, Rev. Brajananda Das and Pandit Shivashankar Jha are in favour of lowering the educational qualification for men to the passing of the upper primary examination only. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray recommends that a lower educational standard should be fixed for the aboriginals and depressed classes. Lady Imam, Maulavi Mubarak Ali Sahib and Mr. Athar Husain are of opinion that mere literacy should be an additional qualification for Muhammadan voters of both sexes.

The table below gives the number of persons of 20 years of age and over in Bihar and Orissa who, according to the Census of 1931, (*i*) have passed the Middle or some higher standard of education and (*ii*) who are literate :—

Class.	Non-Muhammadan Male.	Non-Muhammadan Female.	Total Non-Muhammadan.	Muhammadan Male.	Muhammadan Female.	Total Muhammadan.	Total of columns 4 & 7.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Number of persons who have passed the Middle or some higher standard of education.	1,007,016	65,581	1,072,597	128,278	11,717	139,995	1,212,599
Number of persons who are literate.	87,467	5,002	92,469	12,323	300	12,623	105,092

Question 2 (e).—Are you in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and extending it so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces?

The Committee holds no strong views on the question which is of no practical importance in this province. But they see no reason for abolishing the qualification, and they agree that if it is retained it should be extended as proposed.

3. Women's Suffrage.

Question 3 (a).—At present women are admitted to the suffrage on the same terms as men, but as the existing qualifications are mainly based on property and payment of taxes, the number of women on the provincial electoral rolls is only a little over a quarter of a million as compared with 6½ million men. The Statutory Commission proposed that the wives and widows (if over 25 years of age) of men, entitled to vote under the property qualification, should be enfranchised, and that in addition an educational qualification should apply to women over 21 as well as to men. In the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference it was suggested that the age-limit should be 21 for women as well as for men.

Are you in favour of increasing the women's electorate in the ways suggested or would you prefer any other method? If so, what method? To what extent would you favour increase in women's electorate?

(b) In the event of a system of group representation being established as proposed in paragraph 1 (f), do you consider that women should be formed into groups, and, if so, should separate groups be formed for women or should groups contain both men and women?

Of the members only Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is in favour of the proposal to enfranchise wives and widows of the men entitled to vote under the property qualifications. Mr. Athar Husain is of opinion that women should only come in under the general franchise qualifications mentioned above. The other members including Lady Imam are, however, of opinion that literacy and the property qualifications suggested for men should also be the franchise qualifications for women. The number of adult literate women in the province is 72,000. The property and educational qualifications will, to a great extent, overlap each other and the total number of women who would be entitled to vote under these qualifications is not likely to exceed 100,000. The majority of the Committee are of opinion that both men and women should be brought under the same system of election and should the direct system be adopted, the women must vote in rural as well as in urban areas in the same polling booth as men, as it would be impossible to find sufficient women to staff separate polling booths in all the constituencies, and impracticable to duplicate the male staff. Lady Imam would like to have separate polling booths for women, whatever system of election was adopted. Babu Gursahay Lal suggests that separate entrances in the same polling booth may be provided for women. Maulvi Mubarak Ali Sahib and Mr. Athar Husain recommend postal voting for women. If, however, this recommendation is not accepted, Mr. Athar Hussain would agree with Lady Imam that separate polling booths should be provided for women.

Question 3 (c).—The suggestion has been made that at any rate as a temporary measure legislature should co-opt women members to an extent not exceeding 5 per cent. by a system of proportional representation so as to ensure some representation of women in the legislature.

What are your views on this suggestion?

Lady Imam is of opinion that women candidates for seats in the Legislative Council should endeavour to seek the votes of both sexes in the general electorates in the same manner as men and no seats should be reserved for women in the Provincial Legislature. Her opinion is shared by a majority of the members of the Committee.

4. Representation of the Depressed Classes.

It is evident from the discussions which have occurred in various connections in the Round Table Conference, that it is generally felt that provision should be made in the new constitution for better representation of the depressed classes, and that the method of representation by nomination is no longer required as appropriate.

What communities would you include as belonging to depressed classes? Would you include classes other than untouchables, and if so, which?

Do you consider that the depressed classes are likely, through such general extension of the franchise as you favour, to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates, and if so, to what extent? If your answer is in the negative, what specific proposals would you make to secure their representation in legislatures? The possible application of the group system of representation to the depressed classes should be specially considered.

It is difficult to give an exhaustive list of the castes or sects who could, in this province, be properly defined as "depressed classes". Appendix II of Annexure C* to this report gives the number of "depressed classes" in this province who have been enumerated as such during the Census of 1931. Some of the classes, in this list, *e.g.*, Bauri, Bhogta, Bhuiya, Bhumij, Ghasi, Pan, Rajwar and Turi have also been classed as aborigines during the Census. There may be also other classes who are regarded as depressed in different local areas of the province. The degree of untouchability of the depressed classes also varies in different parts of the province. In some districts, members of certain sects and sub-castes of depressed classes are denied access to wells and temples. In others, the same sects and sub-castes are denied access to temples but not to wells. There are places where the children of the depressed classes are allowed to attend ordinary schools. The classes which are commonly regarded as untouchable are *Chamar*, *Dusadh*, *Dom*, *Halalkhor*, *Hari*, *Mochi*, *Mushahar*, *Pan* and *Pasi*. Enquiries have been made by the local Government at the request of the Committee in eight selected small rural areas and in two wards in two municipalities of the province regarding the number of depressed classes, the number of depressed class voters if payment of (*a*) six annas and (*b*) rupee one or more as chaukidari tax were adopted as the basis of franchise qualifications and regarding the degree of their untouchability and unapproachability. The results of these enquiries have been tabulated in two statements which form Annexure D* to this report. These statements show that in the eight selected rural areas—averaging a population of 7,000—5 per cent. of the depressed

* Printed as Appendix I (page 226).
† Printed as Appendices II and III (pages 228—231.)

classes would be enfranchised on a basis of payment of six annas chaukidari tax but that if the qualification were raised to Re. 1 only 1 per cent. would be on the electoral roll. But the percentages are not uniform in the different selected areas, and the Committee do not feel justified in drawing any definite inference from these figures as to the effect of either basis of tax in enfranchising the depressed classes in the province as a whole. The majority of the Committee, however, consider that there is no need for special representation of the depressed classes as their grievances are not so acute here as in Bombay or South India. The Committee is unanimous that, as the depressed classes are scattered all over the province, no separate electorates could be framed for them under the present system of direct election. There are at present two members who are nominated by the Government to represent the depressed classes in the Council.

5. Representation of Labour.

Assuming that such widening of the basis of suffrage in general constituencies as is found practicable does not provide adequate representation of labour, what special measure would you recommend for representation of labour (a) where it is or can be organized as in industrial areas, (b) where it is unorganized as in the case of agricultural and plantation labour? On what basis would you allot representation to labour in each case?

The general opinion is that a sufficient number of agricultural labourers will be enfranchised on the basis of payment of one rupee chaukidari tax. Babu Gursahay Lal however thinks that a sufficient number of agricultural labourers will be enfranchised only on the basis of six annas chaukidari tax. There is practically no plantation labour in the province. Organized industrial labour is confined to (*a*) the Jamshedpur and adjoining Jugsalai "notified areas" in the Singhbhum district and (*b*) the colliery areas in the Dhanbad subdivision of Manbhum district. The population of Jamshedpur and its suburb, Jugsalai, is 83,738 and 8,721 respectively. In order to give the large labour force at the Jamshedpur Iron and Steel Works an effective voice in the choice of a representative of labour, the Committee recommends the formation of a separate urban constituency for these two "notified areas" where industrial labourers form the majority of the population. There is some difficulty in fixing the franchise qualifications for Jamshedpur as neither the labour force nor the residents have to pay any municipal or chaukidari tax. The entire cost of the sanitary arrangements in the towns is borne by the Tata Iron and Steel Company. But the Committee has obtained information from Mr. F. C. Temple, C.I.E., who is the Chairman of the two notified area committees, which indicates that it would be possible to frame an electoral roll of the company's wage-earners (1) who have been in service for two years or more, (2) who earn Re. 1 a day as wages, and (3) who have a holding or shop for which some rent is paid and that these qualifications are likely to yield an electorate of about 15,000 in Jamshedpur, and this would include a certain number of women labourers. As municipal tax is paid by the residents of Jugsalai "notified

area ", which is contiguous to Jamshedpur, there would be no difficulty in fixing a suitable franchise qualification for this area.

As regards the colliery areas, the Committee recommends that the colliery labourers should vote in a general constituency and that a certain standard of wages, say, Rs. 150 a year, and residence for a year or so, should be fixed as an alternative qualification so as to enfranchise the labourers in these areas. One or more rural constituencies could easily be so formed as to give a preponderance of votes to the colliery labourers in order to enable them to elect men of their own choice, and the Committee recommends that this should be done. The Committee does not consider that special facilities should be given to the casual labourers employed in the East Indian Railway workshops in Jamalpur, where most of them, they understand, are day labourers from surrounding villages.

5-A. Representation of Special Interests.

What are your views as to the retention of representation of special interests (University, Commerce, European and Indian Mining, Planting, Labour, Landholders, etc.), in the legislatures? If you favour its retention, do you consider that the existing methods of election thereto are satisfactory?

If not, what suggestions would you make?

The majority of the Committee favour the retention of representation for the following special interests and the reservation of the number of seats noted against each :—

(1) European (including Planting)	2 seats.
(2) Mining	1 seat (the Committee is against the allocation of separate seats to the Indian and European Mining interests).
(3) University (senate) ..	1 seat.
(4) Indian Christians ..	1 seat.
(5) Commerce	1 seat.
(6) Anglo-Indian	1 seat.
(7) Domiciled Bengalis ..	2 seats.

Lady Imam, Maulavi Mubarak Ali Sahib, Mr. Athar Hussain and Babu Gursahay Lal are in favour of the inclusion of registered graduates as voters in the University constituency as at present. The majority of members would, however, confine the electorate to Senate only.

As regards domiciled Bengalis, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray and Maulavi Mubarak Ali Sahib are in favour of giving them five seats. The rest of the members, however, think that it would be sufficient if they were given only two special seats in addition to the number of seats which might be secured by members of the community from general constituencies. The Committee has taken into consideration the fact that in the Manbhum district Bengalis form the majority of the population.

Five members are at present elected to the Legislative Council, one from each division, from the landholders' special constituencies. A majority of members, *viz.*, Mr. Owen, Mr. Athar Husain, Rev. Brajananda Das, Rai Bahadur Lakshmidhar Mahanti and Rai Bahadur S. C. Mukharji consider that their number in the special constituencies should be increased proportionately with the proposed increase in the number of elected seats of the Council. This would give them 11·75 or 12 members in a house of 200 seats. Pandit Shivashankar Jha, Babu Gursahay Lal, Babu Swayambar Das and Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray are opposed to any special representation for the landlords, but are for maintaining the present proportion if any special representation is at all given to the landlords. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray is further of opinion that if landlords are given any special electorate such electors should have no votes in the general electorate. Mr. Middleton is also opposed to any separate representation for landlords. His reasons are as follows :—"I believe that according to normal constitutional development two parties in the main will emerge in an autonomous province. They may be called the Conservative and Radical parties or the Right and Left parties or Constitutional and Subversive parties, but their main features will be the same by whatever name they are called. I hope and believe that the landlords will be the leaders of the constitutional party and I believe that their influence will be far greater if they do not press for a separate allotment of seats in the Legislative Council. If they have special representation they will find it less easy to come in in the general seats and I think their influence will therefore be less." The Chairman and Maulavi Mubarak Ali Sahib are, however, in favour of allotting one seat for landlords to each of the twenty-one districts. In proposing the allocation of seats to landlords in the special constituencies, all the members except Babu Gursahay Lal and Mr. Owen have assumed that there will be a bicameral legislature. Mr. Owen thinks that their existing seats are sufficient for them if there is to be a Second Chamber. Mr. Athar Husain and Maulavi Mubarak Ali Sahib desire to emphasize that should any special representation be given to landlords, 25 per cent. of such representation should be earmarked for Muhammadan landlords.

At present every landholder is qualified as an elector for a landholders' constituency who has a place of residence in the constituency and is liable to pay not less than Rs. 4,000 land revenue or Rs. 1,000 local cess in the case of the Patna Division landholders, the Tirhut Division landholders' and the Bhagalpur Division landholders' constituencies or Rs. 6,000 land revenue or Rs. 500 local cess in the case of the Orissa Division landholders' and Chota Nagpur Division landholders' constituencies. On the basis of these qualifications, the total number of electors in the special constituencies is 441, of whom 422 are men and 19 women. The members are agreed that the qualifications should be lowered so as to enfranchise a larger number of landholders, the minimum qualification being payment of Rs. 500 as land revenue or Rs. 100 as local cess. They have not succeeded in obtaining any exact statistics to show what sized electorate these qualifications would produce.

But they have assumed that it would comprise at least three thousand voters.

The representatives of all these special interests except the University and the Landlords would, in the Committee's opinion, be most suitably chosen by recognized associations.

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. Allocation of seats to British Indian Provinces.

In the third report of the Federal Structure Committee the following allocation of seats to provinces of British India in the two chambers of the federal legislature was tentatively suggested:—

Names of provinces.	Upper Chamber.	Lower Chamber.
Madras	*17*	*32*
Bombay	*17*	*26*
Bengal	*17*	*32*
United Provinces ..	*17*	*32*
Punjab	*17*	*26*
Bihar and Orissa ..	*17*	*26*
Central Provinces (if Berar is included) ..	*7*	*12*
Assam	*5*	*7*
North-West Frontier Province	*2*	*3*
Delhi	*1*	*1*
Ajmer-Merwara ..	*1*	*1*
Coorg	*1*	*1*
British Baluchistan ..	*1*	*1*
	120	*200*

As a working hypothesis for the purpose of arithmetical calculation at the present stage it may be assumed that the Federal Legislature will be approximately of the size indicated in the report of the Federal Structure Committee.

(a) *The Federal Structure Committee proposed that the representatives of British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislature by a single transferable vote. Do you agree with this proposal or have you any alternative to suggest?*

(b) *Do you consider that the franchise qualifications ought to be different for the Federal and Provincial Legislatures? If so, what do you consider it ought to be in the case of the Federal Legislature?*

(c) *The majority of members of the Federal Structure Committee consider that the election to the Lower Chamber of the Federal*

Legislature should be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would cast their vote directly for the candidates of their choice. Under a scheme of this nature there would be more than a million inhabitants on an average in each constituency. The constituency would in some cases be of enormous size, especially if communal electorates were introduced. In view of the obvious difficulties which must confront a candidate in canvassing and maintaining contact with such large constituencies the Committee recommended that alternatives of direct and indirect elections should be fully explored and suggested that while it might be possible without difficulty to adopt direct election in certain areas some form of indirect election might prove desirable in rural areas.

The Franchise Committee would be glad to have your views on this difficult question. In the event of your favouring some system of direct election, it would be very useful if you would indicate the nature of the constituency that you would form having regard to the number of seats which you consider ought to be allotted to your province.

The majority of the members are of opinion that the members for the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be elected by the Provincial Legislature, whether unicameral or bicameral, by a single transferable vote. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray differs and thinks that election to the Federal Upper Chamber should be made from those members of the Provincial Legislature who are of the age of 40 years or upwards. The Chairman, Mr. Middleton, Mr. Owen and Maulavi Mubarak Ali Sahib would recommend that apart from the Princes the members representing the rest of India should be elected, according to the direct method, by an electorate similar to the existing electorate for the Council of State.

The majority of the members consider that the members of the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should be elected by the direct method as at present.

About the qualification of voters the members are of opinion that payment of chaukidari tax of an amount sufficient to bring in an electorate of four or five times the number of the present voters for the Legislative Assembly should be adopted as the franchise for the Federal Lower House, so far as the rural areas are concerned. From the statement of the number of persons who pay chaukidari tax of Rs. 2-8-0 or more, which forms Annexure E* to this report, it will be seen that 320,000 persons or about 1 per cent. of the total rural population in areas in which the Chaukidari Act is in force would be enfranchised if payment of Rs. 2-8-0 or more as chaukidari tax qualifies a voter. This will yield an electorate nearly four times the present number of voters for the Legislative Assembly (85,000). In areas in which the Chaukidari Act is not in force the existing property qualifications of voters for

* Not printed.

the Legislative Council may be adopted. This is likely to bring under the franchise a similar percentage of electors. In urban areas the qualifications for such voters will be the same as for the Legislative Council.

7. Size of the provincial legislature.

The majority of the Committee is of opinion that the number of members of the Legislative Council should be raised from 103 to not more than 200, a few expert members being added when special problems are under consideration.

As regards the allocation of seats the Committee considers that of the 200 seats, 172 should be allotted to general constituencies. It has been assumed that the Muhammadans will enjoy their present proportion of representation in the Legislature, both in the Lower and the Upper House, according to the Lucknow Pact. The distribution of the non-Muhammadan seats should, in their opinion, be made as far as possible in such a way that the existing number of urban seats are doubled and the rural ones trebled. It has not been possible to come to any decision regarding allocation of seats in the general constituencies of the Provincial Legislature, but a note has been prepared by the Secretary on the subject showing the number of seats according to voters, population and the mean between the two. This statement forms Annexure F* to this report. Mr. Athar Husain considers that the distribution of the Muhammadan seats should be made in such a manner that the urban seats are trebled and the rural seats doubled. Both he and . Maulavi Mubarak Ali Sahib are of opinion that the Statement (Annexure F)* should not form a part of this report as detailed proposals for the allocation of seats were not discussed by the Committee.

8. Qualifications of candidates.

The Committee is of opinion that the present qualifications are suitable if there is no un versal adult suffrage, but some changes might be made in the list of disqualifications.

9. Bicameral Legislature.

On the question whether there should be a Second Chamber in this province the members are not unanimous. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, Pandit Shivashankar Jha, Babu Gursahay Lal and Babu Swayambar Das are strongly opposed to the creation of Second Chamber as necessity for it has not yet been established and as the respective functions of the Upper and Lower Houses have not yet been defined. Mr. Athar Husain has reserved his opinion. The majority of the members, *viz.*, the Chairman, Reverend Brajananda Das, Rai Bahadur Lakshmidhar Mahanti, Mr. Owen, Mr. Middleton, Lady Imam, Maulavi Mubarak Ali Sahib and Rai Bahadur Satish Chandra Mukharji are in favour of a Second Chamber, especially during the transition stage. It exists in almost all the democratic countries of the world and exercises a steadying influence on hasty and ill-considered decisions of

*Not printed.

the Lower House. The utility is apparent from the fact that it is being established where it did not exist before.

In case a Second Chamber is constituted in this province, the Committee is unanimous that it should consist of 75 members, of whom 25 would be elected by the Lower House. All the members with the exception of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray recommend that the remaining 50 seats should be filled up by the direct method of election, the electorate being composed of men of learning, men of administrative experience and men with high property qualifications.

The Chairman and Mr. Owen have recorded their views as follows :—

In agreement with the majority view and the local Government we consider that a second chamber is necessary in this province, and we suggest that it should have 75 members. Of these 25 should be elected by the provincial council. The qualifications of candidates for these seats should be similar to those of the present electorate for the Council of State. Another 38 members should be elected from among themselves by the special electorate with high property qualifications also similar to those of the present electorate for the Council of State. The remaining 12 members should be elected from among themselves by an electoral college of persons of administrative experience, consisting amongst others of *ex*-Government servants who held gazetted rank as members of Indian or Provincial services, *ex*-High Court Judges, *ex*-Ministers (who have served for not less than one term of the Council's life), *ex*-Presidents of the Council and *ex*-Vice-Chancellors of the University.

The Committee is of opinion that the Muhammadans should be allotted their proportion of seats in the Second Chamber as under the Lucknow Pact.

10. Possibilities of Broadcasting.

The Committee has consulted Mr. S. E. Platt, Superintending Engineer, Public Health Department, who has considerable experience of broadcasting. His note is appended as Annexure G* to this report. The Committee agree with his views that the proposal to provide portable transmitters for occasional use in connection with elections is not feasible. The cost would be excessive compared with the benefit to be derived.

Concluding Remarks.

The Committee is obliged to the Chairman for his uniform courtesy forbearance and patience which he displayed throughout the protracted discussions and records its grateful thanks to him. It also desires to put on record its thanks to its Secretary, Rai Bahadur S. C. Mukharji, who rendered valuable and ungrudging services throughout and to express its appreciation of the services of the staff placed at its

* Printed as Appendix IV (pages 232-233.)

disposal. Babu Biman Bihari Basu worked up all the statistics and materials for this report and has been of the greatest assistance to the Committee.

CHANDRESHWAR PRASHAD NARAIN SINGH.*
ANIS IMAM.*
LAKSHMIDHAR MAHANTI.*
SAIYID MUHAMMAD ATHAR HUSAIN.*
SARAT CHANDRA RAY.*
SWAYAMBAR DAS.
BRAJANANDA DAS.*
A. P. MIDDLETON.
G. E. OWEN.*
SAIYID MUBARAK ALI.*
GURSAHAY LAL.
SHIVASHANKAR JHA.*
S. C. MUKHARJI.

PATNA;
The 19th March 1932.

Note by Lady Imam on the Group System and Provincial Second Chamber.

Group System.

If the entire basis of the franchise is rested on primary groups of adults, men and women, the nearest approach to universal suffrage will be made. This scheme has the additional merit of reducing administrative difficulties. As for instance, a primary group of one hundred adults will be represented by one of its own secondary group to be its representative, and this representative will be a direct voter to election to the Legislature. With local non-official aid the administrative arrangements of the primary and the secondary groups can be easily carried out at a nominal cost. Considering the size of the province, I would fix the strength of the primary group at one hundred of whom not less than five per cent. should have the property or literacy qualification. I would further restrict the election of the representatives of the primary group to only such as may have either of these two qualifications. Thus the primary representatives will represent the majority in the primary groups. As regards the secondary group, I would fix its number at twenty-five. In this way the elected representatives of the secondary group will represent groups of the aggregate strength of two thousand five hundred adults. In this way, the number of direct voters to election to the Legislatures in a single constituency will be reduced to a manageable size, thereby largely obviating administrative difficulties. I have put forward the above suggestion as a general exposition of the scheme. It

* Subject to notes of dissent.

may be that in some separate communal elections the strength of the primary and secondary group may have to be lowered but that will make no difference in principle. As in some parts of the province there may be congested areas and in some sparse population a fractional primary group may be joined to a neighbouring group of the same class.

On balancing a system of purely direct voting and the method of representatives of groups voting for election to the Legislature the advantage of the latter system far outweighs those of the former. To start with even if the franchise for direct voting is carried to 10 per cent. of the population the constituencies will have a huge number of voters and will be unmanageable from the administrative point of view. Even if this difficulty is somehow overcome there is the further consideration that it will not prove to be so educative as the system of representation through primary and secondary groups. The proposal to enfranchise a certain percentage of the population and introduce the group system for the rest is open to the obvious objection of establishing two different classes of voters with disparities in their origin and outlook. It is a legitimate apprehension that such a system may create a political split among the voters direct and indirect based upon class difference. A question has been raised as to whether a system of representation resting upon groups will not disenfranchise those who under the existing system are exercising the power of independent direct voting. There will be nothing to prevent these very voters to work among their own groups and be elected to exercise the power of direct voting. It will depend entirely upon themselves to see to it that their position as direct voter is not lost.

On the subject of representation by the scheme of primary groups leading up to secondary groups, and these later in their turn to elect from among themselves direct voters to council I venture to put forward a few suggestions that may be helpful from the administrative point of view. The foundation of this scheme rests upon a careful formation of the primary groups. Even if the number composing such a group is small, care should be taken to so constitute it as to secure the presence of as many persons of local respectability and influence as possible. Non-officials of this type are easily available. In urban areas the selection is easier to make but even in rural areas the principle is not difficult to apply. In the more important villages persons of good standing are freely available, but even in small and out-of-the-way villages the necessary material is present. In the ranks of headmen of villages, members of *chaukidari panchayat, pathsala gurus,* maulavis of *Madrassa,* members of union board, members of registered co-operative societies, *baids* and *hakeems,* village officers or landlords, traders, retired petty officers of Government, priests and others, there should be no difficulty to find those who can take an intelligent part in the proceedings of the primary groups, once they have been formed. Now as to the method of forming such groups. Here again I would press for the employment of as much non-official agency as possible. True it is that issue of general instruction, control and supervision at the time of the constitution of such groups

should be in the hands of public servants. Departments of Government like education, medical aid, sanitation, canals, excise, postal, telegraphs, revenue, judicial, industrial, co-operative, railways, and others can all be pressed into service to carry out this work in combination with non-officials. I do not agree with the view that at every step a gazetted officer should be employed for the working of the new franchise. If non-officials are fit to be jurors and assessors in sessions trial, sit as first class honorary magistrates, be visitors of jails, be members of selection boards for public services, be examiners of papers of University examinations and perform many other honorary onerous duties, it is unreasonable to suppose that they will not honestly and intelligently carry out franchise work entrusted to them. I may add to the above class pensioned public servants as useful material for this work. There is one more aspect of this question which is of high value. Throw responsibility on the non-official for the performance of civic duties and it will serve as a great educative force. I will take the case of a small obscure and far-flung village. It may be that the material in such a place is not so good as in other places but in such a village there will be found men and, in time to come, I also hope women, who under the supervision and control of a petty officer of Government will be able to give a good account of themselves. Enfranchisement is a liberalizing factor and should not be dwarfed by the process of over-government. Rivalries and personal ambitions will be here as they are in other countries but it is the creation of local public opinion by non-official agencies that can keep such tendency within proper limits. The play of non-official social forces should be fostered if there be a genuine desire to plant democracy in the heart of the people.

Once the primary group has been constituted and has functioned it follows that the secondary group will be composed of representatives who would represent in their persons the very best element of the group that has chosen them. In this way the functioning of the second group will comparatively be even more reliable than of the primary group. Misgivings seem to have their birth in the fear of the unknown rather than on any logical basis. I think the period of time between the elections by the secondary group and the election to the Provincial Council should not be less than one month. This will give sufficient time to the representatives of secondary group to exercise their power of voting with discrimination. It will also give candidates standing for election to the Council opportunity of personal touch with the voters.

Provincial Upper Chamber.

The introduction of the democratic element as the principal factor in the constitution calls for a very careful consideratuion of the question as to whether there should or should not be an Upper Chamber. If the franchise is extended to a fairly large proportion of the population, be it by the direct or indirect method of voting, it follows that the elections will return those that will enjoy the confidence of the majority of electors. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the worldwide democratic spirit will be the governing factor. How that spirit will shape

itself, it is difficult to prognosticate. Experience of other democratic countries can be a useful guide. To a country quite new to democratic rule dangers may have to be faced, legislation in the way of wild-cat bills, exceedingly unsettling in character may reasonably be apprehended. Some kind of a brake on reckless legislation in the Lower Chamber seems to be dictated by prudence. It is not suggested that the Upper Chamber should be hereditary but elected. This will secure the democratic principle but at the same time the qualification of a voter to the Upper Chamber should be set high. I do not agree with the view that there should be the creation of any electoral colleges for returning candidates to the Upper Chamber. Open constituencies with direct voting should be the basis of representation.

As to its constitution I suggest the following :—

(*a*) It should be composed of 75 members.

(*b*) If the principle of separate communal electorate is accepted by the Prime Minister the communal interest will be represented accordingly.

(*c*) In view of separate electorate having been accepted the proportion of the allotment of seats on the class or the communal basis should be the same as in the constitution of the Lower Chamber.

(*d*) The franchise relating to the Upper Chamber should be so framed as to secure the representation of such interests as have substantial stakes in the country in the material and moral sense. I suggested the qualifications of the voters as well as the candidates, *i.e.*, qualifications to be the same for both :—

(1) Those who pay road cess directly or indirectly or municipal tax of the minimum amount of Rs. 300 per year.

(2) Those that pay income-tax to the amount of Rs. 1,000.

(3) *Motawallis* and *Shibayats* of estates with an income of not less than Rs. 6,000 a year.

(4) *Sajjadanashins*, *mahants* and spiritual leaders who have been registered as voters on the recommendation of a committee appointed by Government.

(5) *Ex*-Governors of a Province, *ex*-Members of the Executive Council, *ex*-Ministers, *ex*-Presidents of Legislatures, *ex*-Vice-Chancellors of a University, *ex*-Members of the University Syndicate and *ex*-High Court Judges.

(6) Title-holders not below the rank of Nawab, Rajas, Companion or Commanders of any of the Orders created by Statute and Knights Bachelors.

ANIS IMAM.

The 18th March 1932.

Note by Rev. B. Das, M.L.C.

I sign this report subject to the following :—

I suggest reservation of some seats in the Provincial Council for the depressed classes, in joint electorate, if a separate electorate as desired by the representatives of the community is not considered feasible or advantageous. I do not believe that in the joint electorate any member of the depressed classes or even anyone else devoted to the cause of this depressed or rather suppressed community will have a chance of election. Hence the case of this class or community deserves special consideration.

As regards Indian Christians, assuming that the aborigines of Chota Nagpur as a whole including of course the Christian aboriginals will be given some seats, I would have not less than four seats reserved for Indian Christians for the rest of the Province. The importance of this community and their special interests should be taken into account along with their population, which is about 300,000 in the Province.

It may be pointed out that in the present Council there are four Indian Christians, all being nominated to represent special interests, such as Indian Christians, depressed classes and the aborigines. This is in a Council of 85 non-official members. If the Council be increased to 200 as suggested the number of Indian Christians should be proportionately increased.

In order to give weightage to the Indian Christian community in the representation in the Council the number of representatives should not be fixed merely with reference to the number of their voters. It is of great importance that the question of weightage should receive due consideration; otherwise this small, but advanced and enlightened community will simply be swamped and its existence practically ignored. This community, it must be noted, is increasing in number from year to year.

In the working of the new constitution this small community can only help in joining hands with some other communities in getting the right administrative policy followed. But this cannot be achieved, unless the community is granted weightage in representation, for instance, on the basis of the number of voters, if the number of representatives be one, to give weightage we have to make it four. Then again for the Indian Christians—a scattered community as it is—it will be quite absurd to select only one representative for such scattered community. Such representation will be unreal and wholly abnormal. If it is really intended, and undoubtedly it is, to have the voice of the community which is scattered over the whole Province, we should distribute the four seats asked for according to population for the several divisions.

Mr. L. B. Seal, an Indian Christian and an experienced member of the Provincial Civil Service and Personal Assistant to the Commissioner of Patna Division, in the course of his evidence before the Provincial Franchise Committee on 7th March 1932, said that "he was for a common electorate though he agreed that in the present state of the community it was impracticable. It was necessary that every class

and community should be represented. If separate electorate was created for the Muslims, then the 'Christian Indians' should also be conceded separate representation. In his opinion the minority communities should have weightage in proportion to the apathy or dislike of the other (majority) communities."

Personally I should like all communities to return members to the Legislative Council through joint electorates, with reservation of seats or such minority communities as cannot possibly be represented in the general electorate. But I do not desire to stand in the way of Indian Christians having separate representation if this is deemed more practicable and desirable. It seems to me that a large number of my fellow Christians would favour a separate electorate, and I support their claim.

In my opinion, the case of Indian Christians deserves special consideration. They may have separate electorate if this is administratively more convenient than reservation of seats through joint electorate.

I am doubtful if in the future government of the country the interests of India Christians will be as safe as they have been in the past. They will, I am afraid, be in the position of a more suppressed community than at present in the matter of appointments to Government posts, scholarships, admission into colleges, and other privileges.

As regards women, I would have them grouped with men, so far at least as the Indian Christians are concerned. Indian Christian women are almost all literate and several of them have received fairly good education and they can cast an intelligent vote and will be in a position to choose the best candidates (male or female) as their representatives. They do not observe *pardah*, and so they will be in a better position to take active part in the political life of the country.

Note of Dissent by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.L.C.

I sign the general report subject to the following note of dissent :—

Representation of the depressed classes and the aborigines in the Legislature.

The Aborigines—not mentioned in the questionnaire.—It is rather disconcerting and disheartening to find that the question of the Aborigines and their representation in the Legislatures was not at all considered or referred to—perhaps not even thought of—during the discussions of the Round Table Conference, whereas a good deal has been said and written about the "Depressed Classes"; and indeed one section of the questionnaire referred to us for opinion is especially concerned with their representation.

Depressed classes—degenerate sections of the Aborigines.—Perhaps it was supposed by the framers of the questionnaire that the "Aborigines" were included within the category of the "Depressed Classes". But the real fact of the matter is that the so-called "Depressed Classes" really form scattered and disorganized offshoots of the Aborigines. There is evidence to indicate that they, too, are really "aboriginal"

in origin as both come from the same stocks. The ancestors of both the "Aborigines" and the "Depressed Classes" were one and the same people who constituted the original inhabitants of India. When the Aryans invaded the Indian plains, the tribes now described as the "Aborigines" retreated to the hilly tracts of Chota Nagpur and elsewhere where they established villages and settlements of their own, and in some parts, as particularly in Chota Nagpur, worked out a distinctive social and political organization of their own, which has still remained more or less intact. They have conserved their old beliefs and customs to a considerable extent.

Present centres of the Aborigines—Population.—These Aborigines still form a compact population in the Ranchi and Singhbhum districts of Chota Nagpur and in the Santal Parganas, and have substantial interests in land. Constant encroachments on their landed rights by the Hindus and other aliens have from time to time led to serious trouble which embarrassed the Government. And thus, politically as well as socially,—and politically more than socially,—the Aborigines constitute a community of special importance. Their numerical importance in the province of Bihar and Orissa, as a whole, is also not negligible, for they form over 20 per cent. of the total population of the province. They number 7,110,729 out of a total population of 37,677,576. If they are not a "depressed and suppressed" class, they are certainly an "oppressed" class, and, as such, deserve special care and consideration.

The Depressed Classes—Their Population.—As for the so-called "Depressed Classes", who constitute only about 9 per cent. of the population, they are the descendants of the scattered remnants of the Aborigines who were left behind on the plains and who succumbed to Aryan domination, lost their native speech and distinctive "aboriginal" culture, and found themselves gradually degraded into landless serfs and the dregs of "Hindu" or "Hinduized" society. Whereas the Aborigines proudly look down upon the Hindus and others as "untouchables" (*vide* the evidence of the Rev. Joel Lakra before the Franchise Committee), the Depressed Classes are looked down upon, or rather used to be looked down upon until recently as "Untouchables" by the Hindus. They are scattered in small groups all over the province without any social or other cohesion.

Overlapping.—Tests to distinguish them from the Aborigines—Confusions.—Thus, it will be seen that the test suggested by the term "aboriginal" is ethnological, whereas the test suggested by the use of the term "Depressed Classes" is social and economic and religious but not racial or ethnological; and the tests variously applied to distinguish "Depressed Classes" represent a conglomeration of overlapping tests not based on any single and simple principle. And this is why in the Census "Tables" we find that some tribes are classed both as "aborigines" and as "Depressed Classes". (In the present census the nomenclature is, I understand, being changed into "primitives" and "semi-primitives.")

Difficulty of forming Electorates for them.—I agree with the majority of the Committee in thinking that as the so-called "Depressed Classes" are scattered in different parts of the province in small groups,—in some places consisting of only a very few families—a separate electorate for them will be unworkable. Nor would it be proper to brand any section of the population with a permanent stigma as "depressed" or "untouchable". There is at present an active movement among these classes to free themselves from this stigma by adopting the caste names of "Kshatriyas" and "(degraded) Brahmans" and so forth. And we should help and not hinder the growth of racial self-respect amongst them and their efforts to rise in the social and economical scale.

Suggested solution—Lowering of Franchise Qualification.—Even if it be not found feasible to lower the franchise qualification for the rest of the population to the assessment of the minimum *chaukidari tax of six annas a year in rural areas and municipal tax of Rs. 1-8-0 in urban areas* I would most strongly recommend that *these should be fixed as the minimum franchise qualifications for the aboriginals and depressed classes at any rate*, so that their voting strength may to some extent be proportionate to their numerical strength. This is expected to bring a fair proportion of the so-called Depressed Classes into the electoral roll. The Depressed Classes are scattered in such small numbers in different parts of the province that it will be difficult to arrange for separate constituencies for them. Moreover, some castes hitherto regarded as "Depressed" now resent the stigma of being labelled as such, and the same communities who are regarded in one district as "untouchable" or "unclean" castes are regarded as "pure" castes in other districts. The lowering of the franchise to the minimum possible limit for both the Aborigines and the Depressed Classes will avoid the necessity of solving the insoluble question of the delimitation between the classification of aboriginal tribes and Depressed Classes. In their case and in the case of the Aborigines I would also make bare literacy an alternative qualification for the franchise, for literacy is very limited amongst them. I would also support the representation of the Depressed Classes by the reservation of a few seats in the general constituencies in areas, if any, where they may be found in sufficiently large numbers, to make it administratively feasible.

More important and more practicable is the question of the *Representation of the Aborigines in the Legislatures.*

It is unfortunate that the question of the representation of the Aborigines in the Legislature has not been sufficiently considered in the recommendations of the majority of the members. I beg therefore to make the following submission for the consideration of the Franchise Committee and, through them, of the British Parliament.

Need for Special Representation of the Aborigines.—The need for special representation of the Aborigines in the Legislatures has been so far admitted by the local Government. In addition to such representation, if any, as the aborigines might secure through the general constituencies, special seats, though only two in number, have been so long

reserved for them (by nomination) in the Provincial Council. But this has been found quite inadequate and has been admitted to be so both by the people and by Government.

Views of Representative Aboriginals.—The deputation of the principal aboriginal Association in the province (known as the Chota Nagpur Improvement Society) in their representation to the Chairman and members of the Indian Statutory Commission submitted several considerations in support of their claim to " a substantial percentage of elected members through joint electorates with reservation of seats " in future Legislatures. Among the various reasons urged by them, the following may be quoted :—

(1) " In the Bihar Council, as it is at present constituted, the aborigines have very little chance of a favourable hearing. Whereas other important communities are fairly well represented in the Council, the representation of the Aborigines is a farce ; the Biharis and other members who have little knowledge of the customs and habits, needs and aspirations of the Aborigines can hardly be expected to sympathize with and appreciate them."

(2) " Such European officials as in pre-Reform days evinced genuine sympathy with our needs and aspirations " are now " naturally more concerned with the wishes and opinions of the senior partner (Bihar proper) in the province", and " such sympathy as some European officials still have for us is now more passive than active".

(3) " In the Council where the interests of the Aborigines are often in conflict with those of the land-owners and certain large mining and financial interests, the former are naturally likely to be sacrificed in favour of the latter."

(4) " We have been denied our fair share in the financial arrangements for the educational and other advancement of the different parts of the province. Although lakhs and lakhs of rupees have been lavishly expended on palatial buildings and magnificent educational and other institutions at Patna (of which distant Chota Nagpur can hardly take any advantage), Chota Nagpur has been denied the necessary funds even for a Medical school, an Engineering school, an Agricultural school and a modest Degree College in Arts and Science which they have been demanding for some time past."

Bihar and Orissa Government's views.—In paragraph 24 of the *Memorandum for the Indian Statutory Commission on the Backward Tracts of Bihar and Orissa* under the heading " Adequacy of Council Representation", the Government of Bihar and Orissa wrote :—

" As a matter of fact, the aboriginals have not many chances of putting forward their own champ on under the present constitution, and they have not as a rule been sufficiently

well-organized to do so, where they have the power. The proportion of aboriginal electors to the Legislative Council is much below the proportion that the aboriginals bear to the whole population."

In paragraph 23 of the same Memorandum, the Bihar Government, referring to the progress in the education of aboriginals since the "Reformed" Council was inaugurated wrote :—

"The aboriginals as a whole are, relatively to the general population, in a somewhat worse position than they were in 1921. They have got a little less than their general share of the big advance made in primary education, and decidedly less of the advance in high and middle education."

Reasons for giving them greater representation.—One of the many serious disadvantages and handicaps from which the Aborigines suffer is that they cannot secure adequate educational facilities, not to speak of anything like their share of appointments under Government or local bodies. The customary law (by which they are governed in matters of inheritance and succession) still remains uncodified, thus leading to divergencies and conflict in judicial decisions which sometimes lead to serious complications and trouble. The agrarian problems of Chota Nagpur are peculiar to itself and require careful handling.

Suitable Franchise qualification.—Even by fixing the minimum chaukidari tax of six annas as the franchise qualification and the minimum educational test of bare literacy for them, the Aborigines will not receive representation on the electoral roll proportionate to their population. In fact, as the Chota Nagpur Improvement Society in their representation, dated the 5th March 1932, to this Committee urge and as available statistics show, the chaukidari tax qualification will operate even more to their disadvantages than a low rent qualification for the franchise. And the proposed educational qualification for the franchise will still further increase the disparity between their population strength and voting strength.

Proper number of Aboriginal seats in the Legislature.—The latest census figures show that the Aborigines in this province number 7,110,729 out of the total population of 37,677,576, or over 20 per cent. The representatives of the Aborigines in their evidence before the Franchise Committee claimed for their people seats in the Legislative Council to the extent of 20 per cent. which their population would justify. This would give them 40 seats in a House of 200. Having regard to the various other interests that require representation, I am afraid it would be difficult to allot more than 20 special seats to the Aborigines. Even if this be not found practicable, bare justice demands the reservation for them of a sufficient number of seats through which they may make their influence appreciably felt in the Council. At a most moderate estimate, I would recommend a minimum of 10 special seats in addition to what representation, if any, they may secure (of which unfortunately there is very slender chance for some years to come) through the general

constituencies. I am emphatically of opinion that under present conditions, this should in all fairness be granted to them as an irreducible minimum.

In the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme only two special additional seats were allotted to them by nomination in a House of 85 non-official members. This is admitted on all hands to be inadequate. And, moreover, the representatives of the Aborigines in their evidence before the Statutory Commission, as also before the present Franchise Committee, strongly disapproved of representation by nomination which they resent and regard as no proper representation at all. In a proposed Council of 200 elected members, five special aboriginal seats would be the equivalent of their present two seats out of 85. And this is admittedly too inadequate.

Allocation of Aboriginal seats.—In these circumstances, the only suitable and practicable method by which, in my humble opinion, the Aborigines can be given a very moderate representation would be to allocate to them at least 10 additional seats by reservation in the general constituencies of those districts in which the aboriginal population is mostly concentrated. These are the Ranchi district, the Singhbhum district and the Santal Parganas. On the basis of the respective aboriginal population of these three districts I would recommend the allocation of five additional seats for the Aborigines in the Ranchi district, three in the Singhbhum district, and two in the Santal Parganas.

In these three districts they have substantial interests at stake and form the most important element in the population, politically as well as economically. Descendants of the earliest known owners of the country (Chota Nagpur) and with hoary traditions of former rule in the land, the majority of them have been gradually reduced within the last hundred years or so from the position of peasant proprietors holding villages in joint ownership (as they still do in 156 villages in the Ranchi district) to that of cultivating tenants of various grades of rights—tenure-holders of *Bhuinhars*, occupancy raiyats with fixed rents, ordinary occupancy raiyats, non-occupancy raiyats and even tenants-at-will—on lands originally reclaimed and owned by their ancestors. It is now officially recognized that for the disintegration of the old aboriginal village communes (which disintegration has been attended at every steps with risings and revolts among the Aborigines), the ignorance, on the part of the earlier British administrators and law-makers, of the origin and history of the land tenures in Chota Nagpur is, to a large extent, responsible. It is only within the last thirty years that British officials have come to realize the exact situation and the circumstances that led to such disintegration. In order to check further aggressions on such survivals and remnants of their ancient rights in land (in some cases considerably extensive and substantial rights) as the Aborigines have still succeeded in retaining (partly through the sympathetic help of latter-day officials), it is essential that the Aborigines of the districts of Ranchi, Singhbhum and the Santal Parganas should have an appreciable voice in the new constitution. And this can only be effected by reserving

for them a fair number of seats in the Legislature as I have suggested. The only other and better alternative would be to create a separate administration or, at any rate, a separate legislature for the aboriginal tracts.

Federal Lower Chamber.—It is further essential that the Aborigines should have an appreciable voice in the election of representatives to the Federal Legislature (Lower Chamber). In order to ensure this, I would recommend that in the principal aboriginal tracts, namely, the districts of Ranchi, Singhbhum and the aboriginal areas of the Santal Parganas, the assessment to a minimum chaukidari tax of twelve annas or at most one rupee may be fixed as the qualification for the franchise to the Federal Lower Chamber. This is no new principle ; for it may be pointed out that even at present the franchise qualifications in Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas are very much lower than those in most other districts of the Province.

I would also recommend that two seats may be reserved for the Aborigines in the Federal Lower Chamber.

Representation of Domiciled Bengalis.

The representation of the domiciled Bengali community by only two representatives in a House of 200, as recommended by the majority of the members, appears to be quite inadequate. The population of this community is about 5 per cent. of the total population of the province. By reason not only of their education and culture, but more so, by reason of the important part that they have taken in the educational, social and moral progress of the province, they admittedly form a very important section of the population. Their contribution to the welfare and advancement of the province is, at any rate, not less than that of the Biharis and Oriyas themselves.

Unfortunately the special interests of the domiciled Bengali community now stand to suffer in every way, particularly in matters of education and employment. Even in the Manbhum district which is a purely Bengali-speaking district, the use of Bengali in the preparation of the "Settlement records" was prohibited (in parts of the Dhanbad subdivision of it) a few years ago. In those parts of the Ranchi and Hazaribagh districts where Bengali is the language of the people, the teaching of Bengali in several schools has been superseded by Hindi. The "Kurmali" dialect which is spoken by the Kurmis of the Manbhum district was always regarded authoritatively as a dialect of Bengali until 1911. But in the Census Reports for 1911 and 1921, it came to be recorded as a dialect of Hindi, although "Kurmali" is known in the country to be really Bengali and not Hindi. In the Census Report of 1901 it was classified as Bengali. The 1911 Census Report, after noting that Kurmali-speakers were being classed as Hindi-speakers (page 65 of Tables, Volume V, Part II, and page 388 of Report, Volume V, Part I), went on to say that "this patois is also known as Khotta or *Khotta-Bengali*, and is *written in the Bengali character. Locally it is regarded as a corrupt form of Bengali.*" (The italics are mine.)

This Report of 1911 further states that " a corrupt form of Magahi is spoken in thanas Gola and Kashmar and in part of thana Ramgarh in the south-east of Hazaribagh. This patois, which is called Het Gola, contains Bengali words and phrases and *locally is considered to be Bengali*". This also was shown in the Census Tables, along with Kurmali, as Hindi.

In 1921, while classifying Kurmali and Khotta Bangala as dialects of Hindi, the Census authorities recognized the difficulties of such a classification and observed that " it is impossible to say that Khotta is either Hindi or Bengali ". And they had no better justification for their final decision than that,—"As it was treated as Hindi in 1911, it was thought better *on the whole* to treat it as such again on the present occasion". (Page 209 of the Census Report for 1921, Volume VII).

As a result of such mistaken classification the strength of the Bengali population has come to be under-estimated.

Again, owing to the substitution of Hindi for Bengali in the Bengali-speaking areas of the Ranchi and Hazaribagh districts, considerable inconvenience and hardship is being caused, not to speak of the prejudice to the native culture of the people concerned. The stringency of the rules relating to " Domicile", the restriction of the number of seats for Domiciled Bengali youths in schools and colleges, and various other undeserved disabilities under which the domiciled Bengal is now labour, are among the grievances which are being felt more and more keenly as they are growing more and more pronounced as time passes. And this community feel that unless they are given adequate representation in the Legislatures, they will have no chance of pressing effectively for their proper share of educational facilities, due representation in the services and the safeguarding of their rights, and that consequently their special interests will suffer through oppressive legislation or executive action by an unsympathetic majority. Their personal law, again, is the Daybhaga school of Hindu Law which is different from the Mitakshara Law—the personal law of Bihari Hindus. Their representation in Council through the General electorates dropped from 10 in 1920 to 5 in 1930, and they reasonably apprehend that this process of decrease will continue till it reaches the vanishing point. Representation from Manbhum where the Bengali-speaking people are really natives of the land should not in fairness be taken into account in this connection.

The Hon'ble Sir Ganesh Datta Singh (Minister), who is not a Bengali and who cannot be charged by his worst enemies with partiality for the Bengali community, in his Memorandum to the Simon Commission recommended, for a smaller House, five special seats for them, one in each Division of the province. It is therefore submitted that the same representation in a larger House of 200 members, cannot certainly be regarded as extravagant or unreasonable. This would be only half of their proportion to the population. The Domiciled Bengali community do not desire to have any separate electorate for them but press for reservation of one seat in the general constituencies of each of the five Divisions of the province.

If we refer to the various treaties, conventions or declarations concerning minorities in Europe we find that they are guaranteed political and civil rights equal to those enjoyed by "nationals" and special right to the use of their mother-tongue and, in districts in which they form a considerable proportion of the population, instruction in schools in that tongue and equitable share in the sums provided by the State and municipal budget for educational, religious and charitable purposes. The Bengalis in this province may well come under the definition of "Minorities" adopted by the League of Nations; but in most matters in which the right of similar minorities have been recognized in Europe, the Domiciled Bengali community in this province have suffered considerable handicaps and are in danger of suffering more and more as time passes. The Minorities Conventions of the League of Nations provide for the investigation of complaints of the Minorities in these matters. In the absence of an impartial tribunal for the investigation of complaints of oppression of Minorities by the Majority, a sufficient number of seats in the legislative bodies should, in all fairness, be reserved for such minorities as the Domiciled Bengali Community in this province so as to ensure a proper voicing of their legitimate grievances.

Bicameral Legislature for the Province.

I do not appreciate the grounds put forward by those who recommend an Upper Chamber for the province. The usual argument that it will serve as a brake on hasty and ill-conceived legislation of the popular chamber, can be met by vesting the Governor with proper vetoing powers. Moreover, it may be reasonably expected that when the popular Chamber is vested with more real powers the members will be imbued with a sufficient sense of responsibility. I question the statement made in the main Report that "in almost all democratic countries of the world there is an Upper Chamber". This is at any rate not correct in so far as it refers to Provincial Legislatures (where they exist) as distinguished from Central Legislatures. In any case, for the poor province of Bihar and Orissa, such a Chamber will be a White Elephant not worth maintaining and too costly to maintain.

So, in my opinion, the creation of a bicameral legislature for the province is neither desirable on policy nor expedient or justifiable on financial and other grounds. Such advantages as an Upper Chamber may conceivably have are more than counterbalanced by its obvious disadvantages. Not to speak of the large additional expenditure and the further overburdening of an already top-heavy administration, the institution of a provincial Second Chamber will result in the deprivation of the Lower House of any of its more capable members who are likely to be attracted to the upper house. A bicameral legislature is calculated to lead to friction between the two houses, particularly if the Upper Chamber is vested with any powers of vetoing or overriding decisions of the popular chamber. Past experience shows that a fairly large number of landholders can enter the popular Chamber through election by general electorates, so that neither special representation for them

in that Chamber nor any further safeguarding of their interests by the creation of a Second Chamber is called for.

The Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Fakhr-ud-din, Minister of Education in this province ever since the commencement of the Reformed Councils, has expressed himself emphatically against the establishment of a Second Chamber in the province. Mr. S. Sinha, an *ex*-member of the Executive Council of Bihar and Orissa, a leading moderate politician of All-India reputation, a distinguished member of the Bihar Landholders' Association and the foremost public man of this province, in his Note, dated 12th February 1932, presented to the Franchise Committee, writes :

> " I am utterly opposed to a Second Chamber in the province. Bihar is a very poor province where a bicameral legislature will be a needless luxury. Besides, it is very likely to hamper attempts at progressive legislation designed for the benefit of the people as a whole, to strengthen vested interests and thereby to increase discontent. Indeed I may go so far as to say that the value of provincial autonomy will be appreciably discounted if it is to be accompanied by the establishment of a Second Chamber representative of the privileged classes."

Should however the Parliament decide to create a Second Chamber for this poor province for the transitional period, there should not be any special representation of the landlord class or any other class or interest in that House as that would be likely to result in the undue protection of vested interests from legislative interference. A Provincial Upper Chamber, if constituted at all, should be composed of an aristocracy of intellect and character and ripe experience, and not an aristocracy of wealth and rank. It should moreover be based on an extensive franchise. Besides the qualifications prescribed for the present Legislative Assembly, the following may be adopted as additional qualifications for the franchise, *viz.*, the possession of the minimum educational qualification of being a graduate of any recognized University, or some equivalent educational attainment, the degree of Doctorate of a recognized University, or the title of Mahamahopadhyaya or Shams-ul-ulema, past or present membership of the Central Legislature of India or of a Provincial Legislature, past (retired) membership of the Provincial or higher services of Government or of some non-Government service of equal status. A candidate for membership of the Upper Chamber must, in addition to being a voter, have completed his fortieth year.

One-third of the members of the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Lower Chamber by means of the single transferable vote, and the remainder from among the general body of direct voters. Further, a Provincial Upper Chamber, if created, should in no case be vested with any powers higher than those at present possessed by the British House of Lords.

For the Federal Lower Chamber, the franchise qualification should be the payment of double the tax fixed for qualifying for franchise in the Provincial Popular House.

[On some other points, my differences from the majority opinion have been noted in that report.]

SARAT CHANDRA RAY.

The 16th March 1932.

Note by Pandit Shiva Shankar Jha.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.

1. Extension of Franchise.

(*a*) Payment of six annas chaukidari tax in the rural areas and Re. 1-8-0 municipal tax in the urban areas ;

or

Educational qualification—Passed upper primary or any other equivalent examination.

(*b*) Majority will be able to cast intelligent vote and in the near future as the people advance in political education all will cast intelligent votes.

(*c*) In this connection the two notes* of the Secretary to the Provincial Franchise Committee may be referred to. From the second note of the said Secretary, it is clear that polling of 5 per cent. of the population is manageable administratively if the election in the non-Muhammadan constituencies is held on one day only but that if that election be spread over two days polling of 10 per cent. of the population can be easily managed. On reference to the booklet* " Extracts from relevant papers " at page 3, last paragraph, which is an extract from the report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Volume I, it will appear that except in Madras and Bombay, the present elections are spread over several days in other provinces and in Assam even over a fortnight. Objections to the election being spread over more than one day are, therefore, absolutely groundless.

(*d*) In view of the above, this does not arise.

(*e*) It would be desirable to extend the franchise beyond 10 per cent. of the population, but as the official members consider it impracticable on the ground of insufficiency of men (Presiding Officers and Police) and money, I have to content myself, for the present, with the extension of franchise so as to include 10 per cent. of the population. Provincial Council should, however, be empowered to expand automatically direct franchise for the province after one or more terms as it may consider suitable.

(*f*) I am against it. I am definitely opposed to indirect system of election in any form whether it be purely indirect or partly direct and partly indirect. In this connection my supplementary note† submitted with the provisional memorandum of the Provincial Franchise Committee may be referred to.

* Not printed. † Page 144.

(*g*) Does not arise.

(*h*) Does not arise.

(*i*) Does not arise.

(*j*) Does not arise.

2. Franchise Qualifications.

(*a*) The qualifications that I have suggested will make the disparity, if any, disappear.

(*b*) Yes, the qualifications which I have suggested will give each community voting strength almost proportionate to its number.

(*c*) *Vide* my answer to question No. 1 (*a*).

(*d*) *Vide* my answer to question No. 1 (*a*).

(*e*) Yes.

3. Women Suffrage.

(*a*) I am not in favour of enfranchising the wives and widows of qualified voters, but the qualifications mentioned in answer to question 1 (*a*) above should also apply to women except that an alternative qualification of mere literacy (*i.e.*, ability to read and write) may also be fixed for women which may entitle them to vote.

(*b*) In view of my above opinion this question does not arise.

(*c*) I am not in favour of co-option of women.

4. Representation of Depressed Classes.

I am of opinion that the depressed classes in this province do not have any special problem necessitating their separate representation. The so-called depressed classes are being assimilated into the Hindu fold and to grant them special representation would be to perpetuate the differences which are dying out.

5. Representation of Labour.

(*a*) There is a localised industrial labour only at Jamshedpur in the district of Singhbhum. I am of opinion that a constituency may be created with Jamshedpur town, Jugsalai and some other neighbouring villages which will elect a member to the Council. It would ensure the return of an industrial labour member to the Council.

(*b*) In the case of agricultural labour it is not necessary to give them a separate representation in view of the fact that under my scheme a substantial number of them will be enfranchised and will have adequate representation in the Council.

5-A. Representation of Special Interests.

I am against the special representation of any interest except—European—2 seats.

As regards the special representation of landlords, I submit that it is unnecessary as well as impolitic. It is unnecessary because a

considerable number of landlords have been coming to the Council, through the general constituencies so much so that Government had to nominate certain tenants' men to the present Council (*vide* Bihar and Orissa Government's first Memorandum * to the Indian Franchise Committee) and impolitic because it is bound to perpetuate and accentuate the differences between the landlords and the tenants. It should be borne in mind that the landlords can and do contest seats in the general constituencies. The Indian Statutory Commission also recommended that the landlords should have no special representation.

If, however, it be decided to give the landlords special representation, the landlords' special franchise should be so extended as to enfranchise not less than 10 per cent. of the landlords whose number as stated by the Chairman of our Committee is roughly about 95,000. It is ludicrous that about 400 only of these 95,000 should enjoy the franchise as at present, and elect five members.

Creation of a Second Chamber.

The creation of a bicameral legislature in this province is neither desirable on policy nor expedient or justifiable on financial and other grounds. " Such advantages as an Upper Chamber may conceivably have are more than counterbalanced by its obvious disadvantages, not to speak of the large additional expenditure and the further over-burdening of an already top-heavy administration, the institution of a Provincial Second Chamber will result in the deprivation of the lower house of many a capable member who will be attracted to the upper house." A bicameral legislature is calculated to lead to friction between the two houses particularly if the Upper Chamber is vested with any power of voting or overriding the decision of the Lower Chamber. " Past experience shows that a fairly large number of landholders enter the popular chamber through the general constituencies so that no further safeguards for their interests by the creation of a second chamber are called for." The object of the proposed reforms being to democratise the administration and conciliate public opinion by the nearest approach to its demands, the creation of the second chamber would frustrate the very purpose in view. It would be tantamount to giving with the one hand and taking with the other. Even, at present, there is a single vetoing authority, *i.e.*, the Governor; the creation of the second chamber would mean the establishment of a second vetoing authority and thus the Legislative Council would be in a worse position than what it is in at present. The Reforms will be a sham and instead of satisfying the popular aspirations, the creation of the second chamber will alienate the feelings of the people still further and will strengthen the hands of those who are out to destroy the administration.

The stock argument advanced in support of the second chamber is that it will serve as a brake on the " hasty and ill-conceived " activities and legislations of the popular chamber. The reply to it is that there will be the Governor who will have the right to exercise the veto and objection to this that there should not be frequent conflicts between the

* Page 107.

Governor and his Council equally applies to those between the upper and the lower houses and is only sentimental. It must not be presumed that the members of the popular chamber would be a set of unreasonable and irresponsible people who would require constant pulling up.

Should, however, a second chamber be thrust upon the province the number of its members should be 75, one-third of which should be elected by the lower house by means of single transferable votes. The remaining two-thirds should be elected by an electorate, the voters possessing the same qualifications as those by the voters of the present Assembly. Besides, *ex*-M.L.Cs., *ex*-members of the Assembly and the Council of State from this province, *ex*-chairmen and vice-chairmen of the district boards and municipalities should also be voters.

The qualification of a candidate for the Upper Chamber should be—

(1) He should be an elector possessing the requisite qualifications as indicated above.

(2) His age should not be less than 35 years.

(3) He should be a graduate of any recognized University, or a barrister-at-law or a pleader.

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. Allocation of Seats.

(*a*) I agree with the proposal that the representatives of British Indian provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by a single transferable vote.

(*b*) I consider that the franchise qualification for the Federal Legislature should be different from that of the Provincial Legislature.

The franchise qualification of a voter for the Federal Lower Chamber should be—

(1) The payment of Re. 1 as chaukidari tax in the rural areas and Rs. 3 as municipal tax in the urban areas.

(2) Educational qualification—passed matric. or entrance or equivalent oriental examinations.

I want 32 seats in the Federal Lower Chamber to be allotted to our province. Qualifications of a candidate for election to the Federal Upper Chamber :—

(1) Age—Not below 40 years.

(2) Educational—Graduate of any recognized University or barrister-at-law or Mahamahopadhyaya or Shams-ul-ulema.

Qualification of a candidate for election to the Federal Lower Chamber :—

(1) Age—Not below 30 years.

(2) He should himself be a voter.

The 12th March 1932. SHIVA SHANKAR JHA.

Note of dissent by Rai Bahadur Lakshmidhar Mahanti, M.L.C.

I am of opinion that in framing constituencies the district of Singhbhum should be so divided that there should always be an Oriya constituency. The Hos form the majority of the population of the district, but the Oriyas form the next largest group of population. They form the largest population having a written language. The Hos have no written language of their own. The Oriyas have special educational and other problems of their own in the district. At present they are compelled to learn Hindi, although they want to learn their mother-tongue in schools both primary and secondary. Under the new reformed constitution the problem is likely to grow more and more acute. If Orissa be separated from Bihar without the district of Singhbhum there will be none in the Bihar Council to voice the problems of the Oriyas in the Singhbhum district. Even if Orissa continues to be part of the Province of Bihar and Orissa, it will not be easy for a member coming from the Orissa Division to voice the Oriya question of the Singhbhum district.

It is therefore necessary under all circumstances that there should be a Oriya constituency in the district. If a separate Oriya constituency be not possible by reason of the Oriyas being scattered all over the district, a seat should be reserved for an Oriya by reservation of seats or a separate Oriya electorate should be formed. The population of the Oriyas in the district is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs.

LAKSHMIDHAR MAHANTI.

Note of dissent by Babu Chandreshwar Prashad Narayan Singh, M.L.C., (Chairman), and Mr. G. E. Owen, I.C.S., M.L.C.

Adult suffrage not attainable by mere extensions of the direct electorate.

We disagree altogether with the view expressed by the majority of the Committee on the fundamental question of the means by which the existing franchise for the Provincial Legislature could and should be enlarged. The majority report seems to us to shirk not only the main issue, namely the attainment of the goal of adult franchise, but also all the most important of the subsidiary problems which it is the Franchise Committee's endeavour to solve, namely the effective representation of women, the depressed classes, the aborigines and agricultural labour. The majority report has in effect contented itself with the recommendation that there are no serious administrative difficulties in the immediate enfranchisement of about 5 per cent. of the population or roughly four times the present electorate ; but it has made no attempt to show how this small percentage of direct electors could subsequently be increased up to the goal of adult suffrage. The proportion of women proposed to be enfranchised would be negligible and no means are suggested by which this proportion could be sensibly increased. The number of depressed classes on the electoral roll would also be inadequate, and the mass of the rural population would go unrepresented. The aborigines are likely to be inadequately represented in certain districts where they preponderate.

2. We have thought it necessary to look further ahead. We have taken as our starting point the statement of policy made by the Prime Minister which was reproduced in the original questionnaire (?) of the Franchise Committee, namely that "it is obviously necessary so to widen the electorates that the Legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of the population, and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its need and its opinion"; and we have assumed that the goal of adult suffrage is one which should be capable of realization within a period that can be foreseen to-day by practical statesmen.

3. We have carefully examined the possibility of extending the present direct electorate. Our examination of official witnesses and documents indicates that the labour involved in holding direct elections for more than five times the size of the present electorate would impose a heavy strain on the administration, and that a further extension so as to enfranchise 10 per cent. of the population would stretch the administrative machine to its limits. We can discover no effective reply to the official opinion that it would not be practicable to do more than double the existing number of polling-stations, not only because of the difficulty of obtaining suitable presiding officers but also because of the difficulty of policing the polls in rural areas. We consider that there must be either a sub-inspector or a head-constable and half a dozen constables at each polling-station and that the present police force would on this basis only suffice for double the existing number of polling-stations. In short, we are satisfied that the system of direct election must on administrative grounds break down long before the goal of adult franchise can be reached. This conclusion must, we emphasize, render nugatory the view that an increase in the direct electorate is a step towards the goal of adult franchise in this province.

4. We also think it necessary to attach much greater weight than is attached by the majority report to the consideration of the effect which a large increase in the direct electorate is likely to have on the political machine. We are of opinion that within no period which we can foresee will it be practicable for a candidate in this province to get into touch with his rural electorate or to keep in touch with them after his election in the way in which this is done in England or America. We consider that the direct enfranchisement of any large numbers of the illiterate masses in the rural electorate will inevitably endanger the stability of the Government by putting at a grave disadvantage every candidate who is unwilling to employ the methods of the demagogue. We hold that significant indications of this danger have already shown themselves since the introduction of the present Reforms.

5. We agree with the great mass of the evidence which we have taken, official and non-official, that no way can be found in this province of giving the direct vote to any appreciable number of women. It would not be practicable to make separate polling arrangements for them, except perhaps in the towns; nor in this province could women be found to staff such separate polling-stations. The movement against

pardah has here hardly made any headway and the only women who could be induced to come to a polling-station outside their own village would be uneducated women of the lowest classes.

6. As regards the depressed classes, the adoption of the lowest possible tax payment as a basis of franchise, namely six annas a year chaukidari tax, is most unlikely, so far as we can judge from the enquiries made in eight selected rural areas (referred to in the local Government's letter to the Indian Franchise Committee dated the 14th March 1932) to enfranchise even as much as 5 per cent. of those who would ordinarily be termed depressed classes. No separate direct electorate could possibly be constituted for them, and we can think of no way in which any larger percentage could be given the direct vote within any period which we can foresee.

7. We are therefore satisfied that it is not practicable to advance by stages towards the goal of adult franchise by any mere extensions of the existing electorate in accordance with the existing system of direct election. Inevitably the system would break down on administrative grounds long before the goal was reached; and an immediate large increase in the direct electorate is in our opinion certain to endanger the stability of the Provincial Government during the period during which a strong and stable government is essential. Until the masses in this province are educated (and we cannot visualise the possibility of giving education to the masses in a province with such limited financial resources as this for several generations) it is a false assumption that democratic institutions can be developed on identical lines with those in vogue in the wealthier industrialized countries of Europe and America. Illiterate masses with whom candidates cannot get into touch by means of a public press, and living in scattered villages in a province where communications are poor and where during several months in the year touring in the villages is impracticable, are not suitable material for any wide extensions of the direct franchise.

Our proposals for primary village elections with immediate adult suffrage.

8. The above serious objections to the means suggested by the majority of our Committee for extending the franchise can, we hold, most of them be overcome by substituting in all rural constituencies an indirect for a direct electioneering system. The chaukidari village consists of from 60 to 100 houses and an adult population of from 200 to 300, and is an eminently suitable unit for primary village elections. Our proposal is that every adult resident (including women) should have the right to vote at these elections. The elections will be held and the results immediately declared in the villages by the villagers, the candidates nominating *panches* to assist the election officer. Voting will be by secret ballot. The secondary electors so elected will exercise the direct vote and will be polled in exactly the same way as the direct electorate are now polled. The existing direct electorate in rural constituencies will cease to exist; but in the urban constituencies it will be retained and the direct system will be retained. In order to produce a secondary rural electorate of about 450,000, *i.e.*, about 100,000 more

than the existing rural electorate (355,000 male and 2,500 female) the ratio of secondary electors to primary voters (male and female) would have to be about 1 in 40 (rural population 36,000,000, adult population, 1,800,000, half male, half female). A village of 200 adults (male and female) would elect 5 secondaries ; and in our opinion this number of secondaries would be sufficient to start with, though there would be no difficulty in doubling the number. A village of 200 adults could easily elect 10 secondaries who would be suitable, *i.e.*, men (or women) trusted by the villagers and fit to exercise the direct vote, and this would give a secondary electorate of about 900,000. Every resident adult would be qualified for election as a secondary. These elections would take not more than a month. They would cost not more than do the direct elections at present ; for no electoral roll would be required except for the secondaries, and the election officers would not require to be highly paid. No disputes could arise, with adult suffrage, except as to age ; and the decision of the *panches* would be final. The candidates for the Council would be nominated previous to these village primary elections, and the Council elections (secondary elections) would take place a few weeks after the conclusion of the primary elections. The arrangements for polling the secondaries would be on the same lines as the existing arrangements for the direct elections. As regards detailed rules for the conduct of such primary elections we accept generally those suggested in the local Government's memorandum* which was forwarded to the Franchise Committee with their letter of 14th March 1932 of which a copy was sent to this Committee. We see no reason to disagree with the local Government's views that this system would be administratively practicable and comparatively cheap. It is the system which the Hon'ble Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh, Minister for Local Self-Government in this province, first put forward in the memorandum which he prepared for the Simon Commission nearly four years ago.

9. We have examined official and unofficial witnesses regarding the suitability of this system to conditions in the Santal Parganas (the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Hoernle), Sambalpur (Babu Braj Mohan Panda, M.L.C., for Sambalpur rural constituency) and Angul (Mr. Tallents, Agent, Feudatory States). Their evidence indicated that a system of village primary elections would be more suitable than the system of direct election. In all these districts there are village officials who would be able to assist in conducting the primary elections.

The political advantages of village primary elections with Adult Suffrage.

10. The political advantages of this system of indirect primary village elections in all rural constituencies may be summarised as follows :—

(*i*) By adopting this system the goal of adult franchise can and in our opinion should be reached at once. It is from an administrative point of view much simpler to hold a village election at which every adult in the village, male and female, is entitled to vote than to exclude part of the villagers from

* Page 150.

voting ; and from the political standpoint we see no disadvantage and in fact every advantage in conferring manhood suffrage nor any danger in conferring adult suffrage (*i.e.*, male and female) at once. We have great faith in the common sense of the majority of the villagers, voting together for persons whom they know, and we are confident that on the whole they will elect the persons most fitted to exercise the direct vote. We believe that the judgment of the villagers is a much sounder and more suitable as well as a more democratic basis of the direct franchise than any arbitrary property or educational qualifications.

(*ii*) Only by holding elections in every village is there any chance of women in the rural areas in this province exercising effectively a right to vote. We consider that the recommendation of the majority of our committee for giving women an effective means of voicing their needs do not constitute a serious attempt to tackle this important problem.

(*iii*) Under the system which we contemplate every adult villager, male and female, in the chaukidari village will be entitled to vote. By this means, and by this means alone, can the policy enunciated by the Prime Minister be carried into effect, namely that every important section of the community may obtain a means of expressing its opinion.

(*iv*) In particular by this means alone can the depressed classes be given an effective voice in the elections to the Provincial Legislature.

(*v*) A system which adopts the village as the basis of the political structure in all the rural constituencies is suitable to rural conditions in this province and to the genius of the people. A system suited to industrialised countries such as those of Europe and America though fit for adoption in our urban constituencies is not for that reason suited to the peasantry and village life of this part of India.

(*vi*) We are confident that the representatives chosen by the villagers will be the persons most likely to exercise a direct vote wisely.

(*vii*) There would not in our opinion be any necessity, if this system were adopted, of giving any special representation to women or to the depressed classes. Women would form half the voters in the villages, and the depressed classes would also exercise political power in proportion to their numbers. The aborigines in districts where they are of political importance would form the vast majority of the electorate. But if special representation is considered necessary the system of primary village elections makes it easy to give such representation. Assuming that one secondary voter is to be elected for every 40 adults in the village (which as we have explained above,

would produce a secondary electorate rather larger than the present rural electorate) there will be on an average 5 secondaries to be elected in every chaukidari village and there will often be double that number. There will therefore be no difficulty in providing that not less than one of the five secondaries shall be a member of the depressed classes or shall be a woman, or, in certain aboriginal districts, in reserving secondary seats for them on a population basis nor is there any difficulty in increasing the number of secondaries for this purpose. The same applies to other minorities.

(*viii*) The scheme which we advocate would, we are confident, minimize and help to destroy those cleavages of caste and community and race which are, it is admitted by all, the chief stumbling block across the path of true democracy in this country. If it is considered necessary (and we do not admit the necessity if effect is given to the scheme which we advocate) of perpetuating any of these cleavages for the present by giving special representation, say to the depressed classes or to aborigines or to women then under our scheme it will be the whole village community which will elect those special representatives, for whom one or more of the allotted seats of secondaries will be reserved. In our scheme there is no place for " grouping " other than the natural groups of village neighbours comprised in the chaukidari village ; and this is one of the vital aspects of our scheme which differentiates it completely from any such scheme of " grouping " as seems to us and, so we understand, to the public at large, to have been contemplated in the questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee. We wish to lay great emphasis on this point because it is in our opinion the use of the word " grouping " which has played an important part in antagonising public opinion in many quarters against the suggestion for indirect elections.

(*ix*) This point leads us to mention another important aspect of our scheme. Although the question of joint or separate electorates for Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans is, we realize, not an issue to be decided by the Franchise Committee we consider that a very important argument in favour of a system of primary village elections is that it does furnish a joint village electorate which we do not doubt will, in the course of time, operate inevitably as a solution of this difficult problem.

(*x*) This system is, in our opinion, the only one by which every villager can be educated within a reasonable time to understand the meaning of democracy without at the same time endangering the stability of the Government, and substituting demagogy for democracy.

(*xi*) If it should be found in course of time that a system of direct election should be substituted for the system of primary village elections there should be no difficulty in effecting the change. But the converse is not true. It is therefore essential that the system of indirect primary village elections should be instituted at once, before the direct system has taken root. There will, we are confident, be no serious opposition to the change from the direct to the indirect system in the rural constituencies. In urban constituencies we recommend (*vide* paragraph 13 *infra*) the retention of the direct system.

Replies to the criticisms of our proposals made in the Majority Report.

11. The majority report emphasizes certain alleged objections to the system which we advocate. These objections and our replies to them may be summarised as follows :—

(*i*) It is argued that primary elections for Muslims will be difficult, particularly in certain areas where the number of Muslims is small. We consider that this difficulty and its bearing on our scheme have been exaggerated. We admit that if separate electorates are retained the Muslim residents of more than one chaukidari village will in those areas have to be grouped together for the election of secondaries. But the scattered distribution of the present Muslim electorate in such areas under the present system is open to similar criticisms. A separate Muslim electorate is frankly united only by racial sympathies, and we see no reason to anticipate greater difficulty in inducing groups of Muslims from adjoining villages meeting together for the election of secondaries than is now experienced in inducing them to vote at distant polling-stations. We expect many of these Muslim elections of secondaries to be uncontested.

(*ii*) It is argued that our system will encourage class feeling. We have replied in sub-paragraph (*viii*) of the preceding paragraph to this charge. We draw attention to the wording of part of this charge, namely, that primary village election will cause " endless friction in the formation of groups " as an indication of just that misunderstanding of the basis of the system on which we have commented in our reply above.

(*iii*) It is argued that the election officer may be corrupt. Our reply is that the election will be conducted in front of the whole village, and attested by the *panches* nominated by the rival candidates. There will be no opportunity for corruption.

(*iv*) It is argued that there will be riots and obstruction. Our reply is that when the whole village knows that the result of such action will be that they will have no representatives it is unlikely that they will allow this to happen, nor are

riots likely in a small homogeneous electoral unit such as the chaukidari village.

(*v*) It is argued in the majority report that the villagers will be under the thumb either of touts or of money-lenders or of landlords. We notice that some persons who have recorded written opinions have added to this list by anticipating that the villagers will be under the thumb of Congress and of paid agitators. We admit that differences of opinion on this point are inevitable, but we ourselves credit the villagers with much more commonsense and with much more independence than do these critics. We also emphasize the necessity for taking a longer view than they do. We are trying to frame an electoral system which will stand the test of time. We do not believe that village communities will continuously be led by the nose by any of the above classes at successive elections. An illiterate direct electorate is, we hold, much more likely to be misled by catch words than are our villagers voting together in their villages.

(*vi*) It is suggested that the secondaries are likely to be particularly liable to pressure. Our reply is that we have recommended that they should certainly be more numerous than the present direct electorate. We can attach no meaning to this suggestion.

(*vii*) To the general objection raised that candidates will not be in direct touch with the primary electorate, our reply is that candidates even now are not in touch with their rural constituents, and that they will be still less in touch with them when their constituents are increased five or ten times and when most of the new voters are illiterate. We expect that candidates will soon learn that it is worth their while to get into touch with the villagers at the primary elections, and these elections will give them convenient opportunities of doing so which are not provided by the present system.

Our modifications of the scheme suggested as administratively practicable by the local Government.

12. We have stated that we accept generally the detailed scheme of rules for the conduct of primary village elections worked out in the memorandum of the local Government referred to in paragraph 8. The only modifications which we would make in that scheme relate (*i*) to the selection of village *panches*. Instead of the election officer selecting the *panches* himself we would recommend that each candidate should nominate a *panch* from among the residents. If the nominees exceed, say five in number, five names should be selected from these nominees by lot. (*ii*) We are doubtful about the local Government's proposal that each voter should have one vote only, even though more than one candidate is to be elected by the village. This proposal seems to us to have been based merely on consideration of the fact that this

would simplify the ballot. If there were to be any reservation of places, *e.g.*, for the women or the depressed classes, it will, we wish to emphasize, certainly be necessary (in order to ensure a joint electorate of all the villagers for these special representatives) to give each voter separate votes; and even if there were no such reservation we consider that separate votes for each candidate would for the same reason obviously be preferable. We think that this could be arranged by having different shaped voting discs or different coloured discs for the different candidates. A minor detail in which we differ from the local Government is that we consider that a canvas bag with a metal slot would probably be preferable to a polling box, as being more portable.

Our proposal to retain direct election in the urban constituencies.

13. Although the system of primary elections could, we agree with the local Government, be applied without any insuperable administrative objections to urban constituencies with the municipal mohalla as the unit our opinion is that the balance of advantage certainly lies in retaining the present system of direct election for all the urban constituencies. We recognise that there are serious political objections to disenfranchising the intelligentsia in the towns; that the urban mohalla is not a natural social group as is the village; and in general that the system of primary elections while eminently suited to the villages in this province is not so suitable for the towns. We see no inconsistency in retaining for the towns the present system of direct election, and no serious administrative or political objection to the attainment of adult suffrage in the urban constituencies immediately if necessary or at least within a generation. If the system of adult franchise is granted in the form recommended by us in all the rural constituencies we would recommend an extension of the direct franchise in the urban constituencies at least to 10 per cent. of the adult population. This can easily be effected by basing the franchise on payment of Rs. 1-8-0 municipal tax. The objections which we urge against a sudden and large increase in the direct electorate in rural areas do not apply with equal force to the towns where a candidate can get into touch with his illiterate constituents personally and with his educated constituents through the press and pamphlets. The percentage of literacy is moreover far greater in the towns. It may also be possible to provide separate polling arrangements for women in the towns though it will not be possible to obtain a polling staff consisting wholly of women. Separate electorates for the depressed classes or for industrial labour would also be practicable, if considered necessary, in the towns, though we would prefer to give adult franchise at once in the towns to constituting separate electorates for separate classes.

Our objection to the Hybrid System.

14. We are strongly opposed to any combination of the direct and indirect systems of election in the same constituencies. It would be impracticable to give the secondary voters sufficient weightage to enable

them to exercise an effective voice in the election of candidates for the Provincial Legislature. It would create a most undesirable distinction between the comparatively few propertied men in the village and the rest of the village community, and it would add enormously to the administrative difficulty of holding the election. These objections apply with added force to any attempt to combine the two systems in the urban constituencies. These objections are in our opinion insuperable, and it is in our opinion most unfortunate that the proposal for introducing indirect election has been linked in the Franchise Committee questionnaire with the idea that it must be combined with direct election. This connection of ideas has been, we think, hardly less damaging to the popularisation of the idea of primary village elections than the suggestion already combated by us [*vide* paragraph 10 (*viii*)] that these elections should be based on some process of more or less arbitrary grouping.

15. If effect is not given to our recommendations for the adoption in the rural constituencies of a system of primary village elections followed by direct elections of the members of the Provincial Legislature conducted on the same lines as at present by village representatives then we agree with the views of the majority of our committee that the basis of the franchise in the rural constituencies should be extended by substituting the payment of one rupee chaukidari tax for the present rent and cess basis, thus enfranchising roughly 5 per cent. of the rural population.

Federal Lower Chamber.

16. We have expressed our agreement in the majority report with the view that the lower federal chamber should not be elected by the Provincial Legislatures, but should continue to be elected by a direct electorate. This electorate according to our scheme would consist in rural constituencies of the secondary electors, *i.e.*, the electorate for the Provincial Council, and in the urban constituencies of an electorate with higher qualifications than those of the Council electorate.

17. We are in favour of a second provincial chamber. Our recommendations on this subject and on the composition of the second federal chamber are incorporated in the majority report.

18. We wish to make clear that the views to which we have subscribed in the majority report are, except those relating to a second federal chamber and a second provincial chamber, based on the hypothesis that effect is not given to our recommendations for adult suffrage through primary village elections of village secondaries.

CHANDRESHWAR PRASAD NARAYAN SINGH.

G. E. OWEN.

The 18th March 1932.

Note of dissent by Mr. S. M. Athar Hussain and Maulvi S. Mubarak Ali Sahib.

While signing the report we subscribe to the demands of the Muslim delegation to the Round Table Conference which we consider as absolutely essential before any further change in the administration of the country is brought about.

S. M. ATHAR HUSSAIN.

S. MUBARAK ALI.

Patna, March 19th, 1932.

APPENDIX I.

Statement showing the number of Depressed Classes in Bihar and Orissa during the Census of 1931.

The following classes have been enumerated as "depressed" in this province during the Census of 1931. Figures of population are noted against each class.

Class.	Hindu.	Christian.	Muhammadan.	Tribal.	Total.
1. Bauri	314,979	59	..	..	315,038
2. Bhogta	66,054	12	..	143	66,209
3. Bhuiya	621,062	36	..	4,726	625,824
4. Bhumij	266,464	151	..	7,443	274,058
5. Chamar	1,288,298	..	..	..	1,288,298
6. Chaupal	2,737	..	..	..	2,737
7. Dhobi	365,841	..	..	..	365,841
8. Dosadh	1,290,936	..	..	..	1,290,936
9. Dom	160,227	..	6	..	160,233
10. Ghasi	50,695	53	..	708	51,456
11. Ghusuria	1,846	..	..	..	1,846
12. Godra	712	..	..	..	712
13. Gokha	48,622	..	..	..	48,622
14. Halalkhor ..	20,742	..	1,547	..	22,289
15. Hari	93,441	..	..	..	93,441
16. Irika	332	..	..	..	332
17. Kandra	146,458	..	..	..	146,458
18. Kanjar	2,566	..	..	..	2,566
19. Kela	7,737	..	..	..	7,737
20. Kurariar	631	..	..	..	631
21. Lalbegi	105	..	52	..	157
22. Mahuria	2,389	..	..	..	2,389
23. Mangan	184	..	..	..	184
24. Mochi	22,863	..	..	..	22,863
25. Mushahar ..	720,051	..	..	..	720,051
26. Nat	9,628	..	..	..	9,628
27. Pan	226,076	105	..	6,294	232,475
28. Pasi	172,061	..	..	..	172,061
29. Rajwar	133,935	17	..	..	133,952
30. Siyal	6,463	..	..	..	6,463
31. Turi	54,041	9	..	523	54,573
Total ..	6,091,810	442	1,605	19,837	6,112,894

Of the above classes Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 19, 21 and 22 (Bauri, Bhogta, Bhuiya, Bhumij, Ghasi, Pan, Rajwar and Turi) have been classed also as aborigines. Their total number is 1,746,425. If this number is excluded from the total for depressed classes noted above the total population for depressed classes will come up to 4,366,469 (6,112,894—1,746,425). If again Christians, Muhammadans and Animists, who number 21,884 are excluded, the total population will be 4,344,585. As the total population of Bihar and Orissa is 37,677,576, the depressed classes form 11·5 per cent. of the total population.

APENDIX

Statement showing the enfranchisement of Persons under "depressed classes"
Hazaribagh

Statement showing number of persons

Name of ward.	Total population.	Total adult population. (Non-Muhammadan.)		Number of depressed classes included in column 3. (Non-Muhammadan.)		Number of persons paying municipal tax of any amount. (Non-Muhammadan.)	
1	2	3		4		5	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Bakerganj (Patna City Municipality).	10,505	3,154	1,781	329	296	894	189
North Khajekalan (Patna City Municipality).	8,407	1,828	1,489	55	43	740	193
Wards Nos. 1 and 2 (Muzaffarpur).	5,599	1,222	1,030	37	9	944	54

NOTE :—Percentage of column 4 to column 3 = 7
" " column 6 to column 4 = 20·8
" " column 8 to column 4 = 20·8

II.

in certain urban and rural areas in the districts of Patna, Muzaffarpur and Cuttack.

under depressed classes paying Municipal Tax.

Number of depressed classes included in column 5. (Non-Muhammadan.)		Number of persons paying municipal tax of one rupee and over. (Non-Muhammadan.)		Number of depressed classes included in column 7. (Non-Muhammadan.)		Percentage of persons belonging to the depressed classes paying—		Remarks.
						Municipal tax of any amount.	Municipal tax of Re. 1 and above.	
6		7		8		9	10	11
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
76	21	894	189	76	21	15·6	15·6	Depressed classes are allowed to use public wells and are admitted to primary and higher schools.
45	8	730	192	45	8	53	53	
9	5	585	44	7	7	30·4	30·4	Ditto.

APPENDIX

Statement showing the enfranchisement of Persons under "depressed classes" Hazaribagh

Statement showing number of persons

Name or number of chaukidari circle or Union Boards or similar areas.	Total population.		Total adult population. (Non-Muhammadan.)		Total number of members of depressed classes included in column 3. (Non-Muhammadan.)		Number of persons paying chaukidari tax of any amount. (Non-Muhammadan.)	
1	2		3		4		5	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
POLICE CIRCLE VI.								
Bagdar police-station, district Hazaribagh.	5,611	5,820	2,060	2,270	313	397	1,016	10
Ichak Union Board, district Hazaribagh.	2,429	2,830	1,038	1,288	168	249	540	9
Repara Union Board, No. 12, Muzaffarpur.	9,764		2,212	2,468	266	302	970	8
Kolhua Dadar Union Board, No. 5, Muzaffarpur.	6,887		1,582	1,858	672	772	1,019	26
Union No. 5, Sadr police-station, Cuttack.	8,214		1,734	955	585	564	1,002	8
Union No. 7, Tangi police-station, Cuttack.	6,873		2,027	2,198	356	375	955	2
Satparwe and 13 other mauzas in Patna.	5,213		1,540	1,320	354	339	583	16
Bhergawan and 8 other mauzas in Patna.	5,690		1,420	1,276	306	343	563	9

NOTE :—Percentage of column 4 to column 3 = 23·3
" " column 6 to column 4 = 9·7
" " column 8 to column 4 = 1·5

III.

in certain urban and rural areas in the districts of Patna, Muzaffarpur and Cuttack.

under depressed classes paying Chaukidari tax.

Total number of members of depressed classes included in column 5. (Non-Muhammadan.)		Number of persons paying chaukidari tax of one rupee and over. (Non-Muhammadan.)		Members of depressed classes included in column 7. (Non-Muhammadan.)		Percentage of persons belonging to the depressed classes paying—		Remarks.
						Chaukidari tax of any amount.	Chaukidari tax of Re. 1 and above.	
6		7		8		9	10	11
Males.	F.	Males.	Females.	Males.	F.			
70	..	326	6	8	..	10	1	Depressed classes are allowed to use village wells and are admitted to village schools.
66	..	231	1	16	..	15·7	3·8	
36	..	427	4	15	..	6·3	2·6	Depressed classes are not allowed to use village wells and Dusadhs, Domes, Halalkhores, Chamars, and Nats are not allowed to attend village schools.
62	..	432	6	12	..	4·3	·8	
252	..	140	2	10	..	22	·9	Depressed classes are not allowed to use village wells but their children are admitted into village schools.
10	..	164	1	1	..	1·3	·1	
66	..	326	8	19	..	9·5	2·7	Depressed classes are allowed to use village wells and their children are admitted to village schools without restrictions.
53	..	287	2	16	..	8	2·4	

APPENDIX IV.

Note on the possibilities of broadcasting in India.

1. The principal reasons for the partial failure of the existing broadcasting service are:—

(*a*) the small service area due to inadequate power of the transmitters:

The area of satisfactory service lies within a radius of about 50 miles of the transmitters and even within that area reception is marred by atmospheric disturbances for about 7 months of the year.

(*b*) the transmissions from the Calcutta and Bombay stations are on wave lengths of 370 metres and 357 metres respectively. On both the long wave broadcasting band (1,000—2,000 metres) and medium wave broadcasting band (200—550 metres) atmospheric conditions in India will prevent satisfactory long distance reception of broadcasting (over a distance of more than about 50 miles) for seven months of the year.

2. I do not consider the proposal to provide portable transmitters for occasional use in connection with elections to be feasible. The cost would be excessive compared with the benefit to be derived and as there would be no regular income the whole cost would have to be borne by Government or personally by the candidates.

3. I consider that a satisfactory regular broadcasting service for India is possible provided the transmissions are of short wave lengths on which there has recently been considerable development. These transmissions are comparatively free from interruptions due to atmospheric disturbances. With a power of about 10 K. W. and utilizing wave lengths between 30 and 50 metres it is probable that about 5 transmitters would give a satisfactory service for the whole of India. The service area of each station would consist of two parts:—

(*a*) the area within about 30—50 miles of the transmitter, and

(*b*) the area between 500—1,000 miles of the transmitter.

The attached sketches* indicate approximately the probable service area of each station from where it will be seen that except for a small area of about 50 miles radius adjacent to the transmitting station a province would be served by a transmitter at a considerable distance from it and that for Bihar and Orissa the best service would probably be obtained from transmitters situated near Delhi and Madras.

4. These stations would cost about Rs. 50,000 each and as a satisfactory service could be given I think there is no doubt that the receipts from license fees would cover the working expenses. Candidates for election to the All-India and local legislative bodies could be permitted to utilize those stations for electioneering purposes and in addition Government would possess a very useful and powerful agency for propaganda purposes.

5. In addition to the advantage of comparative freedom from atmospheric disturbance, transmissions on the short wave lengths possess the additional advantage that the necessary receiving apparatus is both simple and inexpensive. A satisfactory receiver complete with aerial, batteries and loud-speaker would, at present prices, cost about Rs. 150 and the cost of maintenance per year, if used several days every week, would be about Rs. 60.

6. If a broadcasting service, as briefly outlined in paragraph 3 were available, candidates who wish to get into touch with the constituency might send out agents with suitable receiving apparatus (including loud-speakers) to the villages. In the course of a few days it would be possible to get into touch with representatives of the inhabitants of all the large villages in a constituency.

The erection of the necessary aerial would be a simple matter requiring about 2 hours' work.

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* Not printed.

7. The actual choice of wave lengths is a matter for engineers with experience of short wave telephony but I may observe that the shorter the wave length (my experience is limited to a lower limit of 15 metres) the greater is the freedom from atmospheric disturbances but below about 25 metres the manipulation of the receiver requires a certain amount of dexterity. For that reason I suggest that the most suitable wave lengths will be found between 30 and 50 metres. In Patna reception of broadcasting from Saigon (French Indo-China) on 49 metres, and from Moscow on 50 metres is a simple matter. Saigon is about 1,500 miles and Moscow about 2,500 miles from Patna.

8. The above notes are given with considerable hesitation as my knowledge of radio telephony is limited to a few years' experience of the reception of broadcasting in Patna on wave lengths between 15 and 2,000 metres.

S. E. PLATT,
Superintending Engineer,
Public Health Department,
Bihar and Orissa.

Miscellaneous correspondence with the Bihar and Orissa Government on matters arising out of replies to questionnaire.

APPENDIX I.

Number of depressed classes.

TELEGRAM FROM THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, SIMLA, TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA, No. E.-713-B. & O., DATED THE 20TH APRIL 1932.

Please refer estimates depressed class population page fifteen Committee's second Memorandum. Been suggested that Committee's figures for following castes namely Pan, Dom and Kela are inaccurate. Should be grateful if this could be verified and correct total for depressed classes telegraphed very urgently. Or in the alternative did Committee accept Government's estimate of depressed classes in the Province.

TELEGRAM FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, DATED THE 23RD APRIL 1932.

Your telegram of 20th April. Population of Pan, Dom and Kela shown correctly in Provincial Committees Memorandum. Figures based on Census Table 17 excluding Feudatory States.

APPENDIX II.

Questions relating to the Federal Legislature and special Interests.

TELEGRAM FROM THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, SIMLA, TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA, PATNA, No. E.-B. & O.-232, DATED THE 5TH APRIL 1932.

Could you let us have by telegram summary of views of local Government on following points raised in original questionnaire on which no recommendations have so far been received (*a*) method of election to upper chamber of federal legislature (*b*) franchise qualifications for federal legislature, (*c*) method of election to lower chamber of federal legislature, (*d*) nature and extent of representation to be accorded to special interests (women, labour, commerce, depressed classes, etc.) in federal legislature.

TELEGRAM FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA, PATNA, TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, DATED THE 11TH APRIL 1932.

Reference your telegram 232, dated 5th April 1932 (*a*) Method of election to upper chamber of federal legislature local Government favour direct election on a high franchise similar to present election to Council of State, (*b*) Franchise qualifications for federal legislature answer to (*a*) applies as regards upper chamber as regards lower chamber local Government on the whole prefer indirect election by Provincial Council in which case question of franchise qualifications does not arise (*c*) method of election to lower chamber of federal legislature local Government favour indirect election by Provincial Council, (*d*) Nature and extent of representation to be accorded to special interests women, labour, commerce, depressed classes, etc., in federal legislature representation of women and depressed classes in lower chamber if not secured by election from Provincial Council should be provided for by nomination no special representation of commerce and labour in lower chamber required for this province representation of special interests in upper chamber not required.

Replies
of the
Government of the Central Provinces
and the
C. P. Provincial Franchise Committee
to the
Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.

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Miscellaneous correspondence with the Government of the Central Provinces on matters arising out of replies to questionnaire.

APPENDIX.

I. Correspondence regarding the land revenue and rent qualifications for the franchise.—Telegram No. E.-684-C.P., dated the 15th April 1932, from the Indian Franchise Committee, to the Reforms Officer, Nagpur, and telegram No. C.-2, dated the 18th April 1932, from the Reforms Officer, Nagpur, to the Joint Secretary, Indian Franchise Committee	313

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

I

Memorandum by the Government of the Central Provinces.

LETTER FROM THE OFFICER ON SPECIAL DUTY (REFORMS), CENTRAL PROVINCES, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, NO. R-54-IV, DATED NAGPUR, THE 26TH FEBRUARY 1932.

Before replying in detail to the questions put by the Indian Franchise Committee, I am directed to express the regret of this Government that the Committee should not have visited the province. The Central Provinces and Berar constitute an area in which local knowledge is of importance. Historically the province has been the meeting ground of three distinct Aryan races, and three distinct agricultural systems. Wheat has come with the Hindustanis from the north, and rice with the immigrants from the north-east, while the cultivation of cotton and juar has been imported by Marathas from the west. These three systems have driven back gradually the aboriginal tribes, with their non-Aryan customs and crude methods of cultivation, into the wider and more remote parts of the province, where they form a fourth and wholly distinct element in the local population. These four elements have not advanced equally and every shade of variation will be found between the Marathi-speaking population of the south-west, one of the most advanced in India, and the aboriginal tribes who are among the most backward. A visit to the province would also have enabled the Committee to realize more easily the astonishing development which has taken place in both its areas since 1905, when Berar was added to the Central Provinces proper. This development has been especially noticeable in the last decade, subsequent to the enquiry of the Southborough Committee, owing to the opening up of the railway line from Delhi to Madras through Nagpur and the construction of many miles of metalled roads suitable for motor transport. At the present moment the province has 5,674 miles of metalled road, connecting every district headquarters, and commanding from its geographical position most of the main arterial communications of India. The development is reflected in the growth of Nagpur City itself, which has now a population of 215,165, involving an increase of no less than 48 per cent. since the census of 1921. Further similar development is expected shortly when the more backward eastern districts have been opened up by the completion of the new railway line from Raipur to the port of Vizagapatam in the Madras Presidency. Local investigation would also have enabled the Committee to get a first hand impression of the points raised by the peculiar relation of Berar to the Central Provinces and British India generally. There is no use, however, in repining over what might have been, and this Government will now deal with the questions raised on their merits. The views expressed are those of the whole Government, on its transferred as well as on its reserved sides.

2. *Scope of the enquiry.*—In addition to the points raised in its actual questionnaire the Franchise Committee has asked—

(1) what should be the size of the new legislative council ;

(2) to what extent and how special interests should be represented ;

(3) what should be the qualification of candidates ; and

(4) whether the legislature should be bicameral.

3. *Size of the legislative council.*—In the opinion of this Government the legislative council should consist as nearly as possible of 100 members, a number which admits of the allotment of one member to each ordinary tahsil or taluq, which is about the area for which suitable candidates might be expected to be forthcoming. Further, this number, which roughly is double that of the present number of elected members, can be accommodated in the present legislative council building with suitable alterations. For any much larger number a new building would have to be erected, which is out of the question during the present financial crisis.

4. *Special interests and second chamber.*—The representation of special interests may be considered suitably with the question about the need for a second chamber, because if there is to be no second chamber, the interests, which normally would be represented in it, will have to be considered in framing the constitution of a single chamber. In paragraph 7 of Mr. Gordon's letter No. R-15-IV, dated the 12th August 1930, regarding the proposals of the Statutory Commission, it has been explained that there is no material in this province from which a second chamber could be manned, whilst, even if there was, the resulting expense could not be met. At present such larger landholders as there are have three special representatives in the legislative council. This Government considers that this weightage should be maintained, and would allot four seats for the purpose, one for each Commissioner's division, and would fill them as at present by election. Apart from these the special interests which require or might require representation are the following :—

(1) the depressed classes ;

(2) Europeans and Anglo-Indians ;

(3) Muhammadans ;

(4) women ;

(5) commerce and industry ;

(6) aboriginal tribes ;

(7) Indian Christians ;

(8) the University ;

(9) Zamindari and Jagirdari estates ;

(10) labour.

The depressed classes require representation. Their case is dealt with later under the appropriate head of the questionnaire, where it is proposed to reserve 10 seats for them.

At present there is one nominated member of the European and Anglo-Indian communities. With the enlarged chamber proposed

Government considers that these communities might return two members. These members should be elected and not nominated as at present, and a separate electorate should be formed for them.

For Muhammadans, who number 682,000 or 4 per cent. of the population, this Government proposes 10 seats, a number which reduces slightly their existing weightage of 7 out of 55 elected seats. In the absence of any settlement of the communal question provision should be made for separate electorates.

At present women are not represented specially, and depend for their representation on the goodwill of the Governor. They should be represented, and proposals are made below under head 3 (*c*) of the questionnaire for 3 seats for them by co-option by the legislature. The alternative is nomination by the Governor to such extent as may be necessary to compensate for their failure, if they do fail, to obtain a sufficient number of seats through direct election.

It is difficult to foresee exactly the extent to which the wealthier interests, such as commerce and industry, will obtain representation through the general constituencies. Experience of the elections under the present system has shown that they secure adequate representations. Accordingly this Government proposes no special representation for them beyond what they may secure from the Governor's nomination, though it is not averse from making special provision, if this course is followed in other provinces.

The aboriginal tribes inhabiting the extensive forest areas of this province number 1,351,615 or 9 per cent. of the total population. They are an extremely backward community, and cannot expect to obtain any representation at all through the general constituencies. They should have a spokesman, and, as no method of electing him is possible, provision should be made by which the Governor can nominate a suitable person.

The Indian Christian community numbers in round figures 40,000, but is so scattered that no district contains more than 5,635. No clash of interests between it and the Hindu community has arisen, nor has it suffered any disadvantage from being included with the general constituencies. Accordingly no special representation is proposed. Should any special representation be found desirable at any particular crisis the Governor may be trusted to exercise the power of nomination, which it is proposed should be vested in him, to secure it.

At present the Nagpur University elects one member, but this representation should be discontinued as the constituency fails normally to return a representative of learning.

At present the inhabitants of certain zamindari and jagirdari estates are represented in the Council by a nominated member, as these estates and the other areas specified in paragraph 13 of this Government's memorandum prepared for the Statutory Commission are excluded from the existing constituencies. No justification exists for their continued

exclusion, and they are in fact as advanced as some other parts of the province which are enfranchised. It is proposed, therefore, to include them in the general rural constituencies, and to discontinue their special representation.

There remains labour. At present it has a special representative, who is nominated by the Governor. For want of any single person, who would be suitable, from amongst the labouring classes themselves, it has been found necessary in practice to nominate a member of the educated classes having an interest in labour problems. The arrangement is not satisfactory and should be discontinued. Instead, labour should get its representation by election to the extent of 10 seats from amongst the depressed classes, as explained at the commencement of this paragraph and under head 5 of the questionnaire.

5. *Summary of proposals for special representation.*—To sum up, the proposals of this Government with regard to special representation extend to the larger landlords (4 seats), the depressed classes, covering also labour (10 seats), Europeans and Anglo-Indians (2 seats) and Muhammadans (10 seats), and all by some form of election. It is also suggested that women should have 3 seats under a system of co-option by the legislature. Other special interests should be covered by a power of nomination vested in the Governor extending to 3 seats, one of which by convention should be filled by a spokesman for the aboriginal tribes. Further, should it be found impossible to arrange for filling 3 seats with women under a system of co-option by the legislature, the Governor should nominate up to 6 instead of 3 seats, it being understood that he would fill up to 3 with women to the extent necessary to compensate for their failure, if they did fail to obtain a sufficient number of seats through direct election.

6. *Extension of the franchise.*—I am now to take the Franchise Committee's questionnaire in detail.

Head I (a) of the questionnaire.—A general increase in the electorate must be based on the principles now in force, with such lowering of property qualifications as will produce an electorate of the size required. In the existing state of education in this province an educational qualification, which may well be added on its own merits, will not enfranchise a sufficient number of persons to produce the volume of voters needed. Moreover, this Government is opposed fundamentally to the introduction of any separate qualification for women, a point which is made to greater detail below. Therefore no very large volume of women voters would be added to the roll. Statistics collected for the Southborough Committee have been examined. These are not very accurate owing to the lapse of time since they were collected, and to the fact that there have been several resettlements of land revenue, by which the land revenue generally, and therefore the number of payers of any selected sums as land revenue or rent, have been increased. Taking the statistics, however, as they stand, certain tentative conclusions may be formed. The statistics show that in 1918-19 there were 1,265,000 persons paying land revenue or rent in excess of Rs. 10 per annum. The population of the province (excluding the feudatory states) was at the census of 1931, 15,507,723, of which the

population within municipal limits was 1,388,637, leaving a rural population of 14,119,086. If allowance is made for the undoubted rise in the number of persons paying land revenue or rent, it would appear that the adoption as a franchise qualification of the payment of Rs. 10 or more as land revenue or rent would produce a rural electorate, approximating very closely to 10 per cent. It is also proposed to add two additional qualifications :—

(*i*) *An Educational Qualification.*—All persons who hold the primary certificate of the educational department should be enfranchised. This certificate is obtained by all persons who have passed out of the fourth class in the primary vernacular school. The total number of persons in the province holding this certificate is 323,000, of whom it is estimated that over half obtained it within the last 10 years, and since the certificate is usually obtained at the age of 11-12 years, are not yet of age. A steady increase in the number may, however, be expected. For adults who are literate, and who wish to qualify for the franchise, Government would propose an examination of an equivalent standard, which would be held by the education department. This might be called the franchise test.

(*ii*) *A Village Office Qualification.*—At present the lambardar (or the representative of the landlords) in the Central Provinces, and in Berar a watandar patel (hereditary village revenue officer) and a watandar patwari (hereditary village accountant) and the hereditary deshmukh and deshpande (old pergana official) are enfranchised. In future all village officials should be given a vote. This amendment would affect mainly the village watchman, who is almost invariably of the depressed classes. The number of voters added would be small ; not much more than 50,000.

Head I (b) of the questionnaire.—The education of the present electorate is far from complete, and though the rural population is shrewd enough when its own interests are closely concerned, it has little comprehension as yet of matters outside the district in which it resides, and is not able accurately to appreciate the effect of votes on the general administration of the province. This will be still more the case in the future. This Government, however, is unable to state that the decline in the general intelligence of the electorate would be pronounced.

Head I (c) of the questionnaire.—In the opinion of this Government, an electorate of 10 per cent. of the population would be manageable administratively, but not an electorate appreciably larger. Whatever exact figure is taken the strain put upon the district staff would be severe. With an electorate as large as 10 per cent. of the population, the average constituency would consist of about 25,000 voters, or even more, and a large district would contain 4 or 5 rural constituencies, and an urban constituency as well. It would be as well to be prepared for 15,000 voters in each constituency or 60 per cent. of the total. To poll 15,000 votes per constituency about 15 separate stations would be required presided over by a gazetted officer, if possible, and assisted by 4 or 5 clerks. Such a polling station would poll 1,000 votes in a day without

difficulty. Non-official agency could not be relied upon, as it is doubtful if popular opinion would accept it, and in any case the majority of suitable non-official gentlemen would themselves be busy in canvassing votes and other political activities. It would be necessary, therefore, to provide some 15 officials and 60 clerks or members of the subordinate land revenue staff. In a large district this would be possible, but an appreciably larger staff could not be provided. It follows that only one constituency could be polled at a time, and that after the polling was completed the staff would be required to move on to the next constituency where the process would be repeated. Also the votes cast would have to be counted very largely by the same staff. The elections in the district would have to be spread over a period of a fortnight or three weeks with great dislocation of normal work.

Head I (1) (e) of the questionnaire.—This Government does not consider that it would be possible administratively to enlarge the electoral roll much further than 10 per cent. Nor does it consider that it is at present desirable on other grounds to go beyond this figure. The present electorate has yet to complete its political education, and the vote is not yet valued by the large mass of the unenfranchised, who have not made any demand for their enfranchisement.

Head I (1) (f) of the questionnaire.—There is a difference of opinion in the Government about the group system or system of indirect election.

The Hon'ble Dr. Deshmukh is opposed to it strongly owing to the doubts he feels as to whether it would give any real political training to those who could be reached in no other way. For a long time to come the election of the secondary voters would be based on personal grounds and the voter would be elected because he had a position in the village as a man to be respected, and not because he understood politics or belonged to the party which the group wished to see in power. Again the primary voter would have no means of knowing how the secondary voter of his choice voted, and so judging whether his choice was right or wrong. Indeed, for a long time the group would not want to express any wish regarding the policies to be supported by the secondary voters. Further, until the vote became a valued possession, the secondary electors would be unlikely to take much interest in the election, and thus the primary voters would learn nothing from the elections. Finally, the primary selection of voters would become either an uninteresting formality, in which the candidates for the legislature would take no interest at all, and the issues of the election would never come before the primary voter, or such candidates would find themselves compelled to canvass the electorate twice, once at the primary election and the second time to keep the allegiance of the secondary voters selected to support him. The Hon'ble Dr. Deshmukh also points out that the conditions prevailing at present in district council elections support his view that issues at the primary and secondary elections would not be the same. At present the district council is elected by the members who succeed in securing election to the local boards. Each tahsil elects 10 to 15 members to the local board, and these with 3 or 4 nominated members elect the district council. Though the number of candidates is small, and it is quite

possible for each candidate to know the politics of the possible chairman of the district council, these policies are scarcely discussed in a local board election. Also certain practical difficulties would arise. In the first place the formation of the group would be a troublesome task, which would take up a disproportionate amount of the time of the district officials. Difficulties which would lead to numerous objections and appeals would arise through the grouping of castes together. In practice it would be impossible to form homogeneous groups by which a fair representation of interests could be secured. Again until parties have evolved, and only in Berar in this province is a beginning of party politics discernible, the interests to be represented would be far too numerous to admit of satisfactory representation. Scope would be given for undue influence in the formation of groups and discontent would result.

The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Nelson is inclined to support a combination of direct and indirect election, both for towns and rural areas, mainly on the ground that this will be the most convenient method of creating an electorate of manageable proportions. He considers that a scheme might be prepared which would increase the direct voters up to 5 per cent. of the total population, and would allow the remaining 90 per cent. of the adult population to elect roughly one other voter per hundred. He is not in favour of the group system, but would take the village or division of villages or towns as the unit. To each unit would be allotted a certain number of voters in proportion to its population, and the secondary voters would be added to the electoral roll of the constituency to which the village or town belongs. The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Nelson recognizes that the problem of devising an electoral procedure, which will not be open to grave abuses, is not easy of solution, but provided that finality at the election is insisted upon, and the hearing of objections is prohibited, he considers that it will not be beyond human ingenuity to devise a workable system.

The Hon'ble Mr. Raghavendra Rao and the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Jaiswal share the view of the Hon'ble Dr. Deshmukh that no system of indirect election will be workable at present, though they realize that there is much to be said in favour of it, and think that it may become possible in the future. His Excellency the Governor is impressed by the need for securing enough good-will to work it before any system of indirect election is attempted. At present the idea is novel, and therefore disliked, and any system which is disliked is not likely to work well in practice. But signs are not wanting that public opinion is alive to the possibilities involved in the indirect method, and if the ventilation given to it by the Franchise Committee results in the creation of the proper atmosphere, His Excellency would welcome a mixture of direct and indirect election on the lines of the scheme of the Hon'ble Sir Arthur Nelson. In the meantime, as there is no unanimity, no reply can be made to the points of detail raised under heads I (*h*), (*i*) and (*j*) of the questionnaire.

Head 2 (a) of the questionnaire.—The question of the operation of the franchise qualifications in rural and urban areas has been dealt with in paragraphs 25 and 26 of this Government's memorandum prepared for

the Statutory Commission. In brief there is some disparity at present between the working of qualifications in urban and rural areas. But with the separation of the smaller towns from the rural constituencies, and the general lowering of the property qualification, the ill effects of the existing disparity will tend to disappear. The lowest urban and rural qualifications which it is proposed tentatively to adopt, are the payment of Rs. 12 house rent, or the assessment to an equivalent *haisiyat* tax in urban areas, and in rural areas the payment of Rs. 10 as land revenue or rent. The annual income of the townsman and the cultivator enfranchised will not differ very markedly, and may be estimated roughly as Rs. 120 to Rs. 130 and Rs. 140 to Rs. 170 per annum, respectively.

Head 2 (b) of the questionnaire.—This Government considers it quite impracticable to devise qualifications which will give a voting strength proportionate to its numbers to each community. Some idea of the difference in existing voting strength between the monied and labouring classes may be formed from the statistics given in paragraph 23 of this Government's memorandum for the Statutory Commission, and nothing short of adult suffrage could mitigate the disparity. The depressed classes, from which the labouring classes are drawn largely, must have inevitably a smaller proportionate voting strength, unless property qualifications, the recognized basis for the electoral system, are abolished, a step which is quite out of the question at the moment. So long, however, as each community has a reasonable representation in the chamber and an advance is made by which all classes have an increased opportunity of benefiting from the educative value of the vote, importance need not be attached to calculations of exact proportions of voting strength.

Head 2 (c) of the questionnaire.—This Government accepts the property qualification in the widest sense of the term as the most suitable, and indeed as necessarily the main qualification for the vote. It has been suggested above that the primary certificate should be added as an educational qualification, and that village officials should be enfranchised. These two qualifications between them would not enfranchise a number in excess of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population of the province. To obtain the remainder of the required electorate a much wider basis is needed and the property qualification is the only possible basis.

Head 2 (d) of the questionnaire.—The introduction of an educational qualification, and the suggestion that the primary school certificate of the educational department should be the qualification, have been made above. The primary certificate is the lowest standard for which a certificate is granted, and it is impossible to do without a definite clear cut standard, which could be proved or disproved in the event of dispute.

Head 2 (e) of the questionnaire.—So far as this province is concerned, there is no objection in principle to the retention of the military service qualification, or to its extension to include service in the Auxiliary or Territorial forces. The number at present so enfranchised is minute, and will never, so far as can be foreseen, be anything but small. On matters of detail no opinion need be offered.

Head 3 (a) of the questionnaire.—As a matter of principle, this Government is opposed to the formation either of separate electorates for women, or to the adoption of any differential qualifications, and considers that the same qualifications and constituencies should be prescribed for both sexes. If women desire to vote, as to which there is no real volume of evidence, it should be left to them, as in other countries, to obtain by constitutional agitation the right to own property separately from their husbands. The adoption of a separate qualification for women introduces an unsound principle which this Government is unable to approve. The same principles would apply to the indirect system of election.

Head 3 (c) of the questionnaire.—This Government envisages an ultimate position in which women will have obtained for themselves the position of equality with the other sex that they now enjoy in advanced countries, where their voting strength is equal approximataly to that of men. During the transitional period special methods of securing their representation in the legislative council would be appropriate, either by a system of co-option by the legislative council by the single transferable vote, or by nomination by the Governor. Reservation of seats is an unsuitable method of representation, as it is impossible to form appropriate constituencies when women form such a large minority. Whether co-option or nomination should be adopted, is a decision which this Government would be prepared to see, made in accordance with the weight of the evidence submitted by women to the Franchise Committee. Its own preference is for the system of co-option. The number of seats it proposes to allot in this province is 3.

Head 4 of the questionnaire.—Even with the increased electorates proposed, it is unlikely that the depressed classes will obtain any real representation. The number of voters which the qualifications proposed would enfranchise among the depressed classes would be a far smaller proportion than among the more advanced castes. Moreover, the effect of social feeling against them must be given full weight. On the whole, therefore, it would be hazardous to expect that the depressed classes would secure any real representation at the polls at all. In the present legislature, the depressed classes have 4 representatives by nomination and the member nominated to represent labour is also, in effect, their representative. If this number came roughly to be doubled, enough to secure these classes proper representation would have been done. No logical method to secure this result can be devised, and the only course is to choose some arbitrary method. This Government would propose, therefore, that 10 seats should be reserved for the depressed classes in plural constituencies. In order to secure that their representation shall be spread as widely as possible, and to avoid the formation of large unwieldy constituencies, it is proposed to allot these seats to ordinary rural constituencies, where the number of the depressed classes is large, by a simple system of rotation. As depressed classes, this Government would classify only those castes that are untouchable, and whose disabilities are a social and political handicap. To go outside this definition

means that there would be no other clear cut distinction, and almost every class, except the few really advanced, could claim that they were backward and needed special representation. At the past census great care has been taken to draw up as accurate a list as possible of the untouchable castes, and a note* showing the classification adopted by the census department is annexed to this letter.

Head 5 of the questionnaire.—In practice in this province the representation of labour is nearly the same as the representation of the depressed classes, from whose ranks in the main the labourers are drawn. For organized labour it would be impossible to form suitable constituencies, while the interests of unorganized labour will be adequately safeguarded by the liberal provision which has been proposed for the representation of the depressed classes.

Head 5 (a) of the questionnaire.—This has been covered by paragraph 4 of this letter.

7. *The federal legislature.—Head 6 (a) of the questionnaire.*—The proposal that the representatives of the provinces in the upper chamber of the federal legislature should be elected by the provincial legislative council is at first sight attractive, but is open to the objection that such a course might not produce in sufficient numbers the elder statesmen of which a second chamber should consist, and might reproduce too closely the lower legislative bodies. On the other hand the dominant party in the provincial council would need its authoritative spokesman in the revising chamber. In the circumstances this Government proposes a middle course, by which 3 out of the 7 seats allotted tentatively to the province would be filled by election by the provincial council. Of these, one should be filled from the Central Provinces and one from Berar, and one should be a Muhammadan. The remaining 4 seats should be filled by direct election on a restricted franchise. No detailed proposals have been prepared, but if the present electorate of 1,064 raised roughly to 2,500 by a lowering of the property qualification, 4 suitable constituencies could be formed; one for each Commissioner's division. For candidates for election to the upper chamber this Government would add a minimum age limit of 35 years, in order to exclude the less experienced. Otherwise it would retain the present rules.

Head 6 (b) of the questionnaire.—This Government is unable to lend support to any proposal by which the federal and provincial franchises would be fixed at the same level. Under such a system apart from other considerations, the constituencies would consist of over 100,000 voters, and be quite impracticable. Some widening of the basis of the franchise is, however, desirable and the basis to be adopted might be the existing franchise for the Legislative Council, the electorate of which is in round figures 200,000.

Head 6 (c) of the questionnaire.—Great as the administrative difficulties would be in a system of indirect election for the Legislative Councils, they are small compared with those that would arise in applying such a method to the far larger constituencies of the federal assembly. Nor is there any

* Page 259.

practical advantage in abandoning a system of direct election, which the public understands, in favour of one whose principal merit is that it would reach indirectly a far larger number, the large majority of whom would have no desire to vote on all-India questions. Assuming that the 12 seats tentatively allotted to the province are maintained, the constituencies that would be formed would cover half a Commissioner's division in area, and would contain an average of 17,000 voters each. The present constituencies are far larger actually in area, while the number of voters in the new constituencies would not be excessive. This Government would allot tentatively 10 seats to general constituencies and 2 to Muhammadans.

Head 7 of the questionnaire.—At present special representation in the Legislative Assembly is given to landlords and Muhammadans who have each one constituency. The landholders, whose interests are represented generally in the upper chamber, will not require a special constituency, which should now be discontinued. For the Muhammadans, this Government has proposed two seats, which maintains the existing proportion. There is no other local interest at present unrepresented which requires representation in the federal legislature.

8. *Qualifications of candidates.*—The only question remaining unanswered is that of the qualifications of candidates for the provincial legislature and for the federal assembly. The rules regarding qualifications of candidates for the legislative council are suitable generally and require no change. In particular the rules restricting candidates for general constituencies to residents within the districts, in which the constituency or a part of it lies, is salutary and should be kept. The present rules which admit as a candidate for the Legislative Assembly any person who is registered as a voter in any constituency for the provincial council is anomalous and this Government would substitute a provision requiring a candidate to be registered as a voter in any constituency for the federal assembly lying within this province. For the upper chamber, the retention of the existing rules, with an increased age limit, has been proposed above.

9. *Tentative scheme proposed.*—In conclusion I am to say that before formulating its views this Government put them to the test of practical application, and worked out complete schemes for its legislative council, and for its representation in the federal assembly, as shown in statements A and B* attached to this letter. Obviously these schemes are tentative in character, being based on the statistical data collected for the Southborough Committee in 1918-19. They will, however, serve to focus discussion, and are forwarded for the consideration of the Franchise Committee. A note† on the depressed classes is added to statement A. Copies of this letter, and of its enclosures, have been given to the members of the Provincial Franchise Committee and will be given to the witnesses, whose evidence may be called for by the Franchise Committee after they have perused the answers to their questionnaire.

* Pages 251 and 261, respectively. † Page 259.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The Secretary of State has sanctioned the abolition of the Nerbudda Division and the three revenue districts of Seoni, Damoh and Narsinghpur, with effect from the 1st October 1931. These districts have been merged in the Chhindwara, Saugor and Hoshangabad districts, respectively, and a redistribution of divisions has been made as follows :—

Nagpur Division.	Jubbulpore Division.	Chhattisgarh Division.
Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Chhindwara and Betul districts.	Jubbulpore, Saugor, Mandla, Hoshangabad and Nimar districts.	Raipur, Bilaspur, Drug, Bhandara and Balaghat districts.

The area comprised in each of the abolished districts has been constituted an independent sub-division. In the scheme attached the constituencies are shown according to the new districts and divisions. The members for the old Nerbudda Division Urban and Muhammadan constituencies are shown half and half against the Jubbulpore and Nagpur Divisions.

The Berar Division, with its four districts of Amraoti, Akola, Buldana and Yeotmal has remained unchanged.

STATEMENT A.

Proposed constitution of the Central Provinces Legislative Council.

I.—GENERAL DISTRIBUTION.

	Existing.	Proposed.
Non-Muhammadan Urban Constituencies—		
Nagpur Division	1½	2
(*a*) Nagpur district-*cum*-Chhindwara and Betul ..	..	..
(*b*) Wardha and Chanda districts	..	..
Nagpur-*cum*-Kamptee (plural constituency) ..	2	2
Jubbulpore Division	1½	2
(*a*) Saugor, Jubbulpore-Mandla districts.. ..	..	..
(*b*) Hoshangabad and Nimar districts	..	..
Jubbulpore City and Cantonment	1	1
Chhattisgarh Division	1	1
Berar	2	2
Total ..	9	10
Non-Muhammadan Rural Constituencies—		
Nagpur Division	8	13
Jubbulpore Division	8	16
Chhattisgarh Division	6	11
Berar	10	18
Total ..	32	58
Muhammadan Constituencies—		
Nagpur Division, urban and rural	1½	3
Jubbulpore Division, urban and rural	1½	2
Chhattisgarh Division, urban and rural	1	1
Berar, urban	1	2
Berar, rural	2	2
Total ..	7	10

STATEMENT A—*contd.*

I.—GENERAL DISTRIBUTION—*contd.*

—	Existing.	Pro posed.
Special Interests—		
Central Provinces and Berar Landholders	3	4
Anglo-Indians and Europeans	1*	2
Depressed classes (reserved seats)	5†	10
Commerce and Industry	3	0
Inhabitants of Zamindari and Jagirdari Estates ..	1	0
University	1	0
Nomination, allocation unspecified ‡	1	6
Two members of the Executive Council	2	0
Officials	8	0
Total ..	73	100

* Nominated.

† Nominated including 1 labour representative.

‡ If co-option for women is adopted this figure will be reduced to 3 and three seats will be allotted to women.

II.—DETAILED DISTRIBUTION.

Non-Muhammadan Urban Constituencies (10).

—	Population.	Voters in thousands assuming Rs. 12 annual rental payment to be the qualification.
Nagpur Division (4)—		
Nagpur-*cum*-Kamptee (2 members)	241	40
Wardha, Chanda (1)	82	16
Nagpur-*cum*-Chhindwara and Betul ..	126	11·5
Jubbulpore Division (3)—		
Jubbulpore Town and Cantonment (1) ..	85	15·1
Saugor, Jubbulpore, Mandla districts (1) ..	87	14
Hoshangabad and Nimar districts (1) ..	98	20
Chhattisgarh Division (1)—		
Chhattisgarh Division urban	165	17·1
Berar (2)—		
East Berar (Akola and Buldana)	116	25·2
West Berar (Amraoti and Yeotmal) ..	151	28·8
Total ..	1,151	187·7

STATEMENT A—*contd.*

II.—DETAILED DISTRIBUTION—*contd.*

Non-Muhammadan Rural Constituencies (58).

Division.	District and Constituency.	Population in thousands.	Voters in thousands Rs. 10 qualification.
	Nagpur District (5)		
Nagpur (13) ..	Nagpur	131	19
	Katol	142	17
	Saoner	102	17
	Ramtek	135	21
	Umrer	136	21
		700	95
	Wardha District (2).		
	Wardha tahsil	205	25
	Hinganghat and Arvi tahsils ..	286	32
		491	57
	Chanda District (2).		
	Chanda and Warora tahsils ..	363	16
	Rest of district	368	12½
		731	28½
	Chhindwara District (3).		
	Chhindwara and Amarwara ..	354	25·4
	Sausar	171	13·3
	Seoni sub-division	379	42
		963	80
	Betul District (1).		
	Betul	406	25

STATEMENT A—*contd.*

II.—DETAILED DISTRIBUTION—*contd.*

Non-Muhammadan Rural Constituencies—contd.

Division.	District and Constituency.	Population in thousands.	Voters in thousands Rs. 10 qualification.
	Jubbulpore District (*4*).		
Jubbulpore (16)	Sihora	196	24·8
	Murwara*	175	10·8
	Jubbulpore	144	17·3
	Patan	110	20
		625	72·9
	Saugor District (*4*).		
	Saugor tahsil-*cum*-Khurai ..	266	‡44·5
	Hatta-*cum*-Banda	193	24·1
	Rehli	148	21·5
	Damoh	170	23·2
		780	115·8
	Mandla District (*1*).		
	Mandla	445	25
	Hoshangabad District (*5*).		
	Narsinghpur	164	27
	Gardarwara	157	26
	Sohagpur	138	18·7
	Hoshangabad	141	17·0
	Seoni-Malwa-*cum*-Harda† ..	207	32·1
		807	121
	Khandwa District (*2*).		
	East and West of headquarters	387	43·3

* Alternatively Sihora-Murwara (2 members).
† Alternatively Seoni-Malwa-*cum*-Hoshangabad.
‡ Urban representation big.

STATEMENT A—*contd.*

II.—DETAILED DISTRIBUTION—*contd.*

Non-Muhammadan Rural Constituencies—contd.

Division.	District and Constituency.	Population in thousands.	Voters in thousands Rs. 10 qualification.
	Raipur District (3).		
Chhattisgarh (11)	Raipur and Dhamtari ..	496	27·7
	Bolada Bazar and Mahasamund	368	16·4
	Mahasamund	615	17·1
		1,479	61·2
	Bilaspur District (2).		
	Bilaspur and Mungeli ..	636	27·4
	Katghora and Janjgir ..	714	16·0
		1,350	43·4
	Drug District (2).		
	Drug, North and South ..	817	59
	Bhandara District (2).		
	Bhandara tahsil	252	23
	Gondia-Sakoli tahsils ..	558	26·3
		810	49·3
	Balaghat District (2).		
	Waraseoni	265	23
	Baihar and Balaghat ..	295	17
		460	40

STATEMENT A—*contd.*

II.—DETAILED DISTRIBUTION—*contd.*

Non-Muhammadan Rural Constituencies—concld.

Divisions.	District and Constituency.	Population in thousands.	Voters in thousands Rs. 10 qualification.
	Amraoti District (5).		
Berar (18) ..	Amraoti taluq	170	20·7
	Chandur taluq	209	19·8
	Ellichpur taluq-*cum*-Melghat ..	179	18·0
	Daryapur taluq	138	21·1
	Morsi taluq	167	19·3
	Yeotmal District (4).		
	Yeotmal taluq	143	8·6
	Kelapur taluq-*cum*-Wun taluq	302	10·4
	Darwha taluq	201	12·5
	Pusad taluq	188	10·9
	Akola District (5).		
	Akola	136	22·5
	Akot taluq	153	21·5
	Balapur taluq	112	16·1
	Basim taluq-*cum*-Mangrulpir taluq.	292	28·1
	Murtizapur taluq	116	15·5
	Buldana District (4).		
	Chikhli taluq	168	17·3
	Mehkar taluq	167	17·2
	Jalgaon taluq-*cum*-Khamgaon taluq.	214	*31·0
	Malkapur taluq	159	19·2
	Total ..	3,135	329·7

* Big urban representation.

STATEMENT A—*contd.*

SEPARATE CONSTITUENCIES.

Muslims (10).

	Population in thousands.	Total number of voters in thousands.
Nagpur district (1)	53	8·2
Chhindwara and Betul districts (1)	45	3·1
Chanda and Wardha districts (1)	34	4·7
Jubbulpore, Saugor and Mandla districts (1) ..	89	9·7
Hoshangabad and Nimar districts (1)	85	11·4
Chhattisgarh (1)	72	8·8
Berar 1 per district (4)—		
Amraoti	86	8·5
Akola	89	8·7
Buldana	79	5·8
Yeotmal	52	2·5

SPECIAL INTERESTS.

CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

Landholders (4).

1 per division.	No. of Voters.
Nagpur Division	107
Jubbulpore Division	181
Chhattisgarh Division	98
Berar Division	580
Total ..	966

	Population in thousands.
Anglo-Indians and Europeans (2).	10

STATEMENT A—*contd.*

RESERVED SEATS FOR DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Ten seats are provided for depressed classes by the reserved seat in plural constituency method. The reserved seats will be allotted in rotation to the constituencies shown together below.

Division and constituencies.	Population in thousands depressed classes.	Total population.
Nagpur Division.		
Umrer tahsils in rotation with	42	136
Nagpur tahsil; and	33	135
Katol tahsil	27	148
Wardha tahsil in rotation with	79	205
Chanda and Warora tahsils constituency ..	71	363
Jubbulpore Division.		
Khurai-Saugor tahsil constituency alternating with	76	266
Damoh tahsil constituency	42	170
Seoni-Malwa-*cum*-Harda constituency alternating with	38	207
Hoshangabad tahsil	22	141
Chhattisgarh Division.		
Mahasamund tahsil constituency alternating with	113	615
Janjgir-Katghora tahsils constituency ..	175	515
Raipur-Dhamtari constituency alternating with	111	496
Bilaspur-Mungeli constituency	187·2	636
Drug (North) alternating with	96	400
Gondia-Sakoli constituency	150	558

STATEMENT A—*concld.*

RESERVED SEATS FOR DEPRESSED CLASSES—*contd.*

Division and constituencies.	Population in thousands depressed classes.	Total Population.
Berar Division.		
Amraoti taluq in rotation with	43	170
Chandur taluq ; and	44	209
Daryapur taluq	31	138
Akola taluq in rotation with	35	136
Darwha taluq ; and	38	201
Pusad taluq	35	188
Chikhli taluq in rotation with ..	38	168
Mehkar taluq ; and	38	167
Malkapur taluq	39	159

Note on the Definition of Depressed Classes.

At this Census only those castes regarded as untouchable were included in the definition " Depressed Classes ". The total number thus enumerated in the Central Provinces and Berar (excluding Central Provinces States), was 2,965,490, which represents the sum of the figures for the various castes regarded as untouchable in each district. It may be noted that there are only 9 castes held to be untouchable throughout the province. The attitude to backward castes varies from district to district and various other castes are regarded as untouchable in certain groups of districts or sometimes only in isolated districts.

2. The census classification of the depressed classes was the result of correspondence with district authorities and investigations extending over a period of 18 months. It is recognized that in some cases the classification may be criticised even now, but it may probably be regarded as more accurate than any others made up to date. A few minor castes have been omitted. The figures for these are negligible and generally were made up by members of depressed classes from other provinces who have migrated in small numbers into the Central Provinces.

3. For ready reference a complete list of the depressed classes is given below :—

(1) Castes regarded as untouchable throughout the Central Provinces and Berar :—

Mehra or Mahar, Basor or Burud, Mehtar or Bhangi, Dom, Chamar, Satnami, Mochi, Ganda and Mang.

(2) Castes regarded as untouchable throughout the Jubbulpore and Nerbudda Divisions :—

Kori, Mala, Balahi, Madgi.

(3) Castes regarded as untouchable throughout the Nagpur and Berar Divisions :—

Balahi, Madgi, Pradhan, Ghasia, Katia, Panka, Khatik, Kaikari, Dohor.

(4) Castes regarded as untouchable throughout the Chhattisgarh Division :—

Ghasia, Katia, Panka, Dewar.

(5) Additional castes regarded as untouchable in certain districts not included above :—

Panka (Saugor, Damoh, Chhindwara).

Katia (Saugor, Hoshangabad, Nimar, Betul, Chhindwara).

Khatik (Saugor, Hoshangabad, Chhindwara).

Dhobi (Saugor, Damoh, Hoshangabad, Chhindwara, Bhandara, Raipur, Bilaspur, Buldana).

Khangar (Saugor, Damoh, Bhandara).

Chadar (Saugor, Damoh, Bhandara).

Dhanuk (Saugor).

Kumhar (Saugor, Damoh, Hoshangabad, Bhandara and Buldana).

Dahayat (Damoh).

Nagarchi (Mandla, Seoni, Chhindwara, Nagpur, Bhandara, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur, Amraoti).

Ojha (Saugor, Hoshangabad, Bhandara, Balaghat).

Pardhi (Narsinghpur).

Rajjhar (Hoshangabad).

Pardhan (Nimar, Chhindwara, Raipur).

Holiya (Bhandara, Balaghat).

Kori (Bhandara, Raipur, Amraoti, Buldana).

Audhelia (Bilaspur).

Chauhan (Drug).

Khanjar (Hoshangabad, Narsinghpur).

Koli (Chanda, Bhandara, Buldana).

Jangam (Bhandara).

Bedar (Amraoti, Akola, Yeotmal).

Bahana (Amraoti).

STATEMENT B.

Proposed Central Provinces constituencies in the Federal Assembly based on present Franchise for Legislative Council.

	Population in thousands.	Voters in thousands.
1. Nagpur Division—Urban	528	16
2. Nagpur-Chhindwara-Betul	1,924	18
3. Chanda-Wardha	1,131	10
4. Jubbulpore, Saugor and Mandla districts ..	1,808	18
5. Hoshangabad and Nimar	1,263	17
6. Drug, Bhandara and Balaghat	2,126	15
7. Bilaspur and Raipur	2,810	10
8. Berar—Urban	522	12
9. Berar East—Rural	1,790	16
10. Berar West—Rural	1,483	22
Muhammadans.		
11. Central Provinces	382	10
12. Berar	299	7

II

Memorandum by the Central Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee.

The Franchise Committee of the Central Provinces desire to submit their answers to the points raised in the questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee.

Before setting out their reply in detail the members of the committee desire to express their appreciation of the opportunity that has been offered to them of making their contribution towards the solution of one of the important problems that must be solved before an advance can be made with constitutional reform.

2. This province is one in which there is the greatest variety of local conditions. Historically it has been the meeting ground of three different Aryan races, coming from the north, north-east and the west, who have brought with them their distinctive system of agriculture, and have gradually driven the aboriginal population back into the wilder and more remote parts of the province, where they form a separate and distinct section of the population.

Great difference also exists in the political progress of the various parts of the province, and every intermediate stage will be found between the backwardness of the aboriginal tribes, who have hardly yet been reached by education at all, and the progressiveness of the Marathi-speaking population of the south-west part of the province who are one of the most advanced communities in India. Opinions naturally differ as to the pace at which this heterogeneous population should advance to the accepted goal of adult franchise. It must not be supposed therefore that all members of the committee who have signed the majority report necessarily approve the details of every point on which a reply must be made to the questionnaire. Some have accepted the report, because they believe that the proposals represent accurately the exact degree of advance which should now be made; while others, who are inclined to think that a further advance than that proposed is justified, hesitate to press their opinion in face of the great difficulties which will confront not only the administrative authorities but also future candidates in dealing with so large an electorate.

3. *Scope of the enquiry.*—In addition to the points raised in the questionnaire the committee have been asked to prepare their preliminary views upon four questions:—

(*a*) the size of the legislative council;

(*b*) the representation of special interests;

(*c*) the qualification of candidates; and

(*d*) the need for a second chamber in the provincial legislature.

It will be convenient to deal with the first two of these points before proceeding to the main questionnaire.

4. The committee would fix the size of the chamber as nearly as possible at 110 members, a number which is double the present number of elected members. This is the smallest advance upon the present constitution of the council that the majority of members of the committee are prepared to accept. After the various minorities and special interests for which the committee think that representation is necessary have been provided for, room is left for about 85 general constituencies. This number has the merit of providing a rural constituency generally for nearly every advanced or moderately advanced tahsil or taluq of the 82 into which the province is sub-divided, in addition to the 12 urban constituencies which the committee consider should be formed.

5. *Representation of Special Interests.*—The committee have considered in detail the various special interests which might require representation. These are—

(*a*) Muhammadans ;
(*b*) the depressed classes and labour ;
(*c*) women ;
(*d*) Anglo-Indians ;
(*e*) Indian Christians ;
(*f*) aboriginals ;
(*g*) commerce and industry and mining ;
(*h*) landholders ; and
(*i*) the University.

For women, the depressed classes and labour, the recommendations of the committee will be found in detail under the appropriate heads of the questionnaire. It will suffice to state here that five seats have been proposed for women and eleven for the depressed classes.

The representation of Muhammadans raises the vexed question of communal electorates, into a lengthy discussion of which the committee do not desire to enter. For the purpose of calculating the size of the Chamber the Committee has assumed five seats for Muhammadans pending the settlement of the communal question.

For Anglo-Indians, the committee would allot one seat, but for the present practice of nomination they would substitute election by any convenient system that the community favoured. A special constituency would be necessary as the community is concentrated in a few small centres, which could not suitably be included in other constituencies.

The Indian Christian community numbers in round figures 40,000 but is very scattered, and no district contains more than 5,635. The committee consider that this community should have one member, but in view of the difficulty in devising a suitable constituency, the committee think that their representative should be nominated.

The aboriginal tribes, who inhabit the extensive forest areas of the province, number 1,352,000 or 9 per cent. of the population, and are one

of the most backward communities in the country. They could not be expected to return any representative through the general constituencies, nor could any one be found in their own ranks to represent them. In these circumstances two members should be nominated as their representatives. No objection need be raised to the nomination of an official if difficulty should arise in finding a suitable non-official.

For the remaining interests, commerce and industry, the landholders and the University, the committee does not consider that special representation is necessary at all. Experience of the elections under the present constitution shows that the wealthier and the better educated classes obtain proportionately higher representat on than other classes. Thus the committee consider that these interests will secure adequate representation in the general constituencies.—

To sum up, the committee propose—

5 seats for Muhammadans ;

11 seats for the depressed classes ;

5 seats for women ;

1 seat for Anglo-Indians ;

1 seat for Indian Christians ; and

2 seats for the aboriginal tribes.

In all 25 seats.

6. *Extension of the franchise.*—The committee now turn to the points raised in the main questionnaire.

Head I (a) of the questionnaire.—The most practical method of obtaining a largely increased electorate is by the lowering of the existing property qualifications. This method alone would provide the majority of voters which are required, for an educational test (if such be added on its merits) will not in the present state of education produce a number in excess of 1 per cent. of the total population. Nor in the view which the committee take of the problem of women's franchise, will the addition be made of a large number of women to the electoral roll. The committee have had the advantage of seeing an analysis of the figures prepared at the time of Lord Southborough's Committee, and on this data propose tentatively that the property qualification be lowered to the following extent :—

(*a*) all persons paying land revenue or rent (other than sub-rent) not less than Rs. 10 per annum should be enfranchised ;

(*b*) persons owning or occupying house property in urban areas, the rental value of which is taken for purposes of municipal taxation at Rs. 12 per annum in the poorer and Rs. 18 per annum in the richer municipal areas, should be enfranchised.

In the few municipalities where the house rental valuation is not the basis of taxation an equivalent haisiyat tax assessment would have to be worked out. This might be taken as some figure round about

Rs. 160 per annum until the details have been examined. The number of voters thus brought on the roll would be in round figures—

1,350,000 in rural areas,

200,000 in urban areas, or in all,

1,550,000, which is 10 per cent. of the total population of the province.

In addition the committee consider that an educational qualification should be introduced and would propose to adopt the primary certificate granted by the educational department to all who pass out of the 4th vernacular class. This is the lowest practical standard, and some definite standard capable of proof or disproof must be fixed. The actual number that would be enfranchised by such a test will not be very large, for though the total number of persons ascertained at the last census as holding the primary certificate was 323,000, many of these are still under age and a large number which cannot be exactly ascertained also have the property qualification sufficient to entitle them to a vote. For adult literates who do not hold this certificate, the committee would favour an equivalent standard, the details of which they have not examined.

Head I (b) of the questionnaire.—The committee do not consider that an electorate enlarged to include 10 per cent. of the total population would be incapable of casting an intelligent vote. The difference in intelligence between a tenant of land paying Rs. 50 as rent and a tenant paying Rs. 10 is likely to be small. Though the present electorate has yet to complete its political education and does not realize the power the vote has put in its hands, the course of the last ten years has seen an advance. The village population is shrewd enough where its own immediate interests are concerned, and time and the educative power of the vote will produce a less parochial outlook.

Head I (c) of the questionnaire.—The committee consider that an electorate of 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. will be administratively manageable, but have grave doubts whether this would still hold good, if an electorate larger than this was formed. With an electorate amounting to from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. of the total population the average constituency would contain 25,000 voters, of whom generally not more than 15,000 may be expected to vote. In individual constituencies a larger percentage of the electorate might come to the poll, but 60 per cent. may be taken for general purposes as the largest number for which provision would generally be required. Arrangements would be necessary in the ordinary constituency for about 15 polling stations, able to poll about 1,000 votes in a day. If some delegations were made of the duties of presiding officers to polling officers, the committee consider that about 1,000 votes could be polled at one station in a day. In all about 15 presiding officers should be available from among the officers of all departments in the district, while it should not be impossible to get together 60 clerks or members of the subordinate land revenue staff

to act as polling officers. Even with this staff no more could be attempted than one rural constituency at a time, and when that was finished, the staff would move on to the next constituency. Largely the same staff would have to be employed in counting the votes cast, and an election in a large district would take about 3 weeks or more to complete, with considerable dislocation of all other work. Quite apart from the administrative difficulties that would arise, candidates would find themselves hard put to it to get into touch with even the leading persons in each local area. Circularizing the electorate would be prohibitively expensive, even if circulars were understood, and the usual arrangements by which the incapacitated and the elderly are brought to the poll in motor cars would scarcely be possible. The difficulties to be expected arise mainly out of the actual election, and no insuperable obstacles are anticipated in the preparation and maintenance of the electoral rolls. Extra staff may be required for short periods for this purpose, but this will be forthcoming, and the committee are confident that the legislative council will vote the necessary funds.

Head I (d) of the questionnaire.—Does not arise.

Head I (e) of the questionnaire.—The committee regard an increase of the direct franchise to between 10 and 15 per cent. of the total population as the furthest limit which can be regarded as practicable. No larger electorate could be managed by the administrative staff, or be sufficiently accessible to candidates. Those who wish a further extension of the franchise recognize that a combination of direct and indirect methods is inevitable.

Head I (f) of the questionnaire.—The committee are nearly equally divided on the question of whether an indirect system of franchise should be introduced or not. The committee are agreed that the direct franchise is preferable to the indirect, and that the direct franchise should be enlarged as far as that course is administratively possible. Views diverge, however, as to the extent to which the direct franchise should go, and whether it should be supplemented by a system of indirect franchise or not.

An experienced and weighty body of opinion inclines to the view that the objections to the system of indirect franchise are insuperable, and would oppose the introduction of the system. The objections foreseen are, firstly, that the formation of groups in the manner outlined in the Franchise Committee's questionnaire is almost impossible. But briefly, their view is that supervision of the formation of groups is impossible with the existing staff and that the expense of the employment of a special staff for so lengthy an operation is prohibitive. Without supervision serious abuses are likely to arise and there are good grounds to fear that grouping will not be carried out in the manner best calculated to give representation to the various interests, or to do justice to the comparative strength of parties when these are evolved. On the contrary, this section of the committee apprehends that the grouping will be carried out at the dictation of some influential person, to produce exactly

the reverse results. Further, even if these fears should prove to be groundless, the objection remains that the primary elector will have little or no hold over his secondary elector, with the result that he is likely to remain totally indifferent; in this case there will be little or no advance in the political education of the mass of the population, which it is the main purpose of the system to promote.

Another body of opinion, commanding no less respect, recognizes the objections to the system but would accept a system of direct franchise a little less generous, and would supplement it by an indirect enfranchisement of the rest of the adult population. This section of the committee is impressed by the necessity of approaching as near as possible to the goal of adult franchise at the present revision and would be prepared to attempt to work such a system in a spirit of good will as the best course immediately practicable. They consider that the objections raised, of which they recognize the force, are outweighed by the fact that such a system would be transitory. In the absence of any general agreement the committee have been unable to proceed with the task of putting a mixed system into practical shape and it has only been found possible to outline two main principles. The first is that the group must necessarily be much larger than that tentatively suggested by the Indian Franchise Committee and the second that all adults of both sexes should be included. No answer can be made to the points of detail raised in heads 1 (*h*), 1 (*i*) and 1 (*j*) of the questionnaire.

Head 2 (a) of the questionnaire.—The committee consider that there is a distinct disparity between urban and rural qualifications. They would quote as an example the comparative status of a tenant paying rent on his agricultural land of Rs. 50 whose annual income would be approximately Rs. 700 per annum. This may be compared with the income of the occupant of a house in a municipal area of a rental valuation of Rs. 36; this income would be about Rs. 400 per annum or slightly less. The alternative urban qualification (applied in those municipal committees which do not base their taxation on the house rental valuation) is a "haisiyat" or "status" of Rs. 200 per annum which is even lower. The urban population is only 9 per cent. but it returns at present 9 out of 55 elected members. Urban voters number 54,000 out of 200,000.

The general widening of the franchise and the lowering of the property qualifications to the levels which the committee have suggested above, will reduce the disparity, and with the very great enlargement of the rural franchise urban electorates will cease to exercise the decisive effect that they do so often at present. If the committee's tentative proposals stand, then about 10 per cent. of the rural population will be enfranchised, and about 15 per cent. of the urban population. Since the inhabitants of the towns have generally a higher average status than the rural population, this result is fair.

In the actual framing of constituencies, the committee consider that all small municipal committees and notified areas should be included in urban constituencies. If this is done, then any disparity between urban

and rural qualifications that may be left will cease to be of practical importance. At present a small town included in a rural constituency has often been able to decide the issue by its solid vote.

Head 2 (b) of the questionnaire.—The majority of the committee would prefer that generally uniform qualifications should be fixed for all communities, and do not consider that it is practicable to devise qualifications that would give the same representation, for example, to the depressed classes and the more advanced communities. They recognize that some system of protection of minorities is inevitable, and would like to see this done by the system of reserved seats. Provided that adequate reservation of seats is made they do not consider a lower proportion of voters in any one community a matter of great practical importance.

Head 2 (c) of the questionnaire.—The committee consider that the possession of property, in the wide sense of the term imparted by the revised questionnaire, is a suitable qualification. Further, they consider that it must be the basic qualification. The present rules are generally satisfactory and beyond the lowering of the qualifications to the extent that they have indicated above, the committee have no changes of substance to propose.

Head 2 (d) of the questionnaire.—The committee are in favour of the introduction of a low educational qualification, independently of the property qualification. The primary certificate, and for adults, an equivalent test have been suggested in the reply to head I (*a*) of the questionnaire as appropriate standards.

Head 2 (e) of the questionnaire.—The committee accept in principle the retention of the existing military service and its extension to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. The numbers likely to be enfranchised in this province are insignificant.

Head 3 (a) of the questionnaire.—The majority of the committee would not be prepared to accept any arbitrary methods of enfranchising women, such as that suggested by the Statutory Commission. They would fix common qualifications and common electorates for both sexes, and fix their qualifications as wide as possible in order to enfranchise as many as possible. But to give a woman a vote merely because she is the wife of a voter appears to the committee to be introducing an unsound principle, which will have the practical effect of preventing the property qualification from being lowered as much as otherwise would be possible, and of giving 2 votes to those with the higher property qualifications. In practice under this scheme, 40 per cent. of the voters would be women and 60 per cent. men. The committee have had the advantage of discussing an able note* by Mrs. Ramabai Tambe, suggesting that, in order to avoid inclusion of this very large number of women, the franchise should be granted only to the wives of those with a higher property qualification than the normal. Mrs. Tambe suggests that this should be so fixed as to enfranchise about 300,000 women, and would tentatively fix the qualification as 3 times that of the general electorate. Further, she

* Page 288.

would exclude widows, unless they are qualified in other ways. The majority, however, would prefer to fix the same qualification for both sexes, and trust that women would come in gradually under the educational and property qualifications.

Head 3 (b) of the questionnaire.—Those who favour a combination of direct and indirect methods have attached a separate minute.

Head 3 (c) of the questionnaire.—The committee are opposed to the principle of co-option, which they fear would produce women chosen on party grounds rather than as champions of their own sex. They would prefer to provide five reserved seats, which they would allot in urban constituencies by a simple system of rotation.

Head 4 of the questionnaire.—The committee do not consider that even with the greatly enlarged franchise which is now proposed, the depressed classes are likely to obtain adequate representation in the legislative council. The existing franchise in municipal committees is wide and averages 16 per cent. of the total municipal population, which is nearly the same as now proposed by the committee for the urban constituencies of the provincial legislature. Nevertheless experience shows that the depressed clases fail to obtain adequate representation in municipal committees. The committee have considered two possible formulae for fixing the number of seats to be allotted to the depressed classes. These are three-fourths and half respectively of that justified by the proportion of their population to the total population of the province. The majority consider that one-half will be the more appropriate basis and propose 11 seats in a house of 110. These would be allotted by reserved seats, attached in rotation to the seats of the ordinary rural constituencies which have a large depressed class population, a method which has the advantage of distributing the representation over as wide an area as possible without involving the formation of large plural constituencies. Mr. Gavai has written a minute of dissent* pressing for separate electorates and 22 seats.

Head 5 of the questionnaire.—The labouring classes of this province are drawn very largely from the ranks of the depressed classes. The committee have had the advantage of seeing an able minute† by Mr. Fulay asking for special representation of labour as apart from the depressed classes, but feel that the proposals they have made for the depressed classes are sufficiently liberal and will provide the labouring classes with the representation they need.

Head 5-A of the questionnaire.—The committee have dealt with the representation of special interests in paragraph 5 of this letter.

Head 6 (a) of the questionnaire.—The committee are on the whole impressed with the advantages of a system by which the representatives of the province in the upper chamber of the federal legislature would be elected by the provincial council by the system of the single transferable

* Page 283. † Page 285.

vote. In order to ensure that the members so elected have a real stake in the country and the sense of responsibility that goes with it, the committee would propose to lay down the following property qualifications for candidates for election to the upper chamber :—

(*a*) the owning of landed property assessed to a land revenue of not less than Rs. 1,000 per annum ; or

(*b*) payment of income-tax on an income of Rs. 10,000 per annum.

Opinion is equally divided whether membership of the legislative council for a fixed period should or should not be made an alternative qualification for election. One influential body of opinion holds that sufficient experience in the legislative council is in itself a guarantee of sober judgment, while another weighty volume of opinion would prefer to rely upon the more practical sagacity that the possession of property confers. The committee trust that it will not be out of place to urge that the number of seats tentatively allotted to the province in the upper chamber should be increased to 8. The representation proposed compares unfavourably with that given to Bihar and Orissa even allowing for the difference in the density of the population. Whatever the number of seats that may be finally allotted no reservation for any particular interest need be made, since the system of the single transferable vote gives representation roughly proportionate to the strength of the various parties in the legislative council.

Head 6 (b) of the questionnaire.—Local opinion does not support the adoption of the same qualifications for the provincial and federal legislatures. With the same franchise for both legislatures, the constituencies that would have to be formed for the federal assembly would consist of over 100,000 voters, a size which is unmanageable. Further, the committee are unaware of any large demand for so wide a franchise and consider that the number of voters wishing to exercise the federal franchise will be found to be far too small to require so wide an extension.

Head 6 (c) of the questionnaire.—The committee are unable to suggest any practical solution of the difficulty of forming suitable constituencies for the federal assembly through a system of indirect election. The number of secondary voters elected in the larger constituencies would be large and candidates would be faced with the embarrassment of having to interest themselves in primary elections over a very large area and on an extensive scale. Nor is there any merit in such a scheme when applied to a more remote body such as the federal assembly, the issues before which only a comparatively small number would appreciate. If the franchise is widened, so as to include all who have the vote at present for the provincial legislative council, an adequate advance will have been made and due weight given to the need for as compact constituencies as possible. Taking the tentative allotment of seats as it stands (and assuming that separate electorate will be retained) the committee would form 2 to 3 constituencies for each of the four Commissioners' divisions. The area of these constituencies would be about half of those at present

existing and would contain an average of 17,000 voters, a number which is not considered excessive.

Head 7 of the questionnaire.—On principle, some representation should be provided for women, but the committee would prefer the questions of detail to be decided upon a consideration of conditions prevailing in India as a whole, upon which they feel that they are hardly competent to advise. No special representation is required in the federal legislature for any other local interest, and no suggestions are offered. If conditions in other parts of the country are held to justify any special representation of labour or the depressed classes, then the committee consider that this province should receive the same proportionate representation as others, but they themselves are unable to make any practical suggestions.

7. *Qualification of candidates.*—Two questions remain to be answered apart from those arising out of the main questionnaire. These are the qualifications of candidates and the need for a bicameral legislature in the province.

Generally the committee would make no changes of substance in the existing rules for the qualifications of candidates. In particular they consider that the residential qualification is justified and necessary. On two minor points of detail suggestions are offered. The first relates to the qualifications of candidates for the upper chamber of the federal legislature, and has been made under head 6 (*a*) of the questionnaire. The other is in respect of the qualification of candidates for the federal assembly. At present a candidate is qualified for election who is registered as a voter in any constituency for the legislative council. This position is anomalous, and the general principle, that a candidate must be registered as a voter in the class of constituency for which he stands, should be followed. The revised rule might require that a candidate for the federal assembly should be eligible for election, if he is registered as a voter in any of the constituencies of that body, for the same general class, situated within the province.

8. *Second chamber.*—No second chamber is possible in this province, for the material from which such a body could be formed is lacking. Nor could the province meet the expense of a second chamber.

9. *Tentative scheme.*—Before coming to their conclusions, the committee have first attempted to cast their proposals into practical shape by the preparation of detailed schemes*, both for the provincial constituencies and for those of the lower chamber of the federal assembly. These are attached as appendices to the report.

It must be explained however that these are submitted only as illustrations, and that no finality is claimed for any of the actual details, which may require revision in the light of the recommendations of the

* *Vide* Statements at pages 273-278.

Indian Franchise Committee and the settlement of the question of minorities.

E. GORDON.*

R. A. KANITKAR.*

U. S. PATIL.*

J. N. RODRIGUES.

K. S. NAYUDU.*

G. R. JOSHI.

G. A. GAVAI.*

DWARKANATH SINGH.

R. E. POLLOCK.*

M. YUSUF SHAREEF.*

RAMABAI TAMBE.*

S. S. BHARGAVA.*

R. W. FULAY.*

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* Subject to the minute of dissent.

STATEMENT A.

I.—General distribution.

The following is the summary of constituencies :—

(1) Non-Muhammadan Urban constituencies	12
(2) Non-Muhammadan Rural constituencies (73)—	
(1) Nagpur division	18
(2) Jubbulpore	19
(3) Chhattisgarh	15
(4) Berar	21
(3) Muhammadan constituencies	5
(4) Anglo-Indians	1
(5) Reserved seats for women	5
(6) Reserved seats for depressed classes	11
(7) Indian Christians (nominated)	1
(8) Aboriginals (nominated)	2
Total	110

II.—Detailed distribution.

(1) *Non-Muhammadan Urban constituencies.*

	Population in thousands.	Voters in thousands Rs. 12 qualification.
Nagpur division (4)—		
Nagpur City-*cum*-Kamptee (two members).	241	40
Wardha-Chanda	82	16
Nagpur-Chhindwara-Betul	126	11·5
Jubbulpore division (3)—		
Jubbulpore City-*cum*-Cantonment (1).	85	15·1
Saugor Jubbulpore-Mandla districts (1).	87	14
Hoshangabad-Nimar districts (1).	98·5	20
Chhattisgarh division (1)	165	17·1
Berar division (4)—		
Amraoti (1)	101	16·7
Buldana (1)	58	14·7
Akola (1)	58	10·5
Yeotmal (1)	50	12·1

STATEMENT A—*contd.*

II.—DETAILED DISTRIBUTION—*contd.*

(2) *Non-Muhammadan Rural constituencies.*

District and total number of members, and name and extent of constituencies.	Population in thousands.	Voters in thousands.	Rs. 10 qualification.
NAGPUR DIVISION (18).			
Nagpur district (5).			
Nagpur	131	18·9	
Katol	142	17	
Saoner	102	17	
Ramtek	135	21	
Umrer	136	21	
Wardha district (3).			
Wardha tahsil	205	25	
Hinganghat tahsil	112	17	
Arvi tahsil	174	15	
Chanda district (4).			
Chanda tahsil	159	5·3	
Warora tahsil	165	10·6	
Brahmapuri	150	7·4	
Sironcha and Garchiroli	400	5	
Chindwara district (4).			
Chhindwara and Amarwara tahsils ..	354	25	
Sausar	171	13·3	
Seoni sub-division (2)	379	42	
Betul district (2).			
Betul, Multai and Bhainsdehi tahsils ..	406	25	
JUBBULPORE DIVISION (19).			
Jubbulpore district (4).			
Murwara	175	10·9	
Sehora	196	24·8	
Jubbulpore	144	17·3	
Patan	110	19·3	

STATEMENT A—*contd.*

II.—DETAILED DISTRIBUTION—*contd.*

(2) *Non-Muhammadan Rural constituencies*—contd.

District and total number of members, and name and extent of constituencies.	Population in thousands.	Voters in thousands.	Rs. 10 qualification.
JUBBULPORE DIVISION (19)—*contd.*			
Saugor district (5).			
Saugor tahsil-*cum*-Khurai	266	44·5	
Rehli	148	21·5	
Damoh	170	23·2	
Hatta-Banda	193	24·1	
Mandla district (2).			
Mandla tahsil	190	11	
Rest of district	255	14	
Hoshangabad district (5).			
Narsinghpur	164	26	
Gardarwara	157	26	
Sohagpur	138	18·7	
Hoshangabad	141	17	
Seoni-Malwa and Harda	207	32·1	
Khandwa district (3).			
Khandwa	199	22	
Burhanpur	101	12	
Harsud	87	10	
CHHATTISGARH DIVISION (15).			
Raipur district (4).			
Raipur	252	16	
Dhamtari	244	11·7	
Baloda Bazar	368	24	
Mahasamund	615	9·8	
Bilaspur district (3).			
Bilaspur	413	14	
Mungeli	223	13·4	
Katghora and Janjgir	714	16	
Drug district (3).			
Drug	283	21	
Bemetara	261	15	
Sanjari	272	23	

STATEMENT A—*concld.*

II.—DETAILED DISTRIBUTION—*concld.*

(2) *Non-Muhammadan Rural constituencies*—concld.

District and total number of members, and name and extent of constituencies.	Population in thousands.	Voters in thousands.	Rs. 10 qualification.
CHHATTISGARH DIVISION (15)—*contd.*			
Balaghat district (2).			
Waraseoni tahsil	265	23	
Balaghat and Baihar tahsils	295	17	
Bhandara district (3).			
Bhandara	252	23	
Gondia	338	16·3	
Sakoli	233	10	
BERAR DIVISION (21).			
Amraoti district (5).			
Amraoti taluq	170	20·7	
Chandur taluq	209	19·8	
Morsi taluq	167	9·8	
Daryapur taluq	138	21·1	
Ellichpur taluq-*cum*-Melghat	179	18·0	
Yeotmal district (5).			
Yeotmal taluq	143	8·0	
Darwha taluq	201	12·5	
Pusad taluq	188	10·9	
Kelapur-*cum*-Wun taluq	302	10·4	
Akola district (6).			
Akola taluq	136	22·5	
Akot taluq	153	21·5	
Balapur taluq	112	16·1	
Basim taluq-*cum*-Mangrulpir taluq ..	292	28·1	
Murtizapur	116	15·5	
Buldana district (9).			
Chikhli	168	17·3	
Mehkar	167	17·2	
Malkapur	159	19·2	
Jalgaon taluq-*cum*-Khamgaon	214	31·0	

SEPARATE CONSTITUENCIES.

(3) MUSLIMS.

Muhammadan constituencies.—Same property qualifications as for general constituencies.

	Population in thousands.	Voters in thousands.
Muslims.		
(1) Nagpur division	132	16·0
(2) Jubbulpore division ..	174	21·1
(3) Chhattisgarh division ..	72	8·8
(4) East Berar	138	11·0
(5) West Berar	168	14·5

(4) SPECIAL CONSTITUENCIES.

	Population in thousands.	Voters in thousands.
(1) Anglo-Indians and Europeans (1).	10	—

STATEMENT B.

Proposed Central Provinces constituencies in the Federal Assembly based on present Franchise for Legislative Council.

——	Population in thousands.	Voters in thousands.
1. Nagpur Division—Urban	528	16
2. Nagpur-Chhindwara-Betul	1,924	18
3. Chanda-Wardha	1,131	10
4. Jubbulpore, Saugor and Mandla districts ..	1,808	18
5. Hoshangabad and Nimar	1,263	17
6. Drug, Bhandara and Balaghat	2,126	15
7. Bilaspur and Raipur	2,810	10
8. Berar—Urban	522	12
9. Berar East—Rural	1,790	16
10. Berar West—Rural	1,483	22
Muhammadans.		
11. Central Provinces	382	10
12. Berar	299	7

(1) Minute of dissent by Messrs. Gordon and Pollock.

Head III (a) of the questionnaire.—In view of acceptance of adult suffrage as the ultimate goal and in order to avoid the sudden dislocation of the proportion of male and female voters which will be bound to occur at the next extension of the franchise, should the majority proposal be accepted now, I would accept Mrs. Tambe's suggestion that roughly 300,000 women should be enfranchised now on the property qualifications of their husbands. I admit that the principle is illogical, but there are many other anomalies in the proposals now put forward. The admission of these women voters will involve a risk to the administrative machinery, but that risk can be accepted. Most of the women so enfranchised will not actually vote at first, and, by the time that they have been educated to do so, the administrative machinery will have been improved. I am also impressed by the desirability of having more women voters in the five constituencies, which it is proposed in the reply to head III (*c*) of the questionnaire to reserve for women, than will be forthcoming by the application of the majority proposals.

E. GORDON.

R. E. POLLOCK.

(2) Dissenting note by Mr. Ramchandra Anant Kanitkar, M.A., LL.B., M.L.C., First Grade Pleader, Buldana.

1. Under head III (*a*) I support the suggestion of Mrs. Tambe that to enfranchise about 300,000 women the property qualification for them should be tentatively fixed at three times that of the general electorate.

2. Under head VI (*a*) the Committee has accepted indirect representation to the Upper Chamber by the members of the Local Legislature by a single transferable vote. In the case of Berar being kept as a part of this province, I would have this representation to the Upper Chamber confined in the case of Berar to the members elected from Berar and would have three seats for Berar out of the eight claimed for the Province.

R. A. KANITKAR,

Member, Franchise Committee.

I sign this minute of dissent except paragraph 1.

U. S. PATIL,

Member, Franchise Committee.

(3) Minute of dissent by Rai Bahadur K. S. Nayudu, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C.

I have signed the report of the Central Provinces Franchise Committee but wish to record a separate minute regarding heads I (*f*), (*g*), (*h*) (*i*) and (*j*) of the questionnaire.

Head I of the questionnaire.—(*f*) and (*g*) I am in favour of combining direct and indirect systems of election if the entirely indirect system of

election contemplated by question (*h*) is ruled out. Such a system would be feasible and advantageous in this province.

Group electors should vote in separate constituencies composed of group electors only, and only group electors should be qualified to stand as candidates for such constituencies.

(*h*) Yes.

(*i*) I would make the primary constituencies territorial so as to correspond with a primary voting strength of not less than 1,000 adults. This would mean grouping up the smaller villages and breaking up large towns into so many wards or circles. Each group of primary electors would elect as many secondary electors as would correspond to the number of primary electors divided by 250. This would mean that 250 primary electors would elect one secondary elector to represent them. It would be easy to form such territorial groups by the use of Government agency. The method of election suggested by the proportional representation society, *viz.*, that of a single non-transferable vote in constituencies each returning several members, would, in my opinion, be most suitable.

(*j*) No. I would leave the choice of the primary voter absolutely unfettered. He or she may be depended on to make the best choice having regard to all the circumstances of the locality.

K. S. NAYUDU.

I agree with the above.

J. N. RODRIGUES.

I ask for reservation of seats both in primary as well as secondary election for the depressed classes.

G. A. GAVAI.

I agree to the above, subject to my minute of dissent regarding Labour representation.

R. W. FULAY.

I agree with the above.

DWARKANATH SINGH.

(4) Minute of dissent by Mr. M. Y. Shareef.

Separate Representation of Musalmans and its History.

(*i*) In 1888 Lord Dufferin held the view that in a country like India no principle of representation other than by interests is practically possible.

(*ii*) In 1892 Lord Lansdowne's Government wrote—

> "The representation of such a community upon such a scale as the Act permits can only be secured by providing that each important class shall have the opportunity of making its views

known in Council by the mouth of some member especially acquainted with them."

(*iii*) In 1908 Lord Minto's Government followed the predominant opinion and they pressed for an important extension of the communal principle.

(*iv*) In the joint report the authors no doubt criticized the system of separate representation as opposed to the teaching of history; that they perpetuate class divisions; and that they stereotype existing relations. They, therefore, regarded the system of communal representation as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle, paragraphs 228, 229 and 230. But with all this they felt constrained to face the hard facts, and they observed " much as we regret the necessity, we are convinced that so far as the Musalmans at all events are concerned the present system must be maintained until conditions alter, even at the price of slower progress towards the realization of a common citizenship". This was in 1919.

(*v*) A review of the history is given in Appendix V at page 183, in the report of the Statutory Commission. The Nehru Report and that of the minority in the Indian Central Committee, are emphatic in denouncing communal representation and Government nomination as inconsistent with the essential of true democracy, and urge that these should be replaced by general electorates, in which, as a compromise, reservation of seats for minority representatives may be conceded wherever necessary. But this has not commended itself generally to the minorities concerned, who fear that under such a scheme they would actually be worse off than at present, as the only members of their respective communities who would have any chance of being selected in general electorates, will be those who regarded the wishes of the majority of their electors, and not those who will be loyal to the wishes and interests of the respective minorities concerned. In order to prevent such a contingency, various ingenious and complicated devices have been suggested, such as that the contest be limited to a panel of candidates approved by the minority concerned and that no election of minority representative will be valid unless he polls a majority of votes from his own community. The Statutory Commission has not thrown any new light on, or suggested any fresh or fruitful solution to, this thorny problem, but has contented itself with recommending for Muslims communal representation; and for other minorities reservation of seats in joint electorates and where that is not practicable representation by nomination. It is therefore submitted that no constitution without a provision for separate representation both in the Provincial Legislatures and the Upper and Lower Chambers of the Federal Legislatures would be acceptable to the Musalmans. The communal outbursts in the country and the opposition of the Hindu members to any measure or motion affecting the Muslims in the Provincial Legislatures and the Legislative Assembly and committee meetings are standing proofs of the deep-rooted prejudice against the Muslims, and they shall not be safe without separate representation as safeguard. Time is not yet ripe to do away with the separate representation.

Remedy.—In future efforts should be made to make necessary provisions in all the Primary Schools, Secondary Schools and Colleges for the teaching of Urdu, Persian and Arabic so as to avoid the necessity of establishing or opening separate denominational schools and to enable the Hindus and Muslims to receive education in common schools. This would give a very healthy result. Much of the prejudices which at present exist would disappear on account of close contact. I am strongly of opinion that the system of denominational schools is a vicious one, and it has kept the communal rancour and prejudices going strong. The sooner it is done away with the better it would be in the interests of the country. The abolition of this vicious system would go a long way towards paving a way for joint electorates in course of time.

The next question that arises is what proportion of seats should be allotted to the Muslims in the Provincial Legislature and the Upper and Lower Chambers of the Federal Legislature. Under the Congress-League Scheme, which is now commonly known as the Lucknow Pact of 1916, the Muslims in the Central Provinces were allotted 15 per cent. It is asserted by the representatives of the majority community that that pact has no binding force any longer because the Muslims had rejected the Nehru scheme. But they forget that this proportion was not assured to them in the Nehru scheme but under the Congress-League scheme of 1916, when the two premier organizations had held their annual sessions at Lucknow. That pact has formed the basis of the representation assured to the Muslims under the present constitution. The Southborough Franchise Committee also accepted the allocation of seats proposed in the Lucknow Pact, and its recommendations, in which the Government of India had concurred were accepted by the joint Select Committee and Parliament. The result, therefore, is that the proportion of 15 per cent. of the seats for the Muslims of Central Provinces and Berar is, to say the least, their acknowledged and well-recognized right, and the attempt to go behind it only demonstrates the adverse and hostile attitude of the majorities. The Muslims of the Central Provinces and Berar are, therefore, entitled to have the 15 per cent. of the proposed 110 seats of the Provincial Legislature and the 7 and 12 seats of the Upper and Lower Chambers of the Federal Legislature, respectively. They shall thus have—

(*i*) 16·5 seats, which in round figures should be 17 and not 16, in the Provincial Legislature ; and

(*ii*) 1·05, *i.e.*, only one seat in the Upper Chamber. In this connection it is submitted that it would be more consistent with the principle of democracy and representation of different interests if one more additional seat is asked for, as decided by the Committee, and

one seat each is allotted to Central Provinces and Berar.

(*iii*) Two seats in the Lower Chamber, which may be distributed between Central Provinces and Berar.....

(*iv*) The following is a tentative distribution of the 17 seats to be reserved for the Muslims. This, if possible, should be modified

to make different constituencies equal and this could not be done in the absence of detailed statistics :—

Constituencies.	Population.	Seat.
1. Saugor and Damoh	36,262	1
2. Jubbulpore	47,614	1
3. Mandla, Seoni and Chhindwara ..	45,555	1
4. Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad and Betul.	41,888	1
5. Nimar	50,925	1
6. Raipur and Bilaspur	38,665	1
7. Wardha and Chanda	34,484	1
8. Bhandara, Balaghat and Drug ..	33,944	1
9. Nagpur City	28,042	1
10. Nagpur district excluding City ..	25,767	1
11. Amraoti	86,498	2
12. Akola	89,185	2
13. Buldana	71,766	2
14. Yeotmal	52,231	1
	Seats	17

DEPRESSED CLASSES.

I would concede separate representation to the depressed classes for the same consideration.

M. Y. SHAREEF.

The 27th February 1932.

(5) Note of dissent by Mr. G. A. Gavai.

I am sorry I differ from the majority report on some of the important points which concern the depressed classes.

4. Representation of the depressed classes.

The seats that are allotted to the depressed classes by the majority members of the committee are quite inadequate. According to their population they should have twenty-two seats in the house of one hundred and ten. The number of seats seems to have been fixed arbitrarily. The possible idea that seems to be lurking in the minds of my colleagues is that the depressed classes in this province cannot produce an adequate number of candidates competent to discharge their duties. The idea seems to have arisen out of the consideration that the number of English knowing persons of the depressed classes is very small. It is true, but if the knowledge of English is taken to mean to constitute competency then

I say that there will be very few representatives of caste Hindus returned even in general elections, who would be considered competent on the ground of their fluency in English language. I can say this from my experience of the legislative council for the past twelve years. Another point that has to be borne in mind is that adequacy should not be regulated by the fluency in a particular language and the difficulty arising out of the poorness of the depressed classes in English language can be overcome by introducing a vernacular as the official language. I am surprised to see the attitude of some of my colleagues who when pressing for sixteen seats for Muhammadans who are entitled only to five seats by their population proportion, are willing to allot eleven seats to depressed classes. In this connection if I am allowed to follow the line of their argument then I would point out that if the harmonious relations have to be established between the depressed and the non-depressed then the depressed classes must have their full share of seats based on population basis. I should like to remind my colleagues, especially the Hindu colleagues, that at its meeting recently held at Delhi, the Hindu Mahasabha declared itself in favour of reservation of seats for minorities not below their population strength. Besides the reservation of seats on population basis the depressed classes should have a right to contest additional seats in the general election.

As regards the allotment of seats by rotation I wish to offer a suggestion that any depressed class person whose name is on the voter's list should be allowed to stand for election in any constituency and the residential qualifications should not be made applicable in case of depressed class candidates. Another alternative can be adopted in this respect. The rotation system would make a number of constituencies unrepresented continuously for years. This is not desirable from the view point of the interests of the constituencies concerned. So I suggest that for the purpose of recording votes, a seat of the depressed classes should be attached to more than one constituency.

II.—Federal Legislature.

7. As regards the representation of the depressed classes on federal legislature, I disagree with the decision of the committee and suggest that in both the Chambers seats should be reserved for the depressed classes on population basis.

Lastly, I would say a word of warning to our rulers. I need not mention here that the non-depressed are not prepared as yet to give equal treatment to the depressed classes. It is true that there is change in the social, economic and educational condition of the depressed classes. This change is due partly to the outside influences of the civilization and partly to the impartial policy of the British Government. Fifty years ago the doors of education were closed against our people. They are open to them now. They can now administer justice even to the caste Hindus who out of social prejudice did not allow the depressed classes to enter the courts of law. The British Government could have been praised by the caste Hindus had they kept the depressed classes in the condition to which they were subjected in the Swaraj Government. The idea was

not acceptable to their sense of justice and they allowed the depressed classes to exercise elementary human rights as far as possible and practicable and preferred to be accused of being partial to them.

The power now is passing from the British to the hands of my countrymen, at least it is being restricted to the lowest degree. Under these circumstances it is not surprising if the depressed classes entertain fears for their fate in the future constitution and it is for this reason that they think it essential that some provision should be made in the constitution for safeguarding the interests of the depressed classes. Reservation of seats on population basis is the least that the depressed classes desire so far as the franchise is concerned.

G. A. GAVAI.

Minute.

We think the depressed classes should have more adequate representation than at present provided and we whole-heartedly support the proposal that they should be given seats in the Council on their population proportion.

We also desire that for some time to come special representation of labour through constituencies of registered trade unions on the lines of a similar representation for labour in the Bombay corporation should be provided and we would support a proposal for giving special representation to labour in the Council and in the Federal Assembly.

R. W. FULAY.

G. A. GAVAI.

I am in favour of giving the depressed classes seats in proportion to their number reserved in joint electorates.

K. S. NAYUDU.

The 1st March 1932.

I agree with Rai Bahadur K. S. Nayudu.

J. N. RODRIGUES.

I agree with the above proposals.

DWARKANATH SINGH.

The 1st March 1932.

(6) Memorandum by Mr. R. W. Fulay, M.L.C., Member, Central Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee, Nagpur.

I have the honour to submit herewith a scheme for special representation of Labour in the Provincial Council and in the Federal Legislature as I do not agree with the view that a widening of the franchise would by itself provide adequate and effective representation of Labour.

The following figures will show the extent of Labour population in this province :—

Total number of factories	756
Daily average number of operatives ..	70,000
Mines operatives, about	30,000
Unregulated factories such as bidi and shellac operatives, about	40,000

It is true that out of this, 40 to 46 per cent. belong to the depressed classes, but with the proposed widening of the franchise to 10—25 (or more properly 13 per cent.) per cent. of the population it is almost certain that a major portion of this would be without a vote. I therefore would desire special representation until and unless full adult franchise is introduced. I am opposed also to communal electorates of whatever kind as it implies the very negation of democracy. But to secure a better representation of the minority communities I would be willing to concede to joint electorates with reservation of seats. Assuming, therefore, that the next Council is composed of 110 members, the depressed classes should have 14 reserved seats to them.

Since the passing of the Municipal Act of 1922, almost every labourer has a right to vote for the municipal elections. But it is a matter of a little understanding of the records that not a single labourer has been returned as a municipal councillor except this year in the Nagpur Municipality and that too for other reasons. The seats are usualy monopolized by richer classes and it makes little difference to what community they belong. It is significant to note that in the last scavengers' strike of Nagpur all the depressed class members of the Municipality took no pains whatsoever in settling the strike. The Royal Commission on Labour has come to a conclusion that it is necessary to make a valuable contribution to the wise Government of the Commonwealth of India and the exclusion of Labour from a fair share in the councils of the nation will inevitably drive it to rely unduly on other means of making itself felt with injury to itself and the nation (page 462 of the Report). The Indian Statutory Commission says, under the head " Representation of Labour ", " the best suggestion we can make is that in every province the Governor should have the duty of drawing up rules for securing, by the means which in the existing circumstances are the best available, Labour representation. If the Governor finds that for the present he must still resort to nomination he should consider whether there are suitable Labour organizations which he might consult before making his choice ". Such a method, I believe, will have to be followed in the case of the Federal Legislature because of the unwieldy nature of the Labour constituency and lack of organization in industrial or agricultural labour. At present Government is adopting the following procedure which the International Labour Organization has prescribed for the Governments of the countries which are the members of the League of Nations in selecting non-Government representatives to the sessions of the International Labour Conference. Paragraph 3 of Article 389 of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, which

has set up the permanent International Labour Organization, is quoted here in full for easy reference.

"The members of the League of Nations undertake to nominate non-Government delegates and advisers *chosen in agreement with* the industrial organizations, if such organizations exist, which are most representative of work people or employers."

To conclude, I believe that two representatives should be nominated to the Federal Legislature to represent (A) Textile and Factory Labour, and (B) Labour in unregulated factories and agriculture. These representatives should be nominated in agreement with the provincial organizations of workers, if any.

Provincial Councils.—The Trade Union Congress under the presidentship of Mr. Giri in 1926 recommended that 6 seats should be allotted to Labour in the Provincial Council. I am enclosing that scheme in original, subject to the modifications given below :—

Elective scheme.—(*a*) There should be 9 seats allotted to Labour in Provincial Council. The following should be the constituencies :—

(1) Nagpur-Wardha Urban Factory Labourers	3 seats.
(2) Akola-Amraoti Urban Factory Labourers	2 seats.
(3) Jubbulpore	1 seat.

Two to represent unregulated factories in Nagpur, Bhandara and one to represent agricultural labour. These seats are based on the understanding that for every 10,000 workers one seat is provided.

(*b*) Every worker, whether male or female, getting an income of not less than Rs. 10 per mensem at the time the electoral roll is prepared and serving in a regulated or unregulated factory should have the right to vote. Polling in the case of urban factory labourers should take place at Nagpur, Wardha, Pulgaon and Hinganghat. There will involve a special electoral roll for the Labour constituency, and every factory owner should be called upon to submit an electoral roll which will include all workers above the age of 25.

In the case of unregistered factories, polling should take place at Nagpur, Tumsar, Gondia, Bhandara, Yeotmal and Jubbulpore.

(*c*) Every worker in the industry concerned of any caste whatsoever and every office-bearer or member of a registered trade union in that industry who has at least passed the primary certificate examination should have the right to contest the elections and stand as a candidate, but a person who is neither a worker nor an office-bearer or a member of a registered trade union should not be allowed to stand.

Alternative system.—(1) If the above is found to be impracticable or too expensive, I would advocate the system recommended by the Royal Commission on Labour namely election by registered trade unions. I give below the details of the scheme :—

Registered trade unions in textile industry ..	4 seats.
Registered trade unions in unregistered industries	3 seats.
All other kinds of labour	2 seats.

(2) A special tribunal before each election should be set up to investigate and determine the actual paying membership and allocate votes to each union according to its members. The said unions should have then the right to vote at fixed polling centres or even send their votes by registered post to the returning officer as in the case of the University constituency. In the case of unorganized labour and agriculture, Government will have to resort to nomination.

I hope that the Provincial Franchise Committee will give its anxious consideration to the scheme outlined and support me. I request the President of the Provincial Committee to append this report to the Report of the Franchise Committee if there is no chance of my scheme being supported by the other members.

R. W. FULAY,

Member, C. P. Franchise Committee.

(7) Memorandum by Mrs. Ramabai Tambe, dated the 13th February 1932.

I much regret that I differ from my colleagues on the question of the enfranchisement of women.

The problem of enfranchising women is an intricate and a peculiar one. Although it is true that men and women belonging to same class have common interests and they have more or less the same problems to solve, still there are certain questions which affect women much more than they affect men, like girls' education, legal and political status of women, medical help to women, etc., and it is for guarding such interests that we want our representatives in the Council, and we want a voting strength that has some weight with the candidates for the Council and with the Councillors themselves.

The Simon Commission has emphasized the need for wider franchise for women. The report of the Round Table Conference Franchise Committee confirms the opinion expressed by the Statutory Commission. It has been realized that the property qualification, which has been approved of and which has proved to be a good test in the case of men, fails miserably to produce the desired effect when applied to women. Property qualification, which brought 200,000 men on the voting list, enfranchised only 9,000 of women. The lower property qualification, as proposed by the Committee, gives vote to 13 per cent. of the population but which does not include even 1 per cent. of women. Under the circumstances, it is not fair to insist on the same qualification for both men and women. Without any further argument, I would just ask a simple question, and that is whether the enfranchisement of women is essential or not. Considered opinion definitely favours wider enfranchisement of women. I give the following quotation from the Report of the Round Table Conference Franchise Committee : " No system of franchise can be considered as satisfactory, or as likely to lead to good government when such a great disparity exists between the

voting strength of the two sexes." If we view our decision in this light, we find that we have failed to come up to the mark. It is most unjust to women that while enfranchising nearly 60 per cent. of adult men population, the Committee is not recommending to enfranchise 4 per cent. of adult women.

It is true, education qualification is recommended in addition to the property qualification, and it will allow a few more women to come on the voting list. The poor condition of girls' education is proverbial. It might have been slightly improved during the last ten years but that does not help us in the near future.

Having examined these qualifications and having found out that they cannot enfranchise an appreciable percentage of women immediately, it is necessary for us to propose some other reasonable qualification which will give us the desired result. The only suggestion I can make is the one put forth by the Simon Commission, that is of enfranchising the wives of the voters. The Committee is objecting to this not for any shortcomings of the women voters themselves but on the ground that the votes in the same House will be doubled. I wonder whether they will be so mechanically doubled as thought of. It is thought in many quarters that a wife having a vote is like the man possessing two votes. I very much doubt whether it would be so. It may be that a woman would vote for the same candidate as her husband but there is every chance of men voting for the candidates suggested by their wives. I think men and women working together will have a wider outlook on many a question than either of them working independently of each other.

It is true that enfranchising more women prevents the property qualification being lowered as much as it could be otherwise. Does this really matter as long as we have to work in a limited sphere ? It has been aptly pointed out by our worthy Chairman, the Hon'ble Sir Arthur Nelson, that we have to start in the upper strata of the population and move on downwards. We cannot enfranchise men having lower property qualification while leaving out the women belonging to the higher strata of the population. May I point out that we are exactly going against the principle enunciated by our Chairman and accepted by the Committee in our zeal to lower the property qualification. The main difficulty for men, I believe, is that they cannot allow women to be enfranchised, as long as they have to make room for them by losing their votes. But this is bound to happen as long as we are aiming at enfranchising only a certain percentage of the population and leaving out of consideration the adult franchise.

Enfranchising the wives of all the voters might increase the voting strength of certain classes while leaving out the other classes unenfranchised. I therefore suggest that wives of those men possessing thrice the minimum property qualification be enfranchised. I had great hopes that this would be accepted as it enfranchises more women without

considerably weakening the voting strength of men. Again this arrangement will not benefit only a certain community as every community must have a certain number of men possessing that property qualification.

Coming to the question of representation, I am glad the Committee agrees to have 5 seats reserved for women and allows them the right to contest. I think this number is adequate for representing our cause in the Council. Here, I may point out that, although it is true that we shall have this representation of women in the Council irrespective of the percentage of women enfranchised, we cannot overlook the fact that the enfranchisement and the representation although closely connected with one another each has an intrinsic value of its own. Personally, I attach great value to the enfranchisement of women, not just because that would give us any additional representation in the legislative bodies but for the various advantages that accompany the right to vote.

Candidates for the Council, while canvassing for votes, have got to educate their electorates on various problems confronting the nation. I wonder if the men candidates would take the trouble to put before the women voters their programme, when they know that the number of women voters is so negligible. Again, why would the men councillors support any measure in favour of women and affecting men, when they know that the voting strength of women is such as can be ignored? This is well proved by the fate of Rai Bahadur Harbilas Sarda's Hindu Widow's Inheritance Bill in the Assembly. I think it is bound to happen this way when the interests of the enfranchised and non-enfranchised population clash. So, I consider that enfranchising $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of women is not enfranchising them at all.

In conclusion, I would request that the lever of the property qualification must be worked in such a way as to include at least 5 per cent. of women if 15 per cent. of the population is enfranchised and that the proportion between the men and women enfranchised should be 75 to 25.

RAMABAI TAMBE.

III

Supplementary Questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Government of the Central Provinces and the Central Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee.

1. The Franchise Committee will be glad of the final views of the local Government/Provincial Committee as to the qualifications recommended by them for the franchise. They would be glad if in reaching their decision the local Government/Provincial Committee would consider the following points :—

(*a*) Whether the criticism that an important section of the agricultural population and of the poorer classes would be excluded under their original proposals could be met by reduction of the qualifying minimum revenue assessment for the franchise below the figures proposed in their letters to the Franchise Committee, *e.g.*, to Rs. 5 or Rs. 4. The local Government's scheme leaves approximately one million adult males unprovided for, and the Franchise Committee would be glad to know of what categories of the population this number is composed, and what numbers would be brought in if the revenue qualification were lowered. In the same connection attention is invited to the suggestions referred to in questions 10 and 14 below for increasing the numbers of women and members of the depressed classes to be included in the proposed electorate.

(*b*) The suggestion that, if complete adult franchise is regarded as impracticable of universal suffrage for all above a certain age (*e.g.*, 30 or 35) the limit of such enfranchisement being conditioned by the maximum which it is administratively possible to poll.

(*c*) The possibility of dispensing with an educational qualification for men, and substituting a literacy qualification for women with a view to securing a larger female element in the electorate.

2. If owing to the shortage of time and the urgency of the matter a complete analysis for the whole Province cannot be prepared, the Committee would be glad if an estimate based on examination of four typical constituencies be furnished showing the distribution of voting power between the various classes and categories of the population under the proposals finally adopted by the local Government/Provincial Committee.

In this connection the Franchise Committee would be glad to be informed if possible :—

(*i*) How many joint families will secure representation and to what extent under the local Government's/Provincial Committee's proposals

(*ii*) The extent to which

(*a*) sub-tenants, and

(*b*) lodgers in towns

would be enfranchised under the local Government's/Provincial Committee's proposals. If the extent of enfranchisement of this class is very limited to what extent would an increase be practicable ?

3. (*a*) What is the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the Province using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible :—

(*i*) if the election is spread over

(*a*) two days ;

(*b*) four days ;

(*ii*) taking 1,000 as the number of male voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day ;

(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women,

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women.

(*b*) What percentage would this number represent of

(*a*) the total, and

(*b*) the adult population ?

(*c*) In answering the above please state :—

(*i*) to what extent and in what respects your existing polling machinery can be simplified ;

(*ii*) whether you consider it feasible and advisable for polling clerks in twos or fours to issue ballot papers to voters under the general supervision of the presiding officer ; or whether the ballot papers should be issued by the presiding officer himself ;

(*iii*) what polling hours you propose ?

4. Can you not reduce the polling period of fortnight or more which was originally suggested as being necessary ?

5. What is the maximum personnel which could be used as presiding or polling officers ? The Committee would be glad to have this information under the following heads :—

(*i*) total number of Government officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial ;

(*ii*) total number of pensioned Government officers ;

(*iii*) total number of Court of Wards Officers (superior and ministerial) ;

(*iv*) total number of members of local bodies (Municipal Commissioners), members of District and Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates, and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed. To what extent could these figures be supplemented by use of non-officials (school-masters, etc.) ? Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose ?

(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for :—

(*a*) separate polling booths for women, and for women presiding officers and clerks,

(*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters ?

6. What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise the maximum number of voters you consider administratively possible in reply to question 3 above ? What proportion of women could be enfranchised under those qualifications ?

7. Do you recommend such a maximum extension or such franchise qualifications and if not, why not ?

8. It was stated in evidence that the approximate cost (including preparation of the electoral roll) of a general election on the present basis was about Rs. 42,000. Can any estimate be given of the approximate cost on the basis of the franchise finally recommended by the local Government ?

9. Are the local Government still of opinion that—

(*a*) the universal indirect system or

(*b*) a combination of direct voting and a group system for the unenfranchised residuum of the population, is undesirable in the Central Provinces ?

If they regard '*b*' as desirable would they alter their proposal for the direct franchise ?

10. Have you any views as to the desirability of the single-member constituency as opposed to multi-member constituency electing 2, 3 or 5 members each either by single non-transferable vote or any other recognised device ? If you favour multi-member constituences, what form of voting cumulative or otherwise—would you propose ?

Women.

11. The proposals submitted by the local Government/Provincial Committee for the enfranchisement of women provide for the enfranchisement of approximately 73,000 out of a total proposed electorate of 1,550,000. Having regard to the exceedingly small proportion which female electors will bear to male and to the specific reference contained in the Prime Minister's letter of the 29th December 1931 to the desirability of enfranchising a high percentage of women, the Franchise Committee would be glad if the local Government/Provincial Committee would further consider the question with a view to securing a considerably larger

percentage of female voters. They would be glad in this connection if further consideration could be given to—

(*a*) the scheme proposed by Mrs. Tambe and attached as an appendix* to the Provincial Franchise Committee's report,

(*b*) the suggestion that mere literacy (*i.e.*, the ability to read and write in any language, a certificate by a responsible individual, *e.g.*, a school-master being accepted as proof) should qualify.

12. What number of women approximately would be enfranchised under the final proposals of the local Government/Provincial Committee?

Method of securing the presence of women in the Legislatures.

13. A memorandum† containing the various alternative suggestions which have been put forward is attached for consideration. The Franchise Committee would be glad to have the final views of the local Government and the Provincial Committee as to the method by which a small number of women should be specially elected to the Council.

Depressed Classes.

14. The Prime Minister's letter draws special attention to the problem of securing representatives of their own choice in the legislatures for the depressed classes. The statistics prepared by the local Government show that, applying the criterion of untouchability, the depressed class population of the Central Provinces is 2,960,000 out of a total population of 15,500,000.

The Franchise Committee would be glad of an estimate of the number of the depressed classes who would be enfranchised under the local Government's/Provincial Committee's final proposals.

15. They would be glad also of the views of the local Government/Provincial Committee on—

(*a*) the suggestion that differential qualifications should be prescribed for the depressed classes, with a view to bringing a larger number of depressed class voters on the electoral roll,

(*b*) the practicability and desirability in the Central Provinces of dealing with the problem of the depressed classes on the lines proposed by the Government of Madras and their Provincial Committee; the general effect of which was as follows:—

Under the franchise recommended by them the number of depressed class voters in Madras will be increased from approximately 58,000 to approximately 300,000 (out of a total depressed classes population of 7·1 millions). As however the local Government and the Provincial Committee are satisfied that it will not be possible even with this enlarged electorate for the depressed classes to secure a representative of their own choice in the Legislatures it is proposed to give the depressed class voters one vote in separate electorates

* Page 288. † *Vide* page 114, Vol. II.

and a second vote in the general non-Muhammadan constituencies. The object being partly to give further weightage to the depressed classes to compensate for the smallness of their electorate as compared with their population, and partly to keep them as part of the general electorate.

Rural and Urban Electorates.

16. Do the local Government/Provincial Committee consider that universal direct adult suffrage would be desirable and administratively feasible in the towns of Nagpur and Jubbulpore ? If so, how many days would it take to poll the adult population and could any approximate estimate be given of the expenditure involved ?

17. Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or do you consider that the towns should have some weightage; and if so, to what extent ? Would you adhere to the present practice of grouping municipalities and urban areas into constituencies apart from the rural areas ?

Labour.

18. The Prime Minister's letter lays special stress on the importance of securing adequate representation for labour in the new Legislatures. The Whitley Commission have recommended that such representation should be secured through registered trade unions.

An alternative method of securing such representation which has been suggested is the creation of a special labour electorate of the factory population receiving wages above a certain minimum.

The Franchise Committee would be glad if the local Government/ Provincial Committee would further consider their proposals for the representation of Labour in the light of the above alternatives and of the discussions which have taken place at Bombay.

Provincial Council.

19. What is the considered view of the local Government/Provincial Committee in the light of the discussions which have taken place at Bombay, as to the desirability of retaining a residential qualification for candidates generally or for

(*a*) women

(*b*) depressed classes

(*c*) labour.

20. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the local Government/ Provincial Committee would reconsider the question of special representation for Commerce, Industry and mining in the Provincial Council as providing special economic knowledge in the Council.

21. The local Government recommend the abolition of the present University constituency. The Franchise Committee would be glad if they would reconsider this question in view of the discussions on this point which have taken place and the objections urged to abolition.

Would their objections to the retention of this constituency be modified if election to it were to be by the Senate ?

22. Do the local Government/Provincial Committee remain of the opinion expressed in their letters to the Franchise Committee on the subject of a second Chamber in the Provincial Legislature ?

Federal Legislature.

23. Would the local Government/Provincial Committee see advantage in the addition of an educational test for all voters or for women only to the qualifications for the Federal Assembly ?

24. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the local Government would further consider the desirability of securing the representation of women in the Federal Assembly in view of the fact that it will deal with many matters specially affecting women.

25. Would the local Government/Provincial Committee reconsider their opinion about special representation for the depressed classes, and labour ? In the event of their favouring such special representation by what method would they propose to give it in the Federal Legislature ?

26. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the local Government would state any other respects, not covered by the above questions, in which they would modify their original proposals.

IV

Memorandum by the Government of the Central Provinces in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee.

LETTER FROM THE OFFICER ON SPECIAL DUTY (REFORMS), CENTRAL PROVINCES, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. R.-54-IV-A., DATED NAGPUR, THE 29TH MARCH 1932.

I am directed by the Government of the Central Provinces to communicate its reply to the supplementary questionnaire received from you as a result of the discussions in Bombay on the 14th and 16th March.

Paragraph 1 (*a*).—Statistics* are being collected in four typical constituencies to show the probable effect of the adoption as a minimum property qualification of the payment of revenue or rent of Rs. 5 and Rs. 7-8-0, respectively. Until these statistics have been received and analysed, the local Government cannot judge the effect of the proposal. The result of the analysis will be forwarded with as little delay as possible. Generally speaking the categories left unenfranchised are the smaller tenant and the agricultural labourer. Government would point out, however, that there is no difference in class between payers of rents of Rs. 5 and Rs. 10, respectively. In both cases the payer is the smaller type of tenant who occasionally works as a labourer in the off-season, but is more an agriculturist than a labourer. Not until the level of Rs. 2 is touched is the typical agricultural labourer reached ; men of this class have as a general rule a small patch of land which they cultivate intensively, and for which they pay usually a rent ranging roughly from Rs. 2 to 8 annas. There is no real difference in interest between the small tenant paying Rs. 5 and the slightly larger man paying Rs. 10, and no practical advantage is gained by going one or two rupees below Rs. 10. The objection is the impossibility of enlarging further an electorate which is already almost unmanageable.

Paragraph 1 (*b*).—Government had already considered a suggestion for the adoption of universal suffrage, subject to an age limit, but had rejected it on the ground that the age limit would be too high. The following figures will show this :—

The total population over 50 years of age is	1,771,196 or (11 per cent. of total population and 22 per cent. of adult population).
The total population over 45 years of age is	2,527,409 or (16 per cent. of total population and 32 per cent. of adult population).

The latter figure represents an electorate of quite unmanageable proportions.

Paragraph 1 (*c*).—This Government cannot agree with the course proposed, *viz.*, dispensing with an educational qualification for men in the interests of women. It considers that there is a good ground for the proposed educational qualification for men on the merits of the case, and it

* *Vide* Statement as page 304.

does not anticipate that any material increase in the proportion of women would result if such a qualification were dispensed with for men.

With so low a property qualification as Rs. 10 there is a very large overlapping of the educational and property qualifications, and the number of men enfranchised by the educational qualification will not disturb the proportion between men and women materially.

Head 2.—An analysis is being made and will be forwarded as soon as it is ready. This Government does not wish to modify its attitude regarding direct electorates contained in my original letter.

It is regretted that this Government has no means of estimating the number of Hindu joint families that will secure representation under its proposals in the time allowed. It may be observed that in the cultivating castes the tendency is for the family to separate. Further, there has been no demand for alteration of the existing rules by which the manager of the joint family only is entitled to a vote.

(*ii*) Sub-tenants as such are not enfranchised by the local Government's proposals. Generally they represent cultivators who desire a little more land than they possess, and must therefore be prepared to obtain it on sub-lease. The sub-lease is usually for one year. Hence sub-tenants will generally be found to be recruited from the general body of tenants, who will be adequately represented. Where the habit of sub-leasing the same area to the same individual exists, the law permits of the conferring of tenancy rights with consequent enfranchisement on the sub-lessee. Lodging houses in towns are rare. The usual practice is for the individual to lease direct from the landlord such portion of the house as he requires. The lessee will be enfranchised under this Government's proposal if the annual rental valuation of the part of the house he occupies exceeds Rs. 12 per annum. A sufficient number of persons will be enfranchised to secure this type of town dweller adequate representation.

Heads 3, 4 and 5.—Government finds some difficulty in answering these questions specifically in the form in which they are asked. The difficulty is the territorial difficulty. The unit for administration for election, as well as for other purposes, is the district, and not the province, and the question of how many voters can be polled in one day must be considered in terms of the total number of officers and clerks available in each district for the duties of presiding and polling officers, and not in the province as a whole. Detailed electoral programmes for typical districts have been called for and will be examined on receipt. Pending this detailed examination Government is inclined to think that, even when all possible powers have been delegated, the procedure simplified to the maximum extent compatible with safety, and the employment of non-official agency arranged for to the maximum extent that would be countenanced by public opinion, it will not be possible to poll more than two constituencies in any district on one day. It must be remembered that although it may be anticipated that on an average not more than 15,000 out of 25,000 voters would actually vote in each constituency, at many

polling stations this proportion will be exceeded, and it will be necessary to make provision for all voters on the list.

Subject to these remarks the local Government offers the following replies to the various questions. An estimate has been sent to the Indian Franchise Committee showing that the number of presiding officers at present is 578. An estimate has also been made showing that with every available officer employed the number could not be raised beyond 700, and allowing for sickness, etc., 650 would be a safer estimate.

For polling clerks the sources of supply are :—

(1) clerks who number 4,300 ;

(2) the land record staff consisting of 411 revenue inspectors and 6,889 patwaris ;

(3) 10,000 school teachers, employed in rural areas.

Approximately half of these three classes will be available in all probability, but the majority of class 2 will be required for general assistance outside the polling booths and in practice will not be employed as polling officers. Thus the supply of polling clerks is likely to be far larger than the number of suitable presiding officers.

In addition there are approximately 1,200 members of municipal committees, and about the same number of members of district councils. The court of wards staff is largely subordinate and ministerial, and thus more suitable for employment as polling clerks than as presiding officers. Generally, however, this Government considers that the employment of any large number of non-officials will not be possible. Although in principle there is no objection to their employment, in practice the more acceptable non-official gentlemen would be engaged in political activities, and few would be willing to work as presiding officers. In view of the very much greater supply of suitable polling clerks, and the comparative scarcity of suitable presiding officers, this Government proposes to simplify its polling procedure by delegating to polling clerks the duties of issuing ballot papers and the incidental duties of marking the electoral roll, stamping the ballot papers and entering the number of voter on the counterfoil. To the presiding officer it would reserve only the duty of general supervision and dealing with disputes. It is considered feasible and desirable to employ under each presiding officer not more than five polling clerks, one of whom should be capable in emergency of deputising for the presiding officer. With this staff it is anticipated that a polling unit will deal with up to 1,000 votes in one day. With the delegation of duties and the larger staff proposed, the maximum number of constituencies that could be dealt with in one day would be 38. Assuming 15,000 votes per constituency the total number of voters that could be polled in one day will be 570,000. However, this assumption will not necessarily prove to be the case and, if the staff available in the districts was found to be insufficient for two constituencies per day, half of the above figure (570,000) would be the polling maximum. The number would rise

exactly in proportion, for each further polling day, but owing to the distances in this province it will be essential to allow one or two days (according to the district) for transit of the staff to the next constituency. In the larger districts, therefore, with more than four constituencies, three clear polling days with 2 to 4 transit days will be necessary.

If 10 per cent. of the voters were women, no material difference would result. If 40 per cent. were women, and actually desired to vote, then a reduction would be necessary. The exact figure cannot be estimated. Provision for separate entrances and exits for women could be made in the large majority of polling stations. It is doubtful whether separate booths could be provided in any large number of polling stations. So far Government is unaware of any large demand for separate booths for women, and believes that separate exits and entrances meet the requirements of women voters adequately.

Women presiding officers and a few women polling clerks could be provided at the headquarters of 9—10 districts. Women presiding officers could be found rarely in the interior.

Polling hours should be 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. in urban and 11 A.M. to 6 P.M. in rural areas.

Head 6.—This Government adheres to its original proposals for enfranchising about 1,550,000 voters which it considers the maximum that is administratively manageable.

Head 7.—This Government adheres to its recommendation that the extension of the franchise should be to this extent.

Head 8.—The approximate cost of an election is Rs. 60,000 of which the bill for printing is about Rs. 42,000. The cost of printing would presumably rise in proportion to the increase in the size of the roll and would thus be about Rs. 3,00,000. In addition some allowance must be made for time and travelling allowance of the staff employed. This would probably not rise so much in proportion and may be put down tentatively as Rs. 50,000, or in all 3½ lakhs of rupees.

Head 9.—Except in one respect (*vide* the Hon'ble Dr. Deshmukh's separate minute* attached to this letter), the members of this Government have not changed their individual views regarding the respective merits of the universal direct or hybrid systems. These are explained in letter† No. R-54-IV, dated the 26th February 1932.

Head 10.—This Government prefers as far as possible to keep single-member constituencies, and is opposed to the general adoption of the system of multiple-member constituencies, which is less simple and gives less chance to minority territorial interests of securing representation. It is recognized, however, that if a system of reserved seats to give representation, for example, to women is adopted, the necessity of two member constituencies arises, but it would keep such constituencies down to a minimum.

This Government has no experience of the working of the cumulative system of voting in multiple constituencies, but would have no objection to introduce this system if other provinces were in favour of it.

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* Page 303. † Page 239.

Heads 11, 12 and 13.—The local Government's proposals would enfranchise approximately 70,000 women out of a total electorate of 1,550,000. This Government regrets its inability to devise any logical scheme which would enfranchise a larger number, and objects to the introduction of any arbitrary principle, such as that suggested by Mrs. Tambe, which once introduced it would be difficult to withdraw. The alternative suggestion under 11 (*b*) (a literacy qualification) is one that it is unable to approve, for there is room for difference of opinion as to what constitutes literacy, and the Census department figures are based in the majority of cases on the individual's own assertion that he or she is literate.

This Government also sees considerable difficulty in the way of accepting a certificate of literacy from school masters and fears that the way will be left open for abuses. This Government adheres to its original proposals that 3 women should be co-opted by the Legislative Council. Dr. Deshmukh would, however, be prepared to agree to 5 women being added to the Council, either by reserving seats in urban constituencies or by the system proposed by the Madras Government.

Head 14.—In the time allowed it is impossible to prepare an accurate estimate of the number of depressed class voters that would be enfranchised by the local Government's proposals. Arrangements have been made for an analysis* in four typical constituencies, which will be forwarded as soon as possible. When this has been received an estimate may be possible of the total depressed class electorate.

Head 15.—This Government is opposed to the introduction of differential qualifications for the depressed classes, on the ground that once the principle had been admitted it would be impossible to resist claims for its extension. If separate electorates for depressed classes are admitted, this Government would raise no objection to allowing the depressed classes a second vote in the general constituencies, though it doubts whether the concession would prove of any value.

Head 16.—This Government considers that adult franchise in the towns of Nagpur and Jubbulpore is not administratively impossible, but would raise strong objection to differentiation between these two towns and others which though smaller have very similar interests. Such weightage would be unjustifiable.

Head 17.—This Government would adhere to its original proposals to group municipalities and notified areasi nto constituencies apart from rural areas. The proposals already made obliterate the weightage up to now enjoyed by towns, which are left with the number of members justified by their population. A slightly larger percentage of enfranchisement is likely in towns with a generally uniform franchise, as the average status of the town dweller is higher, but this is not of importance once the number of urban seats has been reduced.

Head 18.—This Government has reconsidered the question of the representation of labour and agrees that if commerce and industry is to receive a seat, a course which this Government now favours, representation should also be given to labour. Of the two alternatives suggested Government would prefer that the representation should be secured through the

* Page 304.

registered trade unions, subject to the safeguards as to examination of each union by a tribunal, laid down by the Whitley Commission. The factory labour force is largely migratory and factories seasonal, it follows therefore that difficulties might arise in preparing a register of the labour force that would remain accurate for a sufficient period. One seat is accordingly proposed for labour through the registered trade unions.

Head 19.—The Governor in Council and the Hon'ble Dr. Deshmukh are prepared not to insist on a residential qualification, if this is being dispensed with in other provinces. The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Jaiswal, however, would retain it for the next 5 years. Relaxation of the rule will be necessary for women and depressed class candidates even if it is retained for others, as the number available is likely to be small and concentrated in one or two centres. If labour is to receive representation through registered trade unions, as is proposed, the point will be of no importance in connection with the labour candidates.

Head 20.—This Government has reconsidered its proposals for representation of commerce and industry and proposes now to retain one seat to represent capital generally. This seat would have an electorate composed of the existing electorates of the two commerce and industry constituencies (approximately 700) and the mining constituency (34).

Head 21.—This Government's objection to the retention of the university constituency would be met if election were to be by the senate (or court as that body is termed in the Nagpur University) and not by the graduates.

Head 22.—This Government adheres to its original opinion that a second Chamber is an impossibility in the Central Provinces, but the Hon'ble Dr. Deshmukh is inclined to consider that, if the second Chamber system is adopted universally, this province should not be an exception, and an attempt should be made to overcome the practical difficulties.

Head 23.—Government objects to the addition of a literacy qualification for an elector in the constituencies of the Federal Assembly in the case of women only, and still considers that the same qualification should be fixed for both sexes. It would prefer that its existing proposals should stand unamended.

Head 24.—If an additional seat were allotted to the province, this Government would be prepared to recommend the reservation of one seat in a joint electorate for women. It must point out, however, that the 12 seats tentatively proposed are just sufficient to represent the territorial interests which require it, and that this Government cannot agree to one being reduced in order to make room for women.

Head 25.—Similarly, if additional seats were allotted to be filled by a representative of the depressed classes, this Government would raise no objection, though it has doubts whether a suitable candidate would be available. It would be difficult to justify the reservation of a seat for labour through the registered trade unions in the present state of the trade union movement, which has a membership of 5,000 only and 7 unions, and this Government is averse from such a course.

Head 26.—On other points covered by the supplementary questionnaire, this Government adheres to its original proposals.

The Hon'ble Dr. Deshmukh is forwarding a supplementary minute on the grouping of women, the educational qualifications, and other points.

Minute by the Hon'ble Dr. P. S. Deshmukh.

As a result of the discussion with the members of Franchise Committee at Bombay, I would like to add the following note to the Government's reply :—

Head 1 (c).—I was never much in favour of any educational qualification being the basis of franchise, but now I feel it somewhat more strongly especially in the case of men. I recognize its value as an inducement for the spread of education, but I consider this an anti-democratic idea. It is for this reason that I am prepared to forego the advantage that is likely to issue from it. One of the difficult problems connected with the question of franchise has been, how to protect the interests of the backward communities. The introduction of an educational qualification would be a step directly in the opposite direction. In effect it would give almost adult franchise only to the advanced communities.

I am less strongly opposed to women being given votes for educational qualification; but if my suggestion for getting a larger number of women voters finds favour, even this can be dispensed with.

Head 2 (ii).—I am in favour of enfranchising the sub-tenants in the way it is done in the local board elections at present. I would tentatively propose annual lease money of Rs. 60 or Rs. 75 as the minimum. This would greatly reduce the need of fixing a different qualification for or giving special representation to agricultural labour.

Head 9.—While I am opposed to differentiation in qualifications, I feel that the number of women enfranchised according to our proposals would be very small. I am therefore prepared to accept the group system of election of women voters, more for want of any better substitute for increasing the enfranchisement of women than as a result of any change in my views on the group system. I would therefore like it to be limited to women only and every 40 women above 18 or 21 should elect one secondary woman voter. This would approximately give 100,000 more women voters. Those entitled to a vote on the property basis should remain.

Head 10.—I am strongly opposed to cumulative voting.

Head 11.—(*Vide* my remarks on head 9.)

Head 23.—As said above, I am opposed to any educational qualification being made the basis of franchise.

P. S. DESHMUKH.

V

Supplement to the memorandum of the Government of the Central Provinces.

LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. C. 138/IV, DATED THE 14TH APRIL 1932.

As promised under head 1 (*a*) of this Government's letter* No. R. 54-IV-A., dated the 29th March 1932 regarding the Indian Franchise Committee's Supplementary Questionnaire, an analysis† has been made in four typical constituencies of the effect of lowering property qualification to the following stages of land revenue or rent:

Rs. 5, Rs. 7-8-0 and Rs. 10.

Indications are that number of voters enfranchised by Rs. 10 qualification will be less than at first estimated and that it will probably be necessary to adopt Rs. 7-8 qualification as standard with lower qualification of Rs. 5 for lighter assessed districts and about Rs. 10 for districts assessed above average. Collection of figures for whole province will be necessary before final proposals can be made.

The number of depressed class voters is shown in the statement attached‡. Figures show satisfactory representation in Raipur district and probably in the rest of the Chhattisgarh Division. In Nagpur district where depressed classes population is 24 per cent. of the total, the voting strength will be 10 per cent. In Khamgaon (Berar) depressed classes though fairly important receive under-representation. In Jubbulpore depressed classes are unimportant. Women voters will be between 70,000 and 100,000 or 1 per cent. to 1½ per cent. of the total female population. This is close to the previous estimate of 73,000.

As a result of examination of the programme of election of one advanced and one backward district Government now considers that the total period for polling and counting votes per district can be reduced to 11 days. This implies polling about two constituencies per district per day which will be heavy tax on staff and involves some risk of breakdown. This must however be taken if polling period is to be shortened.

V (a).—*Statement showing qualifications and number of voters.*

Constituency.	Qualifications.	Total electorate.	Depressed classes.	Women.	Population.
1. Nagpur	10	13,432	1,436	989	135,533
2. Jubbulpore ..	5	10,168	407	802	144,702
3. Raipur	5	23,912	7,733	1,970	252,026
4. Khamgaon ..	5	9,244	776	986	116,270

* Page 297. † *Vide* statement V (*a*) attached.

‡ *Vide* statement V (*b*).

V (b).—*Statement showing the present number of depressed class voters on rolls of certain constituencies of the Central Provinces Legislative Council.*

Nature and name of constituency.	No. of Depressed Classes voters.	Total No. of voters.
Nagpur City-*cum*-Kamptee—Non-Muhammadan—Urban	488	11,178
Nagpur District (East)—Non-Muhammadan—Rural ..	165	3,737
Nagpur District (West)—Non-Muhammadan—Rural ..	175	5,244
Bhandara District—Non-Muhammadan—Rural ..	282	5,246
Raipur District (North)—Non-Muhammadan—Rural ..	729	6,649
Raipur District (South)—Non-Muhammadan—Rural ..		
Drug District—Non-Muhammadan—Rural	690	5,430
Amraoti Non-Muhammadan—Urban	81	3,053
Amraoti East Non-Muhammadan—Rural	71	3,942

VI

Memorandum by the Central Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee.

The Central Provinces Franchise Committee have considered the supplementary questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee as a result of discussion with them in Bombay. They desire to submit below their answers to the individual points raised.

Head 1 (a).—The committee do not consider that there is any great difference in interest between a tenant paying Rs. 5 and a tenant paying Rs. 10. On the other hand the general lowering of the property qualification would have the effect of enfranchising the lower classes to some extent by enfranchising the agricultural labourers who also have small holdings. This matter, however, is one of administrative practicability, as the committee's original proposals provided the maximum electorate that could be managed administratively.

Head 1 (b).—The committee have considered the suggestion that adult franchise should be adopted for all persons above a certain age. The figures worked out show that in practice the age limit would be about 45 years, and that if the electorate was to be kept within manageable bounds, a lower age figure for universal suffrage could not be adopted. Forty-five is in the opinion of the committee an unduly high age, and the adoption of the principle would be quite unacceptable.

Head 1 (c).—The committee are unable to agree to dispensing with an educational qualification for men and substituting in its place a literacy qualification for women. The principle would be quite unsound. They consider that there is justification for an educational qualification for both sexes on its merits and would adhere to their original proposals. No practical gain to women or material alteration of the proportion between men and women would result from this proposal.

Head 2.—The committee understand that the local Government is undertaking an analysis of selected constituencies.

Joint families.—The committee are unable to say how many joint families will secure representation under their proposals. They would, however, leave the rule regarding qualification of joint families as it stands.

Head (2) (b),—The present proposals of the committee do not enfranchise the sub-tenant as such at all. The sub-tenants are generally of the cultivating classes and their interests are not materially different from those of the tenants generally, though they are sometimes of inferior status. The committee would raise no objection to enfranchising a certain number of sub-tenants provided that full allowance is made for the fact that rents paid by sub-tenants are considerably higher in pitch than those paid by tenants. They suggest that sub-tenants whose sub-rents are three times the normal minimum rental

qualification of Rs. 10 should be enfranchised, for, in practice, the pitch of sub-rents is three times, if not more than, that of the rents of tenants fixed by Government for similar land. In towns the lodger system is practically unknown in the province and the custom is for persons to rent two or three rooms direct from the landlord. These persons will be enfranchised if their annual rent exceeds the 12 rupees minimum suggested.

Heads 3, 4 and 5.—These raise administrative matters which the committee would prefer to leave to the local Government to answer. They would, however, like to make remarks on two points. The committee agree that while in principle no objection could be made to the use of non-official agency as presiding officers, difficulties will arise in practice as the majority of suitable non-official gentlemen of standing will be employed in canvassing and supporting the prospective candidates. Those who take no part in these activities are generally persons of less influence and position, and the committee doubt whether candidates would accept them as suitable presiding officers. As regards the provision to be made for women, the committee consider that the provision of separate entrances and exits for women voters will meet the requirements of the case and do not consider that it is necessary for provision to be made for separate polling booths for women only.

Head 6.—The committee adhere to their original proposals which will enfranchise about 10 or 11 per cent. of the total population. If their tentative scheme in the event enfranchises slightly more than this, the committee do not think this will be a matter of importance.

Head 7.—The committee's recommendations in their original proposals enfranchise the maximum which they think can be administratively managed.

Head 8.—The committee are unable to make any estimate of the cost of a general election, and would leave the point to be answered by the local Government.

Head 9.—The committee's opinion is not asked on this point.

Head 10.—The majority of the committee consider that single member constituencies should continue so far as possible, on the ground of simplicity. If, however, a system of reserved seats, as for example for women, is introduced, then multiple constituencies will be necessary. In these constituencies the committee would adopt the present distributive system. Rai Bahadur Naidu favours the system of single non-transferable votes.

Head 11.—The committee have reconsidered their decision on the question of the enfranchisement of women, and the majority are prepared to adopt something on the lines of Mrs. Tambe's scheme. They accept her proposal that about 300,000 wives should be enfranchised, and would leave it to be ascertained later what exact property qualification must be fixed in order to attain this result. The alternative proposal that mere literacy in women should qualify is one which the

committee would reject, as they consider that the system would give rise to difficulty over the exact definition of literacy. The grant of certificates of literacy by school-masters also might lead to abuse. Mrs. Tambe wishes to make it clear that if her scheme for enfranchising 300,000 women is not accepted, she would press for the alternative literacy qualification.

Head 12.—The approximate number of women, the enfranchisement of which the committee contemplate, is 300,000.

Head 13.—The committee adhere to their original proposals for securing the presence of women in the legislatures by reserved seats in five urban constituencies.

Head 14.—The committee would leave the estimate of the number of depressed classes likely to be enfranchised to the local Government.

Head 15.—The committee adhere to their original proposals regarding uniform qualifications, so far as possible, for all classes. They do not support the proposals of the Government of Madras and the Madras committee for allowing a second vote to depressed class voters in the general constituencies, as well as for separate electorates.

Head 16.—The committee do not favour adult suffrage in the towns of Nagpur and Jubbulpore, and would adhere to their original proposals for enfranchisement in the urban areas.

Head 17.—The committee have no change to make in their existing proposals under which 12 out of 110 seats are allotted to the urban areas. This, in effect, leaves the urban areas with a negligible weightage. The present practice of grouping municipalities and urban areas into constituencies, separate from the rural areas, is one which has the strong support of public opinion and to which the committee would adhere.

Head 18.—The committee consider that the question of allowing labour separate representation as a special interest is bound up with the whole question of special interests. They recognize that, if capital interests, such as commerce and industry, are given separate representation, then labour should also receive counterbalancing representation. In their original proposals, however, no provision was made for commerce and industry or for labour, a position which the committee consider is perfectly logical. They adhere therefore to their original proposal for making no provision for special interests such as capital or labour.

Head 19.—The committee recognize the objections to the residential qualification but would prefer that the existing rule, by which constructive residence is insisted on, should stand for the next ten years. They fear that otherwise the large inexperienced new electorates might be stampeded by "carpet baggers" from a central caucus. Once the electorate has been educated, the restriction might be relaxed. The committee agree, however, that some relaxation is necessary in the case of depressed class candidates, who are mainly available in two centres. For women the committee do not anticipate any shortage of local candidates.

Head 20.—The committee would not allow special representation for commerce and industry of mining, for reasons given under Head 18 above.

Head 21.—The committee adhere to their original opinion that special representation for the University is unnecessary.

Head 22.—The committee adhere to their original opinion that a second Chamber is not possible in the Central Provinces.

Head 23.—The committee see no advantage in the addition of an educational test for women only in the federal assembly, and would adhere to their original proposals.

Head 24.—The present number of seats allotted in the federal assembly to the Central Provinces and Berar is scarcely adequate to give representation to the territorial interests which require it, and the committee would not agree to any reduction of the territorial representation, in order to give room for a seat for women. Without prejudice to their considered view, that the province should receive larger representation, they would be willing, if an additional seat or seats were allotted for this purpose, to give one seat to women.

Head 25.—Similarly, if one additional seat was specially allotted for depressed classes, the committee would have no objection, but consider that there is no room in the number at present allotted for any but general constituencies. Mr. Gavai is unable to agree with this view, and considers that there should, in any case, be one seat reserved for depressed classes.

Head 26.—There is no other point on which the committee would reconsider their original proposals.

(1) Note of dissent by Rao Sahib Uttamrao Patil, M.L.C., and Rai Sahib Dadu Dwarkanath Singh, M.L.C.

We differ from our colleagues in so far as they do not wish to have a second Chamber in the Province.

They have, we are afraid, more implicit faith in the wisdom and the theoretical infallibility of the electorates, and are guided more by the theory of the supremacy and the sovereignty of the people than the accumulated experience of constitution making in the world would seem to justify.

We note that the time-worn dilemma of Sieyès has long been rejected by the constitution makers, although people in India and elsewhere are still apt to ask with that great Frenchman "Of what use will the second Chamber be? If it agrees with the Representative house, it will be superfluous; if it disagrees, mischievous." But we cannot be unmindful of the fact that the prophet has not been honoured to any very great extent by any country of considerable importance; not even France throughout its long period of experimentation has done so.

It is well known that the experiments in unicameral legislatures both in France and England were failures. Certain post-war countries, *e.g.*, Turkey, Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania are still experimenting in unicameral systems and cannot be said to have attained stable constitutions. Of these, only Turkey and Yugo-Slavia are in any way comparable with an Indian province, such as Central Provinces, in size or population; and as yet they are hardly democracies such as we contemplate in our province. Recent experience and the consequent suspension of the constitution in Yugo-Slavia should warn us against the weakness and the dangers of a single chamber; and in Turkey the constitution is probably maintained only by the benovelent military autocracy of Kemal Pasha. In some other countries, *e.g.*, Esthonia, the check of referendum exists, and in Norway they have a Revising Committee.

On the other hand, we have the whole array of the countries in the world with settled constitutions and with years of experience and experimentation behind them, who have definitely preferred a second Chamber—even Soviet Russia not excluded.

Within the British Empire we have Canada with residuary powers vested in the Central Government, and Australia with those powers in the provinces. Similarly we have the powerful Federation of United States of America with residuary powers vested in the Provinces. What we are aiming at is the latter and not the former type of Federation in India. Clearly, therefore, the latter type should afford us the model for our provincial constitutions. It may, however, be mentioned that even in Canada, Quebec and Nova-Scotia have thought fit to retain their second Chambers. The most populous state in United States of America, *viz.*, New York, has a population of 10,000,000 including the great city, and the biggest state in Australia has no more than a population of 3,000,000; as compared to Indian provinces they have a smaller population in their charge, and yet all these states retain bicameral legislatures without even as much as a thought for a change.

Queensland alone amongst these states abolished its second Chamber in a fit of rage in 1922 owing to frictions between the two chambers. If this is claimed to be the latest phase in the development of public opinion in favour of a single Chamber, it is amply compensated by the instance of Greece which even later than 1922, has gone over to the ranks of bicameral countries.

Frictions will arise in unicameral countries no less than in bicameral countries. Which of these is preferable? The observations of A. B. Keith in "The Constitution, Administration and the Laws of the Empire" are instructive in this behalf. He observes:

> "It is noteworthy that the most serious cases of strained relations between the Ministers and the Governors have occurred in the Canadian Provinces with Unicameral Legislatures."

Again :

> "It is possible that Governors' reserve powers of dismissal (of a Ministry) might conceivably be rendered necessary ..... *especially where the electorate is not protected by an effective Upper Chamber.*"

That a second Chamber in certain cases of dead-locks acts as a shock-absorber, and that the alternative for it is the reserve powers vested in the Governor, is also an important point for our consideration. It is, therefore, apparent that even for other reasons than merely a herd instinct of following the majority, it is imperative that the question of the second Chamber should not be lightly brushed aside.

Too much stress need not be laid on the possibility of frictions between the chambers. Australia, before the Commonwealth constitution was framed, was full of such frictions and yet in its Federal constitution, which is characterized by an authority of the eminence of Lord Bryce as the quintessence of the political experience of the world down to the close of the nineteenth century, contains a provision of a second Chamber most deliberately accepted.

We do not accept the contention of the Central Provinces Government that there is no material in the province out of which a second Chamber can be evolved ; this is as much as to say that there are no interests which need the protection of the second House. This in our opinion is incorrect. In India we contemplate Lower Houses which for some time would be dominantly communal in colour, if only for this reason the necessity for the expression of the views of interests as against views communally expressed would be justified ; so that any legislation should reflect the opinion of the communities as well as those of vested interests and the sum total of their combined wisdom.

Neither do we accept the position of our Government that the expenses involved would be beyond the means of the province. We maintain that the small extra expenditure involved would be amply compensated by the stability and the security afforded to the administration by the second Chamber.

It is unnecessary at this stage, to discuss in detail a scheme for second Chamber, its powers or its relations with the Lower House. Once the principle is admitted all this can be worked in a suitable manner, for which enough material and means could be found.

Lastly, we might observe that there is no Federation, with residuary powers vested in the provinces, or a nation in the world comparable in size and population of the British Indian provinces, where a second Chamber of some kind does not exist. As everywhere else a second Chamber in India would be useful and necessary as Lord Bryce lays down :—

> "To prevent undue haste in passing of important laws by securing a period during which the opinion of the people regarding the law may be duly formed and expressed."

We feel that if the theory and argument be on the side of the unicameralists, the political experience and the judgment of the constitutional world is on the side of the bicameral form. It would, therefore, be safer for India to profit by it rather than act as a pioneer in the field of constitutional experimentation. If after experience we thought this was a mistake it would be easier to remedy it by abolition of the second Chamber; the reverse process, should a necessity arise, would not, in our opinion, to our eternal regret, be quite as easy of remedy.

If in accepting the second Chamber we are undemocratic, we shall be so with the most ardent democrats of the world; if we commit a mistake, we do so in company with the most advanced constitutional thinkers of the world; if we sin, we do so with the most enlightened company of the overwhelming majority of the advanced nations in the world.

We, therefore, strongly advocate a second Chamber for this province, with all due deference to our colleagues.

U. PATIL,
DADU DWARKANATH SINGH,
Members of the Franchise Committee,
Central Provinces.

The 27th March 1932.

Miscellaneous correspondence with the Government of the Central Provinces on matters arising out of replies to Questionnaires.

APPENDIX I.

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, NAGPUR, No. E.-684-C.P., DATED THE 15TH APRIL 1932.

Objection has been raised to prescription of Rs. ten for both land revenue and rent in Central Provinces Government's recommendations on ground that in other provinces rental figure suggested is normally double that of revenue. Committee would be grateful if local Government could explain or justify this apparent anomaly. Please telegraph reply.

TELEGRAM FROM REFORMS, NAGPUR, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. C./2, DATED THE 18TH APRIL 1932.

C./2. Your wire E.-684 the prescription of rupees ten refers to payments of ryots in ryotwari villages which are classed as land revenue and payments of tenants in malguzari villages which are classed as rent; the difference between the payment is technical only; the incidence of payment on the ryot is much the same, the one difference being that in the first case the payment is made direct to Government and in the second case the payment is made to the Malguzar. Berar is almost wholly ryotwari and the C. P. almost wholly Malguzari. The figure of ten rupees is a provincial figure for purposes of illustration and will probably require modification when detailed statistics are collected. This Government has made no recommendation regarding the franchise of landlords proper but under the existing franchise the figures of revenue payment is double that of the rental payment, that is for a landlord proper the franchise is payment of Rs. 100 land revenue, whereas for a C. P. tenant or a Berar ryot the franchise is payment of Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 rent or revenue according to district.

Replies

of the

Government of Assam

and the

Assam Provincial Franchise Committee

to the

Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.

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ASSAM.

I

Memorandum by the Government of Assam.

LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CALCUTTA, No. A. P., DATED SHILLONG, THE 19TH FEBRAURY 1932.

I am directed with reference to my telegram No. 453-Fr., dated the 15th February 1932, to forward for the information of the Franchise Committee, a copy of the report of the Assam Franchise Committee, and also of the views of the Assam Government on some of the matters referred to therein.

2. I am to express the regret of the Assam Government that they are unable to deal with the points raised in the questionnaire issued by the Franchise Committee at greater length, or to illustrate by practical examples the effect of their proposals on the constitution of the Legislative Council and the division of seats as between the various communities. The time available under the circumstances has been insufficient for the detailed enquiries and examination necessary before arriving at definite conclusions.

3. On the 12th January 1932 in reply to an enquiry this Government received instructions from the Government of India that the questionnaire and the letter of the Prime Minister could not be published or communicated to the Provincial Committee pending definite orders authorising publication. It was therefore not till the 15th January that the questionnaire could be circulated to the Provincial Committee, the public and officers of Government. Subsequently various alterations in the questionnaire were received on the 25th January and on the 5th February, the latter being a most important alteration as regards the desirability of communal electorates. It was, however, too late for this alteration to be communicated to those who were submitting written statements, as they had been asked to send the same by the 7th February.

The Provincial Franchise Cpmmittee met on the 11th February and sat daily up to and including the 18th. It will be seen therefore that the Assam Government have had only one day in which to examine the Committee's report: no time to discuss the same with the Members of the Committee, whose industry they gratefully appreciate, and have been compelled to be content with a very hasty review of recommendations on matters of far reaching importance. Even this hurried survey has been handicapped by the absence, owing to illness, of the Hon'ble Revenue Member. Under these conditions I am to express the hope that the Indian Franchise Committee will pardon the failure of the Government to comply with all the requests that they have received, and their inability to deal with all the points raised by the Indian Franchise Committee.

4. Turning to the questionnaire I am directed to submit the following views of the Assam Government :—

I.—Extension of the Franchise.

(*a*) It is impossible in the absence of further detailed enquiries to give even an approximation of the extent to which the qualifications in respect of the payment of land revenue or local rate or chaukidari tax would have to be lowered so as to enfranchise ten or fifteen per cent. of the population. That an increase could be obtained is certain. In the case of Assam the enfranchisement of ten per cent. of the population would mean in round figures trebling the present electorate.

(*b*) The electorate so enlarged will, it is considered, display as much intelligence as the present electorate.

(*c*) Unless there is a considerable increase in the number of the constituencies coupled with a decrease in their size, it is feared that it would be impossible for Government to provide the machinery for the registration of voters and the holding of elections.

The preparation, maintenance and revision of electoral rolls for an enlarged electorate would be possible if they were maintained regularly and revised annually as a matter of routine. It would be extremely difficult to compile or revise in a short time the electoral registers for an electorate enlarged to the extent considered desirable for the purposes of a general election.

As regards the recording of votes it is possible that by extending polling over a longer period with a considerably larger number of constituencies, adequate administrative arrangements could be made. In the case of any large constituency for which the election had to be completed in one day, it would be necessary to resort to the assistance of non-official agency. This, it is considered, should only be employed with the consent of the candidates, which it is feared might in many cases be withheld.

(*d*) No answer is required.

(*e*) The Government of Assam consider that it would not be practicable or desirable to attempt to enlarge the electoral roll at present beyond 10 per cent. The extension of the franchise will lose much of its advantage unless accompanied by a marked increase in the percentage of voters who desire to record their votes. This involves a closer personal touch between the candidates and the constituents for the political education of the latter than has yet been obtained. It is hoped that if the constituencies are smaller the relation may be closer.

(*f*) to (*j*). The Government of Assam consider that any system of primary or secondary groups is both impracticable and undesirable. They agree with the reasons recorded by the Provincial Franchise Committee. The present informal elections of Panchayats justifies no hope of a satisfactory election of secondary electorates by groups. Similarly in the Assam Valley but little interest is displayed in the election of village authorities.

It will be understood that these recommendations are made on the assumption that an elector can only vote in one constituency.

II.—Franchise Qualification.

(*a*) The Assam Government recognise that there is a marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualification in urban as compared with rural areas. They regard it as unavoidable, but of comparatively little importance in Assam where the towns are small and of a semi-rural character containing many electors whose interests are primarily those of the rural areas.

(*b*) It will be seen that the documentary evidence does not deal with the amended form of the questionnaire. The Government of Assam consider that separate electorates should be maintained for Hindus and Muhammadans, as well as for Kacharis, Garos, etc., and other primitive tribes whose election would be justified by the strength of their population. They advocate the constitution of special constituencies of two kinds, firstly, those justified by the importance of the interests concerned ; and secondly, those based on communal or tribal grounds justified by the number of potential electors. In the separate or special electorates they consider that the franchise qualification should be uniform and that so far as possible, regard being paid to the residence of the various members of the community, each community should be given representation on the legislature in proportion to its total population. In this connection I am to draw the attention of the Franchise Committee to the evidence given by some members of the Garo community.

There would therefore appear to be no need, if these conditions are accepted, of any special contrivance designed to give each community voting strength in proportion to its numbers.

(*c*) As regards the test of fitness for the franchise the Assam Government cannot in the time at their disposal go further than to say that a property qualification appears to them to be a suitable test ; but in their opinion it should be restricted to the payment of a definite sum as tax or revenue either to Government or to a local body. It appears to them to be impossible except perhaps in the case of special labour constituencies, to make the receipt of income or of wages a qualification owing to the impossibility of proving such receipts. It might, however, be feasible to recognise the payment of a certain sum by way of rent every year to a landlord as recommended by the Provincial Committee*, provided such payment is supported by adequate proof.

(*d*) The suggestion that a qualification based on educational attainments should be added to the list is accepted. This should be the possession of a certificate that the applicant has completed at least the middle English school stage whether in a high middle English or middle Vernacular or other middle school or Madrasa. Any lower qualification, it is thought, would not have any real virtue.

(*e*) The existing military service qualification should be retained and extended so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces.

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* Page 324.

III.—Women's Suffrage.

The view of the Assam Government is that any woman who pays in her own right any tax which would entitle a man to a vote should be enfranchised. The age qualification in the case of women should, in the opinion of the Assam Government, be raised to 25. They would not object to the enfranchisement of any woman who, if free from any statutory disqualification, applied to be registered and made the payment of a rupee in stamp duty on such an application. Such payment should qualify the elector for one year.

As a practical matter, however, it is thought that there would be no increase in the number of female voters going to the polls, unless separate and special arrangements were made for the purpose. This would not be possible in Assam.

(*b*) The Government of Assam are unable to support any system of group representation.

(*c*) They are not in favour of any reservation of seats for women.

IV.—Representation of the Depressed Classes.

I am to explain that in Assam the term "depressed" classes has not the same significance as in some other parts of India. In Assam this term would include—aboriginal tribes, *ex*-tea garden coolies (amongst whom animists predominate) settled in Assam, and also those Hindu castes classed as "exterior" as described by the Census Superintendent in the note* on the subject already submitted to the Franchise Committee.

As stated above, the creation of special constituencies to provide adequate representation for these various communities would be welcomed. In the absence of any decision on their repeated proposals regarding the so-called "backward" tracts of this province, the Government of Assam are unable to put forward concrete proposals in any detail.

The Hon'ble Minister in charge of Local Self-Government who is, on principle, opposed to a system of separate communal electorates, would naturally support the majority view of the Assam Provincial Franchise Committee that no separate electorate should be constituted for the depressed or backward classes in Assam. But if this view is not accepted by the Indian Franchise Committee, and a separate electorate is considered indispensable for these classes, he would press for the adoption of the scheme set forth in the note† which accompanies this letter. His scheme would at least prevent the compulsory segregation of all qualified electors of these classes in "stigmatised compartments".

The Government of Assam are confident that the general extension of the franchise will not secure for the "depressed" classes representatives of their own choice in the general electorates as now constituted. It appears to them that these classes can secure representation only by—

(*a*) the increase in the number of special constituencies for separate communities referred to above; and

* Page 337. † Page 322.

(*b*) an increase in the provision of a general electorate—preferably on geographical lines which it is thought might absorb all those electorates which do not wish to register themselves in any special communal electorate, as well as those who, though of distinct tribe or class, are not sufficiently numerous to serve and obtain separate representat on.

The Assam Government attach much importance to the desirability of leaving to the elector as far as possible the choice of the electorate to which he may belong. The group system in their opinion would confer no advantage on these classes.

V.—Representation of Labour.

As regards unorganised labour it is thought that this could properly be included in the general constituencies referred to above.

After further consideration of the possible methods of securing adequate representation of the actual labour force in organised industries this Government have as yet been unable to discover any system suitable and practicable in Assam. If special representation is considered necessary, it can at present only be given by nomination. The majority of the provincial Committee were of the same opinion.

V-A.—Special Interests.

Pending the creation of a University for Assam there should be no special representation for graduates. This should be confined to the following :—

(*a*) The tea industry on the present proportion of 1/8th of the elected members, two of the seats being reserved for Indians ;

(*b*) Two seats for Commerce, one being reserved for Indians ;

(*c*) One seat for Europeans ;

(*d*) One seat for Indian Christians by nomination ;

(*e*) Three seats for labour by nomination.

The Government of Assam regret that in the time at their disposal and in the absence of detailed statistics they are unable to forecast or visualize the strength of the legislature or its ultimate composition.

As regards the second Chamber, the Hon'ble Finance Member adheres to his opinion already expressed that it is unnecessary. The other Members of Government consider it most desirable to have a revisory body in view of a possibly enlarged electorate and an enlarged legislature.

In conclusion I am again to express the regret of the Government of Assam that this report is necessarily incomplete. They hope that a further opportunity may be given them for recording their opinion on other points at issue. They would welcome the visit of the Franchise Committee to the province should there be a second tour. For in certain respects Assam differs materially from other provinces in India.

I (i) Note on the representation of Backward Tribes and "Exterior" Hindu Castes in Assam by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Kanak Lal Barua, Minister of Local Self-Government, Assam.

At the outset I should make it clear that I submit this note in order to explain my personal views clearly on this important question. I agree that responsible government would be meaningless if all the various sections constituting the population of the province are not satisfactorily and adequately represented in the legislature. If for such representation separate electorates are demanded by people of the backward tribes and depressed classes and they feel and reasonably apprehend that without such separate representation their interests are not likely to be safeguarded, I am of opinion that such a demand cannot be resisted, especially if we give such separate representation to the Muhammadans. Personally I am, on principle, against the system of separate electorates for any section of the people as it keeps the nation divided and prevents the growth of a common national spirit. In the case of the backward tribes and depressed classes it means, as correctly stated by the Simon Commission, "stigmatizing each individual voter in the list and militates against the process which is already beginning and which needs to be in every way encouraged—that of helping those who are depressed to rise in the social and economic scales". I can say from my personal knowledge that this process has been much accelerated during recent times. Mr. Mullan in his note* has rightly admitted that this process has been going on and that an "exterior" caste may in course of time become an "interior" caste but if once a wall is erected between them and the high caste Hindus I am afraid this process of advancement will be automatically stopped. We should therefore be very careful in coming to a decision in this matter. I think the Simon Commission were very wise in declaring against separate electorates for these classes. It is therefore necessary to ascertain the opinion of each individual voter of these communities. The statement of one or two witnesses belonging to a particular small section of sub-caste cannot be accepted as the opinion of the majority. We should not force separate electorates on any section of any community.

Being of this opinion I attach great importance to the giving of the option to each individual qualified voter of these classes, to go to the separate roll for his own caste or tribe or to the general electorate meant for all classes and creeds or to the separate Hindu electorate meant for what Mr. Mullan describes as the "interior Hindu castes." Any voter thus desiring to go into a separate roll must do so by application. Those not desiring to transfer themselves will continue to remain on the general electorate. Each individual Hindu or Muhammadan voter will also have the option to go either into the separate Hindu or Muhammadan roll or to the general electorate. The advantages are the following :—

(1) This system will permit those who are not communally inclined to go into the general electorate thus introducing a system of joint electorate for all, side by side with separate electorates for

* Page 337.

those who are communally inclined. There are many people who think that religious division should not come in a matter of political franchise.

(2) Such a system will provide a general electorate for smaller groups like Buddhists, Jains, Parsis, Sikhs, etc., who cannot go into the Hindu or Muhammadan roll or into partnership with exterior Hindu castes or backward tribes and are not in sufficient numbers to form separate electorates of their own.

(3) Such a system will not check the process of gradual uplifting of the exterior Hindu castes or backward tribes. The members of these classes who desire such uplift may prefer to remain in a general electorate or go into the Hindu roll rather than seclude themselves in a stigmatized separate electorate of their own.

(4) This system will avoid the practical difficulties in the way of creating one common electorate for all the exterior Hindu castes and the primitive tribes each of whom has very little in common with the other. One may not speak the dialect of the other and the water touched by one may be polluted for the other. The only logical course is to give each exterior caste or tribe separate representation and this will be possible under this system if the number of qualified voters of each of such groups reaches a certain limit—say 25,000. Groups with lesser numbers must go into the general electorate.

A voter going into a particular group may change and go into another group by application when the rolls are revised.

II

Memorandum by the Assam Provincial Franchise Committee.

Before submitting our findings on the various questions referred to us, we wish to record our unanimous opinion that adult suffrage is the goal which should ultimately be attained. We, however, consider that this is at present impracticable.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.

1. Extension of the Franchise.

1. (*a*) We are of opinion that ten per cent. of the population may be included in the electoral roll by lowering the existing franchise in rural and urban areas. We are, however, unable to indicate the precise reduction which would effect this result. In the very short time available, district officers and other officers have been unable to do more than suggest the extent of the reduction on the basis of summary enquiries made in a few very restricted areas. For example, it has been estimated that the present qualification of the payment of Rs. 15 land revenue in the Assam Valley should be reduced to a payment of Rs. 8, or Rs. 10, or Rs. 12, and that the payment of chaukidari tax in Goalpara and in the Surma Valley should be lowered from one rupee to eight or ten annas. Though in some urban areas, more than 10 per cent. of the population is already enfranchised, the rate of payment of municipal tax in other urban areas will have to be reduced so as to enfranchise 10 per cent. The existing franchise is not uniform for all urban areas, and it is not possible from the materials before us to indicate at present what reduction would be required.

We would add that payment of grazing dues of an amount equivalent to the amount which may be fixed as a land revenue qualification should be an additional qualification for enfranchisement.

(*b*) We are of opinion that such an electorate would be capable of casting just as intelligent a vote as the present electorate.

(*c*) We would answer this question in the affirmative.

(*d*) In view of the above observations, this question does not arise.

(*e*) We are agreed that it would be practicable and desirable having regard to the considerations in (*b*) and (*c*) to enlarge the electoral roll so as to include 15 per cent. of the total population. This could be effected by a still further lowering of the existing qualifications beyond that indicated in our finding on 1 (*a*). If this should result in absorbing all payers of land revenue or of local rates or of chaukidari tax or of municipal tax, without attaining the desired percentage, any deficiency could be made up by introducing any or all of the following additional qualifications—the payment to a landlord of an annual rent on land whether in cash or kind, the receipt of salary or wages of Rs. 40 a month, educational qualifications of the middle school standard.

(*f*) Except perhaps in the case of tea garden 'abourers, we are agreed that the group system of voting by primaries and secondaries is impracticable. We give our reasons.

(1) It would not be practicable in Assam to have the groups formed by the villagers themselves. There are very few village organisations of the type referred to in the proceedings of the Round Table Conference Franchise Sub-Committee. The memorandum issued by the Indian Franchise Committee on "Village Panchayats" is misleading so far as Assam is concerned. Village Panchayats are constituted under the Chaukidari Act and not under the Assam Rural self-Government Act. Village authorities elected under the latter Act are few in number and function with varying degrees of efficiency. In the Surma Valley and in Goalpara there are Village Panchayats of 4 or 5 members but these are, in practice, only for the assessment and collection of the chaukidari tax and are in no sense representative of the village or villages in any particular chaukidari circle. In the Assam Valley outside Goalpara there are no panchayats. In some places in both valleys there are village authorities but as the experiment of rural local self-government has not been encouraging enough to warrant its universal extension, their use for the purpose of working the group system over the whole enfranchised area is out of the question.

Owing to the numerous castes which are to be found in most Hindu villages, there would be endless friction in the formation of groups; in Muhammadan villages, the difficulty would be less. It would be impracticable, on the ground of dislocation of other work and of expense, to employ Government officers in forming the groups and in compiling the registers of primaries and secondaries. The memorandum on the indirect system of election in Palestine in 1922-23 gives the population of Palestine in 1922 as 757,182. This is not very much more than the population of Habiganj sub-division in the district of Sylhet (632,521).

(2) It would be comparatively easy for a candidate to approach the secondaries before the election and to secure promise of their votes by bribery or other means.

(3) As the secondaries would have to be selected considerably in advance of the general elections, and before the names of the candidates for the Provincial Council were announced, the primaries would have no guarantee that the secondaries would cast their votes in favour of the man whom the primaries want.

(4) Leading men of the village or of the areas such as zamindars and money-lenders would bring undue pressure to bear on the primaries and induce them to elect secondaries at their dictation. There is thus no guarantee that the secondaries would really represent the primaries.

(5) Contact between the council candidate and the primaries would be impossible.

(6) One result of combining the direct vote on a broadened franchise with the group system would be to give additional weightage to the better classes at the expense of the poorer members of the constituency.

(7) Administratively, the greatest danger about the system of group election is that it would break down if a large section of the population refused to co-operate in its working.

(*g*) This question does not arise in view of our finding on (*f*).

(*h*), (*i*) *and* (*j*). We have already expressed our opinion against the group system and we would only add that to replace the present system of direct voting by one of voting by secondaries would be generally considered retrograde and would be resented by the people.

2. Franchise qualifications.

(*a*) We would refer to the correction slip to statement 7 at page 14 of the Memoranda of the Government of Assam to the Indian Statutory Commission which shows that there is generally a marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas. The lowering of the franchise which we have suggested under 1(*a*) and 1(*e*) would, we believe, to a large extent, rectify the disparity.

(*b*) Short of adult suffrage we consider that it is impossible to give each community a voting strength proportionate to its numbers and to maintain at the same time the same qualifications for all communities. We are unable to make any useful addition to the views expressed in the Round Table Conference Franchise Sub-Committee on this question.

(*c*) We are of opinion that the possession of property is a suitable test of fitness for the franchise, though not the only test. We have indicated in our answer to 1(*e*) the circumstances in which the existing property qualification may be extended to include occupancy of landed property and the receipt of income or wages in cash or in kind.

(*d*) Seven of us are of opinion that an educational qualification independently of property, should not be a franchise qualification for male voters; the remaining seven of us are in favour of such a qualification in case the lowering of the existing property qualifications does not result in the enfranchisement of 15 per cent. of the total population. The question of educational qualifications for women will be discussed under 3.

(*e*) Yes; provided that the extension to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces would apply only to officers, non-commissioned officers, or men actually on the roll of these forces.

3. Women's Suffrage.

(*a*) The majority of us are against granting the franchise to those who are the wives or widows of men entitled to vote under the property qualification. We are of this opinion because we consider that such enfranchisement would, in view of the fact that the maximum percentage of the total population which we consider at present practicable to enfranchise is only 15 per cent., deprive a considerable number of men of the vote. We are all agreed that all women, married or unmarried, and over 20 years of age, who possess the qualification of literacy according to the census definition, should be enfranchised. All women over 21 who in their own right possess the existing property qualifications for men should be enfranchised.

Such enfranchised women would be entitled to stand as candidates for the provincial legislature provided they have the same age qualification as may be laid down for men.

(*b*) We are opposed to the group system.

(*c*) We are agreed that women members should not be co-opted by legislatures. One objection to co-option is that women voters would be deprived of the opportunity of exercising the franchise for the return of women members. The Muslim members among us definitely state that in no circumstances would they agree to Muslim women standing as candidates or voting in any other than a Muslim constituency or to a woman of any other community standing as candidate or voting in the Muslim constituency. They would further point out that a Muslim woman would have no chance of success in any except a purely Muslim constituency. The majority of us agree with the views as expressed by our Muslim colleagues. A minority among us hold that it would be preferable to have no women representatives at all if their election is to be held on a communal basis.

4. Representation of the Depressed Classes.

We would preface our findings on the question of the representation of the depressed classes by inviting a reference to the note* on the depressed and backward classes in Assam prepared by our colleague Mr. Mullan, Superintendent of Census of Assam. We endorse the views expressed in that note to the effect that there is no such degree of depression in any class or caste in Assam, as it exists in some other parts of India, *e.g.*, Madras. An unapproachable caste is unknown in Assam and "boys of all castes are freely admitted into schools and colleges". We now proceed to discuss the claims for separate representation put forward by various communities as belonging to the depressed classes. The majority of us are of opinion that in the Assam Valley the Namasudras, Kaibartas, Baniyas (Brittial Baniyas) and Hiras, and in the Surma Valley the Malis (indigenous), Dhupis, Duglas, Jhalos, Malos, Yogis, Maharas, Sutradhars, Muchis, Patnis, Namasudras and Jaliya Kaibartas, may be treated as belonging to the depressed classes in the restricted sense in which the term is used in Assam.

To these the majority of us would add *ex*-tea garden coolies in both valleys. Coolies on tea estates will be dealt with separately in the course of our report.

If the term "representatives of their own choice" means the choice of a man belonging to the depressed classes, the majority of us consider that in a few constituencies the depressed classes, if they combined, could return a depressed class candidate in a general constituency; but the majority of us consider such a combination improbable.

The majority of us would secure the representation of the depressed classes by reservation of seats in non-Muhammadan constituencies. The minority are of opinion that there should be separate electorates

* Pages 337-363.

for them. On the other hand, some of us consider there are no depressed classes in Assam and that, therefore, no remedial measures are necessary.

As regards the backward tribes in the province, by which we mean tribal communities which retain some form of tribal organisation and are below the general provincial standard of education, we are all agreed in principle that those in the Assam Valley should be definitely represented in the legislature. The majority of us are in favour of reservation of seats in non-Muhammadan constituencies for the backward tribes specified at pages 19—23* of Mr. Mullan's note.

5. Representation of Labour.

(*a*) The industrial areas in Assam such as the Assam Oil Company at Digboi are negligible and no special measures are necessary for the representation of labour in such areas.

(*b*) The majority of us are of opinion that labour in tea gardens should be represented in the legislature, because, even under the proposed franchise qualifications, such labour must remain unenfranchised.

Among those of us who share that view, majority are unable to support the scheme of the Indian Tea Association, Assam Branch, as put forward in their memorandum at page 289 of the printed replies to the questionnaire. The majority hold that the only practical alternative is representation by nomination. As regards agricultural labourers, who are few in number, the majority of us are agreed that the lowering of the existing franchise qualifications will be sufficient and that no form of special representation is necessary.

5-A. Representation of special interests.

At present the special interests represented in the Assam Legislative Council are the tea industry, commerce and industry, labour and the backward tracts. For the first two there are separate electorates; the latter are represented by nomination. As we have limited the scope of our enquiry to the areas in the province which are enfranchised, it is unnecessary to deal with the backward tracts. We are unanimously of opinion that the representation of the tea industry, commerce and industry and labour should be retained. Other interests which we have considered as claiming special representation are Europeans, landholders and graduates. With the exception of the Chairman we are agreed that there should be no separate representation of the general European community. As regards landholders, we are of opinion that if there is a second Chamber in the Provincial Legislature, the landholders should sit in it and should not enter the Lower House through a special constituency; if, however, there is no second Chamber, the landholders should be represented in the Lower House through a special constituency. The majority of us do not favour the separate representation of graduates. We do not consider that separate representation of Indian Christians is necessary.

* *Vide* pages 355-359.

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. Allocation of seats to British Indian Provinces.

(*a*) The majority of us do not agree that representatives in the upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by a single transferable vote, but favour direct election by the people.

(*b*) We consider that the franchise qualification ought to be different for the Federal and Provincial Legislatures.

For the Upper Chamber we are agreed that the existing franchise qualifications for the Council of State, as regards payment of land revenue, local rate and income-tax should be lowered so as to enfranchise approximately three times the present number of electors. The other existing franchise qualifications for the Council of State we would retain.

For the Lower Chamber we are agreed that if election to it is direct the existing franchise qualifications for the Legislative Assembly should be lowered so as to enfranchise approximately three times the present number of electors. The official members among us, while agreeing with this finding, wish it to be put on record that to arrange for the enrolment and for the polling of this increased electorate along with the greatly expanded electorate of the Provincial Legislature which we have proposed will constitute an administrative problem of very great difficulty.

(*c*) The majority of us are of opinion that election to the Lower Chamber should be direct. We are asked to indicate the nature of the constituency that we would form having regard to the number of seats which we consider ought to be allotted to our province. According to the schedule in the questionnaire, the Federal Structure Committee have suggested that Assam should have 7 seats in the Lower Chamber. We are confronted with the difficulty that we do not know the basis on which this tentative allocation was made. In the absence of information on this point we are not in a position to indicate the number of seats which we think the province ought to have.

7. Representation of Women, Labour and Depressed Classes.

Beyond stating that women should be enfranchised on the same terms as men as electors and as candidates in the Federal Legislature, we have nothing to suggest under this head.

We have no observations to make as regards the representation of Labour and the Depressed Classes in the Federal Legislature.

8. General.

Chapter I of the Memoranda of the Government of Assam to the Indian Statutory Commission contains observations on the working of the existing franchise and electoral rolls which throw light on the problems now under consideration. We are not in a position to make any substantial useful addition to the remarks in that chapter.

We desire to add that, having regard to the very limited time at our disposal, we feel ourselves unable to arrive at any final conclusion on some of the perplexing and difficult problems under consideration. In many cases we have had to content ourselves with stating certain general broad principles and some of the findings we have arrived at are, at best, provisional and might, in the light of further discussion, undergo substantial modification.

E. STUART ROFFEY, *Chairman.*

N. N. CHAUDHURY.

ROHINI KUMAR CHAUDHURY.

Z. RAHMAN.

BRINDABAN CHANDRA GOSWAMI.

MOHENDRA NATH GOHAIN.

B. K. Z. SARWAN.

K. CANTLIE.

C. S. MULLAN.

NURUDDIN AHMAD.

A. RAHIM CHAUDHURY.

MUNAWWARALI.

PYARI MOHAN DAS.

J. A. DAWSON, *Secretary.*

SHILLONG :

The 18th February 1932.

(i) Note submitted to the Indian Franchise Committee on 23rd February 1932 by Messrs. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri and Brindaban Chandra Goswami and Rai Bahadur Nagendra Nath Chaudhury, members of the Assam Provincial Franchise Committee.

We, the undersigned, add the following remarks in support and explanation of the views expressed by us in the report of the Assam Franchise Committee specially on points on which we differed from some of our colleagues.

We are opposed, on principle, to any separate representation of races or castes, whether they are Depressed, as alleged, or not, by either separate electorates, reservation of seats or nominations, in the Legislative Council or Legislative Assembly.

Communal electorates were condemned by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in their report on constitutional reforms, on several grounds. They were opposed to the teachings of history, which was against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller units than itself. They perpetuate class divisions, the creation of political camps organised against each other and teach men to think as partisans and not as citizens. They stereotype existing relations, with no hope of improvement. The joint authors observed as follows :—

> " The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted."

The joint authors were indeed faced by history, by an accomplished fact, in the case of Mohamedans and they were compelled to agree to retention of separate electorates for Mohamedans, for the time being. They, however, expressed the opinion that any general extension of the communal system would encourage still further demands and would, in their deliberate opinion, be fatal to that development of representation upon the national basis on which alone a system of responsible government could be rooted.

Though there was a slight extension of the system of communal representation, in the case of the Sikhs, it is to be hoped that the policy enunciated by the joint authors that there should be no general extension of the system, is still the policy of the Government. We have no doubt whatever that that should be our national policy.

We should therefore seek all opportunities to remove this system in cases where it exists and should on no account extend it to new cases and create fresh settled facts.

Communal reservation of seats is also an evil, as being opposed to national representation, though of a lesser degree than separate communal electorates. We would not recommend its adoption excepting in the case of Mohamedans, in order to get rid of their separate electorates.

Happily for us there is no real depressed class people in Assam and there is no real necessity for their separate representation, as has been testified to by many persons, officials and non-officials, who know the country and the people well, in their written notes and oral evidence before our Committee. There is no pollution in mere touch, and no restriction in the use of tanks, wells, paths and other public places, admission to schools and hospitals, employment in offices or intermingling in places of business or amusements or in Kirtons and Namghars.

In Assam Valley there are very few people who are willing to admit that they belong to a depressed class. The condition is not different in the Surma Valley. There is no keen desire for separate representation among the masses of the people of the different castes, supposed to be in the lower strata of society. There is no justification for the assumption that a so-called depressed class man would prefer a man of his own caste or another depressed class or that a high caste man would not be a man of his *choice*. These castes are still educationally backward and there are very few educated people among them and the ambition of these men is service and they seek patronage of Government for this purpose. There would not be enough fit candidates from among them for real competition, and the member so elected would not be independent and these classes themselves would not be benefited thereby.

Where in any particular locality a particular race or caste or community is predominant, they can easily elect any person whom they consider fit. Where people belonging to different races, castes or communities live intermingled in the same area and no single caste, race or community is predominant in number, they should learn to depend upon one another and act in association and concert in politics, as in other matters. The main difficulties of these people are economical. These economical problems of the cultivators or labourers or of the other functional castes are common to people whose touch will in orthodox opinion pollute cooked food or drinking water and whose touch would not so pollute and they, instead of being divided, should learn to act in concert in political matters.

Many of these castes have expressed no opinion on the matter. There is no evidence that the Maharas, Shutradhars, Jhalas, Malas, Dhulis, Dhubis, or Malis in Surma Valley who are not numerous enough to claim separate representation for themselves would be happy to be represented by a Nath, Patni, or Namasudra or would be ready to be amalgamated with them or one another rather than with the higher caste Hindus. The same remark applies to the Kaibartas of Sylhet. The few gentlemen who have given written opinions or have appeared as witnesses are not really representatives of their people We are opposed to giving separate representation to any of these castes.

In the Assam Valley, whether water touched by a particular caste is taken or not, is not a satisfactory test, as the water touched by one such caste is not taken by another such caste. These castes are mutually exclusive and untouchable to one another in that sense. There are also cases that some of the so-called exterior castes do not take water touched

by the higher castes. We are satisfied from the evidence before us that the social barriers are disappearing and that in the Assam Valley they are now allowed to enter the Namghar of the higher castes, and as to the Manikut, it is particularly sacred and even Brahmins are not allowed to enter it.

The Secretary of the Kaibarta Sammilan, Gauhati, says that they want individual separate electorate, but also explains that their interests will be adequately represented, if the system of adult suffrage is adopted. They do not want amalgamation with the other castes.

After the amendment of the Special Marriage Act of 1872, any Hindu of any caste, can legally marry any one of the opposite sex of any other Hindu caste, without loss of religion. As is admitted by Mr. Mullan, open inter-dining in the Hostel dining halls among students of all castes has been prevalent for some time, without any objection on the part of the guardians.

There is no reason to treat the *ex*-garden coolies as depressed. There are high caste people among them. The *ex*-tea-garden coolies have not demanded separate representation or amalgamation with the so-called depressed castes.

We fully support the views of the Statutory Commission as expressed in page 65 of their Report.

We do not admit that there exist any depressed classes in Assam that require special protection by special representation. We do not agree to the view that combination amongst the so-called depressed classes to support a candidate who is really qualified and capable of defending their interests would be improbable. But it is evident that there can be no combination to support a candidate merely because he belongs to a particular caste or community.

As regards the backward tribes we are definitely of opinion that our objections to separate representation of the so-called depressed classes apply more or less to the backward tribes referred to in pages 19 to 23* of Mr. Mullan's notes. These tribes themselves do not want to be amalgamated with one another. Some of them, for instance, the Kacharis of Goalpara as also of Kamrup, Mikirs of Nowgong and Sibsagar, can come in through general constituencies with the lowering of the franchise and no reservation in their case is necessary.

As to the Garos, they are not numerous enough in the plains to deserve special treatment and if representation be given to the Garo Hills, where the Garos are predominant, then no special provision for Garos in the plains is necessary.

We supported reservation in case of backward tribes and depressed classes as opposed to separate electorates.

For the same and other reasons we also do not recommend any reservation of seats for them. Reservation of seats for these castes, scattered over wide countries and several districts would break up all non-Muhammadan territorial constituencies. It would be utterly impracticable in

* *Vide* Pages 355-359.

Assam unless certain particular constituencies are selected for reservation, other constituencies remaining unreserved.

We are also opposed on principle to nomination to secure their representation to legislative council, as it is opposed to the principle of responsibility of the Ministers to Council.

Nomination may be made either by the Government, that is, by the Ministers, or by the Governor.

We should not provide for a system, in which the Ministers finding their supporters in a minority among the elected members, after a general election, can convert this minority into a majority by suitable nomination.

Nomination by the Governor also would be similarly objectionable and would be very delicate for the Governor himself, as he would be open to the charge, of either keeping the defeated Ministers in power by nomination or turning them out by unfavourable nomination.

Even if there be a convention that a Ministry without an elected majority should resign, that would only give the majority a power to further strengthening their position by nomination.

On principle we are opposed to weightage to any class or section in the legislative council to which the executive would be responsible. No class or section of the people should have greater weight than their numerical strength would justify in turning the scale in divisions, in deciding great issues or turning out Ministers or keeping them in office. A small community like Europeans should not have a position of vantage from which they can turn the scale, either on this side or that side. The position might be otherwise in a second Chamber designed to protect minority interests, but this on principle cannot be admitted in a popular chamber. As for the Muhammadans, they are in a majority in the Surma Valley and some other portions in Assam. Their proportion in the whole of the province is sufficiently high to ensure their due representation and protection on the numerical basis and there is no case for weightage for Mahomedans in Assam.

3. *Women's Suffrage.*—We are of opinion that wives and widows of men entitled to vote should have the franchise irrespective of other qualifications, as literacy among females is very limited and few women have property and the number of the female voters on property and literacy qualifications alone would be too small to enable them to exercise their proper influence in the elections.

We do not want that there should be a separate electorate for women or separate seats reserved for them. We are also not agreeable that female voters should be divided into separate communal electorates. We do not support the view that a Moslem woman would have no chance of success in any except a purely Moslem constituency. We are rather of opinion that a Moslem woman would have a better chance of success in a general constituency than in a purely Muhammadan Constituency. We therefore propose that the female Muhammadan voters

should not be included in the electoral roll of Muhammadan constituency but should be included in the electoral roll of a general constituency consisting of all except Muhammadan males. The term Non-Muhammadan constituency should be changed for "General Constituency". The female advocates for women representation do not support communal division amongst them.

5. *Representation of labour.*—We are against separate representation of labour or of tea-garden labour. Labourers are not organised—there is no trade union amongst them. They are not independent. There are various restrictions upon their movement. Outsiders cannot enter into the gardens without the permission of the garden authorities and no political propaganda is allowed. The garden authorities can turn out a labourer from the garden at any time. The labourers are illiterate. In any conflict of interest the clerks and the Sardars, who are themselves exploiters, would side with the employers against the labourers. The labourers, even if they chose, cannot, under the existing circumstances, return any candidate who would not get support of the employers. The clerks and sardars cannot be proper representatives as their services can be dispensed with at any time and turned out of the garden and such men if elected can not act independently. Any representation given to labour would simply be additional representation given to the capitalists.

We agreed to the opinion that it being impracticable to enfranchise the labourer except on the basis of adult suffrage or what would practically amount to it the only other alternative for separate representation of labour is nomination, but we are by no means committed to separate representation of labour under the existing circumstances, and nomination of considerable number of representatives is, in our opinion, unsuitable.

We are also opposed to grouping for representation of labour. We are of opinion that grouping would be equally objectionable in their case. If separate representation of labour by election could be deemed desirable under existing circumstances we would favour direct election as we see no practical difficulty in direct voting.

5-A. Representation of special interests :—

Graduates.—There being no separate University in Assam, people in Assam are interested in the universities outside the province especially in Calcutta and Dacca. It is therefore proper that the graduates in Assam should be separately represented in Assam Council in order to protect the interests of those universities and the cause of higher education in Assam.

6. (*a*) We are of opinion that direct election by the people to the upper Chamber of federal legislature is not a practical proposition, as the States are not likely to agree to it. This is also opposed to the federal principle and there ought to be at least one chamber which should be representative of the federating units, *i.e.*, the States and the provinces,

and not of the people. This should preferably be the upper chamber as the lower chamber should consist of the direct representatives of the people.

The upper chamber of the federal legislature should not consist merely of representatives of wealth but it should be more on the lines recommended by the Statutory Commission. As qualifications for candidates the existing property qualifications for electors of the Council of State should be lowered and other qualifications should be added to represent experience, wisdom and culture. We suggest the following among other qualifications to be added :—

(*a*) Ex-Judgeship of High Courts and Chief Courts.

(*b*) Qualifications necessary for appointment as Judges of High Courts and Chief Courts.

(*c*) Official including ex-official membership of Provincial or Indian Legislature.

We are of opinion that allotment of seven seats to Assam for the lower chamber of the federal legislature and five seats for the upper chamber are not adequate and the number should be at least 9 for the lower and 7 for the upper chamber, considering the population and the area of the Province. We are opposed to the weightage given to the States and Bombay and the Punjab in the lower house. The scheme of weightage, especially to the States, would make the Constitution entirely unacceptable to the people of British India.

Note on the depressed and backward classes in Assam by Mr. C. S. Mullan, I.C.S., Superintendent of Census, Assam.

Depressed and Backward Classes in Assam.

Under the orders of the Census Commissioner for India a list of depressed and backward classes has to be prepared for every province in India. The invidious task of preparing such a list for Assam has, therefore, been laid upon me and I am compelled, however reluctantly, to assume the functions of a modern Ballal Sen.

The first difficulty that one meets in dealing with this complicated problem is to get a suitable framework into which the various castes and tribes concerned will fit on some sort of logical basis. The following is the general scheme I have adopted :—

The depressed and backward communities in Assam fall into one of the following divisions :—

(1) Hindu exterior castes.

(2) Indigenous backward tribes.

(3) Tea garden cooly castes.

Briefly (1) consists principally of indigenous castes which are recognized as Hindu castes but which suffer from severe social disabilities. What these disabilities are will be explained later.

(2) Consists of aboriginal tribes which are educationally backward. These tribes may be either living in the hills—like the Naga tribes—quite untouched by Hinduism or they may be living in the plains—like the Lalungs or Miris—and influenced to a greater or less degree by Hinduism. The deciding factor in the latter case in that such tribes should still be aloof from the main body of Hindus and should still be generally regarded as a separate community rather than as a Hindu caste. In deciding this the fact that they still speak a Tibeto-Burmese tribal language may be of importance.

(3) Consists of coolies originally imported from other provinces to work on tea gardens and their descendants.

It will be noticed that I have not used the word " depressed " for any of these three divisions. I have done this advisedly because the word " depressed " is not, in my opinion, suitable as a description of the status of any caste in Assam. " Depressed " as used in India in connection with caste has come to be associated particularly with persons belonging to certain castes in Madras who are unapproachable, whose touch necessitates immediate purification and who are not allowed to read in the schools along with other boys.

There is, I am glad to say, no such degree of depression in Assam ; an unapproachable caste is unkown here and boys of all castes are freely admitted into all schools and colleges. Nor are there any difficulties worth mentioning as regards the drawing of water by all castes from public ' tanks ' and wells.

Hence I would be loath to apply to any caste in this province an adjective which has come to connote an extreme state of degradation. The expression " depressed castes " does however occur frequently in this note in the extracts quoted from the opinions of various officers. This is merely because these opinions were received before I had decided that I would not use the term in Assam.

The unusual expression " Hindu Exterior Castes " has been invented by me in accordance with the permission given by the Census Commissioner for India to Provincial Superintendents to use any expression which they considered more suitable to local conditions than the hackneyed term " depressed".

To return to our three divisions :—

(1) " *Hindu Exterior Castes.*"—This, as I have confessed, is an expression to which I plead guilty. I am by no means proud of it and it is open to many criticisms. I have however asked many Indian gentlemen to give me a better one but they have not succeeded. The expression, as it stands, connotes castes which are Hindu castes but which are outside something and that is really what I mean to imply.

What are they outside ? The answer is that they are outside the social pale of Hindu Society ; that they are " below the salt " ; that they are on the other side of a barrier which prevents them from moving upwards.

But before going further I must define what I mean by " Hindu Exterior Castes."

By this expression I mean castes recognized definitely as Hindu castes whose water is not acceptable and who, *in addition*, are so deficient as castes in education, wealth and influence or, for some reason connected with their traditional occupations, are so looked down upon that there seems little hope of their being allowed by Hindu Society to acquire any further social privileges within—at any rate—the next decade.

By the use of the word " exterior caste " I certainly do not intend to imply that such a caste can never raise itself to a higher level. On the contrary I intend to imply that this can happen, as it actually has happened in the past, and that an exterior caste may in the course of time possibly become what I may call an " interior " one.

It is impossible to lay down any simple test to distinguish members of the Hindu exterior castes in Assam from others. The main test to distinguish " clean " castes from " unclean " castes is whether the water of the caste is accepted by members of the upper castes. A caste whose water is acceptable is known in the Surma Valley as " *jal-chal* " and a caste whose water is not accepted may be conveniently defined as " *jal-achal* ". In Assam the words " *pani chale* " and " *pani ne chale* " are in vogue. But we cannot apply this simple test alone in order to find out which castes are exterior and which are not. It is true that all exterior castes are *jal-achal* but it is not true that all *jal-achal* castes are exterior. For example in the Sylhet district the Shahas are technically a *jal-achal* caste but they are a

very wealthy and influential community who are treated with considerable respect in society and by a peculiar social convention are permitted to purchase their brides from the higher castes.

The Shahas are in fact a good example of a caste which though technically unclean have by their own efforts raised themselves to a position in which the upper classes simply cannot afford to ignore them.

I have not therefore classed the Shahas as an "Exterior Caste".

One of my friendly critics—Babu K. C. Dutta, Extra Assistant Commissioner, has taken up this point.

"You do not class", he writes," the Shahas as an exterior caste simply because of their education and the wealth and influence they command. Yet they are not *jal-chal*, they are not allowed entrance into the *Thakurghar* of the cleaner castes and the disability is not likely to be relaxed in the next decade. I do not concede for a moment that the disabilities that bar the Shahas are any more pronounced in the case of the less influential and uncultured castes. These exterior castes are suffering from want of education, wealth, culture, in fact, all that contributes to social influence. As soon as they have achieved these, their position will be akin to that of the Shahas—neither clean nor depressed."

The Shahas are, of course, exterior to the extent that they fall on the other side of the great line which divides Hindu Society—the *jal-chal* line—but though this line is still of great importance, other things must be taken into consideration.

If, for example, the Patnis and Namasudras could shake off the tradition which associates them with occupations regarded as low (most of them are now cultivators but tradition associates them with fishing and boat-plying) and could acquire, as a caste, a reputation for wealth and culture they would, I admit, be in much the same position as the Shahas are to-day.

This process will, however, take many generations and in the meantime they are, in my opinion, clearly suffering from greater disabilities than the Shahas, the disabilities being the very absence of those factors which have made the Shahas a respected caste.

Thus while the *jal-chal* line is a useful line of division between the upper and the lower castes it is not of much use as a test for determining the "Exterior Castes". Nor does the test of temple entry afford us much assistance.

Generally speaking in the Surma Valley all castes which are "*jal-achal*" are not allowed into the actual *Thakurghar* of temples in which the higher castes worship and are not allowed to assist in the ceremonies by bringing *tulsi* and flowers with which to decorate the idol. *Jal-achal* castes are however allowed "*darshan*" and are permitted to come into the compound of the temple. In the Assam Valley where the "*Namghar*" generally takes the place of the temple the same principle holds good but a distinction is made between different classes of *jal-achal* castes. Nadiyals and Banias for example are not allowed at all into the *Namghars*

of higher castes whereas Katonis and Suts are allowed in some districts to enter the part not regarded as particularly holy, *i.e.*, they are not allowed to enter the *Monikhut*.

The whole matter being, therefore, so indeterminate how, it may be asked, can I possibly venture to say, with any degree of certainty, what castes are exterior. The only possible method was to find out by local enquiry in each district the general social position of all castes which might be thought to come under the definition of "exterior castes". This is the method I adopted and to those gentlemen who helped me in my enquiries—particularly to the many Extra Assistant Commissioners and Sub-Deputy Collectors who gave me much valuable and, above all, impartial information—I am greatly indebted.

The two Valleys—the Assam and the Surma Valleys—are really different countries and must be treated quite separately.

Caste in the Assam Valley is not, as elsewhere, chiefly a functional division; it is really a racial division and functional castes are very few.

Probably for that reason Hinduism in that valley is tolerant towards the tribal communities which have not yet been completely absorbed into its organism. It must, in fact, be extremely difficult for an Assamese Hindu to despise at heart a man whose Hinduism is open to considerable doubt but who considers that he is just as good a man as any Koch or Kalita. In fact people like the Deoris consider that they are much better and don't care who knows it. Nobody can be depressed who hits you with a big stick if you attempt to show your contempt for him.

As a result the only castes in the Assam Valley which can be called exterior are castes which are either traditionally associated with some degrading occupation (such as selling fish) or whose traditional origin is associated with a bar sinister. About some castes in this valley there is, however, no possible doubt. Let us deal with these first.

There is, I consider, no doubt that in the Assam Valley the caste which at this census has adopted the name of Bania and which at previous censuses was styled Brittial-Bania is an exterior caste. Some of the leading men of this community have in fact informed me that their position in society is hopeless and have asked to be classed as a depressed caste.

That this caste is an exterior caste is also the unanimous opinion of all responsible officers whom I have consulted.

Nor is there any doubt about the large class which has now adopted the caste name of Kaibartta—and which was previously known as Nadiyal; nor about the Charals of Lower Assam who now call themselves Namasudras with their offshoot the Hiras. The general opinion about all these castes is unanimous.

Thus the Census Officer, Dhubri, reports :—

"Namasudras or Nadiyals or Jaluas or Charals or Kaibarttas or Doms are considered untouchable by caste Hindus who neither admit them

into their places of worship nor take water touched by them " and the Census Officer, Jorhat :—

" Among the indigenous Assamese castes the following are depressed :—

(1) Kaibarttas or Nadiyals or Doms.

(2) Brittial-Banias.

(3) Hiras or Charals (found in Lower Assam only) ".

From Darrang comes further evidence :—

" That Doms, Nadiyals, Namasudras, Charals, Hiras and Brittial-Banias are depressed, is admitted by the members of the community themselves who were consulted ", writes the Census Officer.

In fact in every district of the Assam Valley the opinion is unanimous that the Brittial-Banias and the Kaibarttas (which name may be taken to include Charals, Nadiyals, Hiras and all the other names which from time to time have been applied to various branches of this family) are the most exterior castes in the whole of the Assam Valley.

These castes are socially " outside the pale " and though the Brittial-Banias have worked hard to improve their position and have a considerable number of educated men amongst them they appear to be as far off as ever from any sort of social recognition.

Ancient custom and practice have ordained that members of these castes are to be treated as practically untouchable. It is true that the former necessity of taking a bath if touched by a member of one of these castes has fallen into disuse but a Brahman officer of about 30 years of age has informed me that when he was a small boy he had to take a bath if, by accident, he was touched by one of the hated Doms.

Above these castes came others whose position seemed to me for a long time to be extremely doubtful. They are the Naths or Jugis (known in Upper Assam as Katonis) and the Suts who are also commonly called Borias.

A careful study of the position of these castes has however convinced me that I would be wrong to class them as exterior.

The following evidence regarding the position of these two castes is interesting.

Rai Bahadur P. G. Mukherji, formerly Deputy Commissioner, Nowgong, considers that the following classes in the Assam Valley are depressed : —

(1) Katoni or Nath or Jugi.

(2) Sut or Boria.

(3) Kaibartta, Nadial, Jalia or Dom.

(4) Brittial, Bania or Hari.

(5) Hira or Charal.

He mentions that all these five classes suffer from the following disqualifications : —

(*a*) Water or food (cooked or raw) offered by them is not taken by caste Hindus.

(*b*) Caste Brahmans do not officiate in their ceremonies.

(*c*) They are not allowed entrance into the cook-sheds of caste Hindus.

He then goes on to say that " Naths and Suts are, however, allowed to enter inside the *Namghar* but not into the *Monikhut*. They are also allowed to partake' of uncooked and raw eatables under the same roof and in separate lines behind the caste Hindus but the other castes mentioned above are not allowed these privileges ".

Nowgong appears to be slightly more orthodox in its treatment of Naths and Suts than other districts. From Goalpara district it is reported that " some of the higher castes do not now-a-days hesitate to take water touched by Naths who are not treated as a depressed class ".

In other districts also I found that educated Naths and Suts were respected and had no great grievance as regards their treatment in society.

The Settlement Officer, Darrang, notes particularly that the Naths (Katonis) and Suts in the Darrang district should not be included among depressed castes. In Lakhimpur also there is ample evidence to show that these castes are by no means outside the social pale to the same extent as the Brittial-Banias and Kaibarttas.

The truth about the Naths and the Suts appears to be that they are exterior castes who have made considerable efforts to raise themselves socially and that their efforts are beginning to bear fruit. There is a bar against them but they are beginning to break through it : they are really " superior exterior castes " who are moving upwards. There is, in fact, hope for them. As one Assamese officer has briefly expressed it :—

" All Assamese low castes have a chance of rising in the social scale except the Doms and Haris whose case is hopeless ".

The Suts and Naths do not themselves desire to be classed as depressed or exterior and in fact strongly object to it.

Hence I have not classed the Naths and Suts of the Assam Valley as exterior castes. If, however, these castes ever felt that by not being so classed they were being deprived of an advantage which they otherwise would have gained I would have no hesitation in classifying them as exterior. The Sut community have expressed a wish " to be classed in the census records not as a depressed caste but as one of the high castes of Assam backward in point of education or as one of the minority communities in respect of appointments and the franchise ". They cannot, I consider, have it both ways.

With a view to ascertaining how the Naths and Suts were treated by their fellow students in the Cotton College—which would naturally be the most liberal-minded society in the Assam Valley—I made certain enquiries into the matter and the following extract from a note written by Professor B. C. Sen Gupta describing the conditions in his own hostel is of considerable interest. The Professor states that the lower caste boys feel themselves more at home in his hostel than in any other and goes on to say :—" The hostel authorities have always maintained an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards the depressed castes, and absolute non-interference in matters of caste. The Education Department in 1915 provided three general dining halls and four separate rooms and the understanding has always been that the upper caste boys are to dine in the general dining halls and the depressed or backward class boys are to use the above four rooms. We never dictate to any one as to whether he should dine in the general dining hall or in one of the above four rooms. These matters are left to the students themselves, as far as possible. The Jugi or Nath caste boys formerly did not dine with upper caste boys in mess II (the mess under me). They used the above four rooms for their meals. For years they went on agitating for admission into the general dining hall and subsequently secured the consent in writing of all the upper caste boys in their favour. One boy who gave his consent in writing but who did not really intend to do so, quietly left the hostel. Since then the Nath boys have been dining with the upper castes boys in the mess under me. I am not aware if any 'Nath' boy is dining in the general dining hall of any other mess. But it may be noted that on ceremonial occasions, *e.g.*, the Saraswati Puja festival the upper caste boys of all the messes within the hostel compound dine together along with the above Nath boys. The " Sut " caste boys also similarly succeeded some years ago in securing the consent of other caste boys to their admission into the general dining hall of mess II, and they have been dining in that general dining hall since then. The following castes generally take their meals in the four rooms meant for the 'backward' or 'depressed class boys,' *viz.*, Miri, Deori, Kaibartta, Bania, Majhi, Kharia, Lalung, Kachari.

For the last two years, there has been a very strong movement for admitting these remaining 'backward' caste boys into the general dining hall—there is an overwhelming majority in their favour, only a small minority of about five or six still being in the opposition."

Professor Sen Gupta has subsequently informed me that the movement referred to in the last paragraph of his note resulted in August 1931 in the abolition of the remaining restriction and that—as a tentative measure—permission was given to the students who had formerly dined in the four rooms set apart to dine in the general dining hall. The Professor thinks it probable that the concession will continue.

This last piece of information, I confess, surprised me. If the concession is allowed to continue it will reflect great credit on the liberal

spirit of Professor Sen Gupta's mess and may, in time, have a far-reaching effect on social custom in the Assam Valley. It does not, however, change my opinion that the Kaibarttas and Banias are definitely " exterior castes ".

On the whole I feel fairly confident that my classification of exterior castes in the Assam Valley is correct. I am fortified in this opinion by the criticism of my friend Mr. G. C. Bardalai, Extra Assistant Commissioner, who writes as follows :—

" I consulted some of the Honorary Correspondents here and we have come to the conclusion that so far as the Assam Valley is concerned your finding that none of the lower castes except the Banias, Kaibarttas, Charals and Hiras are included in ' exterior castes ' is perfectly correct."

I only wish I felt as confident about the exterior castes in the Surma Valley.

Conditions in that Valley are very different from those in the Assam Valley. Sylhet is linguistically and ethnologically connected with Bengal and the inclusion of this large district in Assam was originally merely a measure of administrative convenience.

Sylhet and Cachar (which is largely populated by people of Sylhetti origin) are therefore essentially Bengali in their culture. Hence there are many more functional castes than in the Assam Valley, where, as I have already explained, caste is largely racial. Moreover, the presence of a large upper caste *zamindar* class in Sylhet—the arbitrators of social usage —has not tended to encourage any relaxation in the treatment of the lower orders of society.

I have received many interesting opinions on the question of depression in Sylhet. The trend of opinion of educated Indian gentlemen is that there is no such thing as an exterior caste in that district though there are " backward " castes. A typical opinion is that of Professor Nalini Mohan Sastri, M.A., of the Government Sanskrit College, Sylhet, who writes as follows :—

" I have come to the definite conclusion that so far as this district is concerned, there does not exist any class of people, who can properly be termed as depressed and suffer from disabilities, which render their position in the Hindu Society akin to that of *pariahs*. Hindu Society is an organic whole, composed of different classes, occupying positions of different grades and ranks, each with a distinctive feature of its own, as regards customs, manners and other social matters. Each is as important as the other in forming a part of the whole and having its use in the entire scheme, although the one may be lower in rank than the other. Even the lowest in rank such as the Muchis and Malis have their uses in Society and they are requisitioned in religious festivals to perform important duties in connection with them. As a matter of fact, a certain form of inferiority—complex attaches to every caste other than the Brahmin, and it is more or less pronounced, according

to the position the caste occupies in the order. But so long as it does not practically exclude a particular class from the general scheme or organisation, there is no justification of the assumption of a distinct class, called 'Depressed', as separate from the other. Officiating by priests of one class or group of classes in ceremonies of another, or taking by one of food touched by the other, or discriminating service of barbers are matters of local custom originating from convenience rather than from any other cause and would not make any class 'degraded' or 'depressed' for that reason".

Professor Sastri's view is strongly supported by the gentlemen who have been good enough to act as my critics. Thus Babu K. C. Dutta, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Census Officer, Sylhet, writes :—

"The concensus of Hindu opinion will bear out Professor Sastri in the view expressed that the body politic of the Hindu society is an organic whole, the different classes forming its component parts, although they vary in their respective ranks and grades. Each with its diversity of manners and customs is as essential a factor in society as the other. In a social and religious ceremony, *e.g.*, a priest, a barber, a potter, a mali, a dhuli each has to play his own role and the ceremony cannot be regarded as complete unless each has performed his own function. In spite of the inferiority—complex that is attached to all the castes other than Brahmins—the shade differing according to their respective ranks—the social organism never rejects or excludes even the humblest. The necessity therefore of demarcating some from the rest hardly arises. Even if a classification on this line be made the distinction will, I am inclined to think, be without a difference and wholly artificial."

Yet, with all due respect to the learned professor, this view strikes a non-Hindu as being a very one-sided one.

It may be extremely comforting for an upper caste man to reflect that society is so providentially arranged that all the menial jobs of life can never be done by himself; but surely an organization of this nature must, like that of an army, be an organization imposed from above. The man who has to do the menial jobs does not do them for pleasure; he would rather be at the top than at the bottom; but he cannot climb up because the organization does not let him. It is small comfort to him to realize that he is part of an organic whole.

Furthermore, when Professor Sastri says that "the taking by one of food touched by the other or discriminating service of barbers are matters of local custom originating from convenience rather than from any other cause" he is demonstrably wrong. Surely nothing could be more excessively inconvenient than the refusal of one caste to take food or water from another. The restrictions of caste rules are, in fact, the source of endless inconveniences and always have been.

Another interesting opinion is that of Swami Saumyananda, Secretary, the Ramkrishna Mission Seva Samity, Sylhet. He says :—

" The Samity started and is still maintaining several primary schools among the Dhulies (drummers), Namasudras and Khasia-Patras (charcoal makers) and as such the workers of the Samity are always in close touch with them. The chief thing needed for them is education which in its ultimate effect may be expected to raise them to the average level of the Hindu Society.

These poeple may be classed as ' Backward ' but not as depressed, inasmuch as the high caste Hindus do not stand in the way of their advancement—religious, material or educational. In fact, in social and religious festivities these poeple are invited by the high caste Hindus to their houses. In all public places of Hindu worship, *e.g.*, temples, in Benares, Gaya, Deoghar, Kamakshya, Puri, Hardwar, Chandranath and the like, all the Hindus irrespective of caste or creed, are allowed free entrance. So it is not a fact that certain classes of Hindu are not admitted into the Hindu temples. In private temples, as in other spheres, the owner has a discretion."

I regret that I cannot agree with this gentleman that the high caste Hindus do not stand in the way of the advancement of the low castes. Take for example the case of a M. A. of the Sylhet Mali caste occupying a good Government post. Many responsible Hindu officers have informed me definitely that if such a person came alone to see them in their paternal homes a chair would not be offered to the guest. A *jal-chauki* (small wooden stool) *might* be offered. Even Muslims treat these low castes in the same way. A Muslim Sub-divisional Officer tells me that if a Dhubi friend of his occupying a good position in Government service were to come to his house to see him " I would not offer him a chair. I would simply say ' sit down ' and the Dhubi would not take a chair ".

Surely if the upper caste Hindus wished to help the lower castes the least they might do is to treat the educated men among the lower castes with the same courtesy as they would extend to an educated Muslim.

The following opinion of a responsible Hindu Government officer is of interest :—" Some low caste men by their *submissive attitude* win the hearts of the upper caste men and get partial admission into society. Others claim as of right and get refused. A lot depends on the man himself. If he claims too much he gets badly snubbed. In places where orthodoxy is strong he will not, in any case, get fair treatment. In the towns treatment is more liberal than in the villages. In the villages orthodoxy still prevails. If a Patni is the tenant of a Zemindar he will never get fair social treatment however highly educated he is. Orthodoxy is strongest amongst the Zemindars. But if the low caste man is an executive officer such as a Sub-Deputy Collector or an Extra Assistant Commissioner he would be given better treatment than a non-executive officer, *e.g.*, than a Deputy Inspector of Schools." The above remarks refer, of course, only to private social intercourse. On all social and public occasions the educated Mali or Patni is simply nowhere. He has (if

he goes to the ceremony) to sit along with his other caste-men outside the house on the mat provided for their caste, while the higher castes sit inside the house.

Add the following facts :—

(1) Members of castes like Mali, Patni, Muchi, etc., are not allowed to enter into the temples set up by the higher castes ;

(2) The upper castes will not take water or food touched by them ;

and one begins to realize the dreadful sense of mingled inferiority and hatred which an educated member of one of these exterior castes must feel in most cases towards the higher castes.

The exterior castes themselves are, however, guilty of similar treatment to each other and an exterior caste which considers itself to be on a higher social level than another exterior caste adopts exactly the same attitude as the higher castes do towards the exterior castes. A case which recently happened in Sunamganj illustrates this point. The local ferryman there (a Patni by caste) was prosecuted for refusing to row a Muchi across the river. His defence was that, according to social custom, a Patni could not row for a Muchi and that it had always been the practice, if a Muchi wanted to cross the river, for the paddle to be given to him so that he could row himself across.

After careful consideration and analysis of the evidence I have collected, I have come to the conclusion that the following are the main castes in the Surma Valley which should be classed as exterior. They are arranged in alphabetical order :—

1. Dhupi or Dhobi.
2. Dugla or Dholi.
3. Jhalo and Malo.
4. Yogi (Jugi) (Nath).
5. Kaibartta (Jaliya).
6. Mahara.
7. Mali (Bhuinmali).
8. Namasudra.
9. Patni.
10. Sutradhar.

There is general consensus of evidence that these castes are exterior throughout the Surma Valley though the position of some of them seems to be much more hopeful in Cachar than it is in Sylhet. I have no doubt that this is due largely to the absence of a Zemindari class in Cachar which is a temporarily-settled district.

The following extracts from a note written by the Census Officer, Silchar, describe the position of some of the chief exterior castes of Cachar :—

" *Namasudras.*—They belong to a low class in Hindu society. They cannot even enter into the verandah of a Hindu temple. Their water is

not acceptable to high caste Hindus and the Brahmins of high caste Hindus do not minister to their religious rites. The Namasudras are fishermen by profession but in Cachar they have taken up agriculture as their main vocation. In Cachar the majority of the Namasudras are illiterate and they may be rightly classed as depressed.

Patnis.—The Patnis in Cachar have assumed the nomenclature of Mahishya Das. Their position in Hindu society is exactly like that of the Namasudras. They are boatmen by profession as their class name indicates, *pat* means boat and *Patni* means one whose occupation is boating. In Cachar there are some educated men among the Patnis and the Patnis as a class are making all endeavours to lift themselves up socially and educationally. They are undoubtedly a progressive class here and though the spread of education and refinement is not very appreciable at the present moment, there are indications of a change in the near future. By the next Census, I think, the stigma of depression will be removed from their brow.

Malis.—In Cachar the Malis call themselves Malakars and claim to be included among the Nabashakas. Their position is very low in Hindu society. They are on the same level as the Patnis and Namasudras and suffer from the same stigma of social inferiority. They are mostly illiterate. In Cachar they have taken up agriculture as their profession.

Dhobi or Shuklabidya.—They are washermen. They have no status in Hindu society. They cannot enter into the verandah of a Hindu temple and their water is not acceptable to high caste Hindus. They are mostly illiterate and appear to be indifferent to any improvement of their social status.

Duglas.—They are music-players. Their position in Hindu society is akin to that of the Patnis and Namasudras. They have no entrance into Hindu temples and their water is not accepted by high caste Hindus. They are almost cent-per-cent. illiterate.

The Deputy Commissioner, Cachar, in forwarding this note writes as follows :—

> " There is clear evidence that the Patnis are endeavouring to rise in the social scale and many of them, for their social betterment, have given up their old trade of purveying fish at the cost of economic suffering. They are now cultivators with insufficient land. Similar movements are taking place among the Namasudras but are as yet less intense and widespread. "

To any person who sympathizes with the desire of the lower castes to raise themselves to a higher social level such movements cannot be but welcome. It is however rather annoying to find that it seems to be *de rigeur* for a caste which wishes to rise to adopt a different caste name. This procedure is really childish and impresses no body and has the practical disadvantage of making the census statistics unreliable.

Mr. Lloyd in noting on the large apparent decrease in Patnis in the Surma Valley in 1921 remarked " A strong movement was started and

decrees of Pandits were obtained to allow Patnis to use Mahisya as their caste name. It was suggested by one of the leaders in the movement that a caste which was so looked down upon could not hope to improve its status without getting a better name ; but it is not clear why they could not find a name unappropriated by others ".

As a result the actual census figures for Patnis in 1921 and 1931 are inaccurate, though it is possible, as we shall see later, to make a very reliable estimate of their real number.

I sincerely trust that the efforts of those who have, in Cachar, adopted the caste name of Mahisya will be crowned with success and that they will at the next census be found to have achieved an " interior " position in the social scale. But on the evidence before me I must, at present, classify them as an exterior caste. It is their misfortune that Sylhet is so near and that they are still commonly regarded as the same caste as the Patnis of that district.

It would be impossible in the compass of this note to examine in detail the evidence I have collected to prove that the indigenous Surma Valley castes I have mentioned are really exterior. To show, however, that I have, to the best of my ability, tried to get at the truth I may perhaps quote the following correspondence which took place between me and the Sub-divisional Officer, South Sylhet. I wrote to him as follows :—

" I have been told by several officers that the Maharas are a *jal-chal* caste and that people of this caste were made ' clean ' by some ancient Raja of Sylhet—the idea being that the Maharas used to carry the Raja's palanquin and, as Raja wanted to smoke in it, he had to have as palanquin-bearers people who could attend to his smoking requirements. On the other hand some officers completely deny this story and say that the Maharas are not a *jal-chal* caste. As the Maharas are principally to be found in South Sylhet will you please make particular enquiries on this point ".

The Sub-divisional Officer (a Muslim) replied as follows :—

" I have made close and careful enquiries and there is a general consensus of opinion that the Maharas are not *jal-chal* and are a depressed class. The story that Raja Subid Narayan made them *jal-chal* for smoking requirements only, seems to be true. If the Maharas are at all *jal-chal*, they are *jal-chal* only in the sense that a man of higher caste can smoke a *huka* filled with water by a Mahara. There is not a single graduate among the Maharas in this sub-division and not even a single matriculate can be found. The Deputy Inspector of Schools reports that the only educated Maharas he has met in the whole sub-division are three persons working as Vernacular teachers in Primary and Middle English Schools. So the Maharas are depressed both socially and educationally ".

The classification of one caste—the Yogis (Jugis) who are also commonly called Naths—may evoke some controversy. I will therefore

deal with this community at some length. One gentleman of Habiganj belonging to that community has written to me as follows:—" The Yogis do not require the services of the Brahmans of the caste Hindus as priests nor do they allow them to officiate as such from time immemorial. They have priests belonging to their own community. The Yogis do not take food touched by general Hindus. In fact, judging the merits of the form of religion they observe, they claim to be twice-born and it may be safely said that it is the only community among the Hindus who have persistently denied Brahmanical supremacy over them. My opinion was discussed at the annual general meeting of the Assam-Bengal Yogi community in October 1930 and was endorsed without a single dissentient voice. On this ground I, along with my community, protest against the inclusion of the Yogi community in the category of depressed classes."

Against this must be set the general opinion of all responsible officers in Sylhet that the Naths in that valley are an exterior caste.

The following are typical opinions of responsible Hindu officers:—" The Jogis are really regarded as out-castes—outside the pale—because they do not reverence Brahmans and select as their priests persons who are not Brahmans at all. They say that years ago they established exactly what Gandhi is preaching to-day, *i.e.*, abolition of caste distinctions and universal weaving but that the other Hindus would not follow their example."

" Naths are regarded as Hindus even though they bury their dead. They have now-a-days taken the sacred thread. Naths do not get admission into temples. They have gained in social position by their aloofness from general Hindu society and by the fact that they do not do any menial work. I am inclined to include Naths among the depressed castes but I would emphasize that fact that they don't do menial work."

Jogis were " originally a weaving caste but now deny this. They form a separate community altogether but we consider them to be Hindus. They are a depressed caste."

" Jogis are a little superior to Namasudras but are not allowed into temples and their water is not acceptable."

One gentleman from Karimganj—himself a Nath—has, indeed, no hesitation in including his community among the exterior castes. He writes as follows:—

> " So far as my knowledge goes, amongst the Hindus inhabiting this sub-division the Patnis, Jogis (Naths), Namasudras, Malis, Dhubis and Duglas are to be properly included in the list of depressed classes. The reasons of depression regarding each of these communities are almost the same, namely:—
>
> (1) The members of these communities are not allowed by the so-called high caste Hindus, to enter the temple; even their shadow defiles the image in the temple.

(2) The high class Hindus never take any food and water touched or shadowed by these people.

(3) Brahmins of caste Hindus never agree to officiate as priests in ceremonies performed by these people even if they request them.

(4) Some of these communities are not allowed to have the same barber who works amongst the high class Hindus to work for them.

In conclusion I beg to say that these are but few amongst the many disadvantages from which these people suffer."

Previous census reports show that for the last forty years the Naths have been endeavouring to raise their social position by giving up widow re-marriage and refusing food prepared by other castes. In spite however of these efforts the Nath community of the Surma Valley is still very much looked down upon and I must, I consider, class them as an " exterior caste ".

This classification may seem peculiar inasmuch as I have not classed the Naths (Katonis) of the Assam Valley as exterior. How far the Assam Naths are connected with the Sylhet Naths is a matter into which I intend to enquire further but I doubt whether there is any very close connection. In any case a sufficient explanation of this difference in treatment would appear to be that Hinduism in Sylhet is not so tolerant as it is in the Assam Valley. Even in the Murarichand College caste restrictions seem to be much more closely observed than in the Cotton College. I have received a note on the system of messing in that college and it appears that even the Sahas are not allowed to take their meals in the general dining hall reserved for the upper caste students. In fact the *jal-chal* line is strictly observed there—at least nominally—and the students who do not belong to the upper castes have their meals served to them " either in their own rooms or in those set apart in the main block or in two out-houses provided for the purpose ".

The Senior Hostel Superintendent adds however " The observance of these distinctions is becoming more a matter of form with the students than an inviolable practice. On festive occasions or when they are in a mood to fraternise these differences are sunk. If the differences are still reigning here it is more because the students are afraid of their elderly guardians than because they believe in such a ban themselves."

I have now dealt to some extent with all the castes I have classed as exterior except the Kaibartas (Jaliya), the Jhalos and Malos and the Sutradhars. The first three are fishing castes and for that very reason are exterior. The Sutradhars are principally boat-builders and makers of ploughs ; they are not *jal-chal* and are educationally very backward.

In addition to the indigenous castes which I have classed as exterior there are also some non-indigenous castes such as the Muchis and various sweeper castes who must be added to the list. Their numbers, are, however, small.

The following are the figures in round thousands for the castes in the Assam Valley which I have classed as exterior :—

Caste.	District.	Population.
Namasudra ..	Goalpara	8,000
	Kamrup	13,000
	Nowgong	8,000
	Sibsagar	1,000
	All other districts in the Assam Valley..	1,000
		31,000
Kaibarta	Goalpara	4,000
	Kamrup	20,000
	Darrang	12,000
	Nowgong	27,000
	Sibsagar	33,000
	Lakhimpur	22,000
	Sadiya	1,000
		119,000
Bania (Brittial-Bania)	Goalpara .. .. .. less than	500
	Kamrup	4,000
	Darrang	2,000
	Nowgong	3,500
	Sibsagar	2,500
	Lakhimpur	1,500
		14,000
Hira	Goalpara	3,000
	Kamrup	5,000
	Darrang	1,000
	Nowgong	8,000
		17,000
Sweeper castes ..	All districts of Assam Valley	2,000

The grand total of exterior castes in the Assam Valley is therefore 183,000. The figures for the various castes correspond in most cases to the figures ascertained at previous censuses and may be accepted as correct for all practical purposes. It is, however, probable that a few thousand Doms belonging to the foreign Dom caste who are employed on tea gardens have been included in the figures for Kaibarttas.

The following are the figures for the Surma Valley. I accept them all as approximately correct except in the case of the Patnis where, owing to the partial adoption of a different caste name, an adjustment based on the figures of previous censuses has had to be made.

Caste.	District.	Population.
Mali (indigenous) ..	Cachar	4,000
	Sylhet	35,000
		39,000
Dhupi (Dhobi) ..	Cachar	2,000
	Sylhet	21,000
		23,000
Dugla or Dholi ..	Sylhet	10,000
Jhalo and Malo ..	Cachar	2,000
	Sylhet	9,000
		11,000
Yogi (Jugi) ..	Cachar	13,000
	Sylhet	71,000
		84,000
Mahara	Sylhet	5,000
Sutradhar	Sylhet	13,000
Muchi	Cachar	4,000
	Sylhet	4,000
Patni	Cachar	(Census figures give 9,000 only; correct figures are at least 40,000.)
	Sylhet	(Census figures give 43,000 only; there are at least 70,000.)
Namasudras ..	Cachar	15,000
	Sylhet	124,000
		139,000
Kaibartas (Jaliya) ..	Sylhet	30,000
Sweeper castes ..	Sylhet and Cachar (together)	1,000

The total for the exterior castes of Sylhet is therefore 392,000 at a *minimum* and for Cachar 80,000.

Backward tribes.—To deal with the backward tribes after an attempt to reduce to some logical basis the extraordinary complexities of the Hindu social system is, indeed, " port after stormy seas ".

By backward tribes I mean communities which still retain some form of tribal organization and which are below the general provincial standard of education. They can conveniently be divided into two sections :—

(*a*) those living principally in the hills and frontier tracts who are practically untouched by Hinduism,

(*b*) those living principally in the plains who have become Hinduized to a greater or less extent.

In section (*a*) would be included the various Naga and Kuki tribes, the Garos, the Mikirs and the Abors, Mishmis, Singphos and Khamtis of the Sadiya Frontier Tracts.

Whether the various Lushai clans should be included in (*a*) is a matter of opinion. The Lushai Hills is now actually the foremost district in the whole of Assam for literacy—which, for the purpose of the census, is the ability to read and write a letter to a friend. There are, however, very few well-educated Lushais and the thin veneer of literacy over the district—a product of the last 30 years only—has probably not affected the real culture—form of the people.

" Such education as there is among them ", wrote Mr. N. E. Parry, I.C.S., as recently as 1928, " is purely superficial ".

The Khasis (with whom I include the Syntengs) are another race which, from the census point of view, has a high proportion of literates.

Among the Khasis, however, there are a considerable number of well-educated persons (a Khasi has been a Minister of the Government of Assam) and nobody could, I think, class the Khasis as a " backward tribe ".

Most of the Khasis live, of course, in the Khasi States outside the British portion of the Khasi Hills.

Under (*b*) would come the Kacharis, the Meches, Miris, Deoris, Lalungs, Rabhas, Tiparas and Hajongs.

Except the Hajongs and the Kacharis of the North Cachar Hills all the other tribes in this section dwell in the plains.

The question of the Manipuris of Sylhet and Cachar requires special mention. These people are the descendants of persons who originally emigrated from Manipur State and settled in those districts. They form an entirely separate community—a kind of Manipuri oasis in the plains—and, as the Census Officer, Silchar, has reported, " they have their own society independent of general Hindu Society. They call themselves Kshatriya by caste but have no intermarriage or dining with Hindus of any class. They are however making rapid strides towards progress and education "

Babu Girish Chandra Mazumdar, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Sylhet, writes as follows on the same subject :—

> "We see that in Sylhet there are Manipuris who have been living for nearly 200 years in Bengali villages but it is curious that these Manipuris have never adopted Bengali customs or habits though they have got practical education in Bengali manners and customs from living among them."

Mr. C. Gimson, I.C.S. (formerly Deputy Commissioner, Cachar), who knows the Manipuris well, has written as follows :—

> "I doubt whether the Manipuris of Cachar ought to be classed as 'backward'. They are intelligent and are taking to education and they are free from most of the habits (*i.e.*, over-indulgence in opium and liquor) which tend to perpetuate the backwardness of other backward classes."

The Manipuris of Cachar and Sylhet are really a people apart—they are foreigners who have settled in a strange land and have kept very much to themselves, preserving their own culture and their own language. Another peculiar fact about these Manipuris is that although the majority are devout Hindus there are also many Muslims among them.

They must, in my opinion, be considered rather as a community requiring special treatment than as a backward race.

The number of Manipuris in Sylhet and Cachar is as follows :—

	Hindu Manipuri.	Muslim Manipuri.
Cachar	44,000	11,000
Sylhet	27,000	2,000
Total	71,000	13,000

The number of speakers of Manipuri is 55,000 in Cachar and 29,000 in Sylhet.

It would be impossible in a note like this to give elaborate figures for all the numerous backward tribes who live in the hills and frontier tracts. The following figures deal with the main tribes only (excluding altogether the various Naga and Kuki tribes in Manipur State).

1. Lushai clans including Lakhers (all in Lushai Hills)	..	119,000
2. All Naga tribes of the Naga Hills district	.. ..	168,000
3. Mikirs .. .. Cachar	.. ..	3,000
Khas and Jaintia Hills (British)		17,000
Khasi States	.. ..	3,000
Naga Hills ..	.. ..	1,000
Kamrup ..	.. ..	10,000
Darrang ..	.. ..	4,000
Nowgong ..	.. ..	59,000
Sibsagar ..	.. ..	32,000
Elsewhere ..	.. ..	1,000
Total	..	130,000

Most of the Mikirs in Nowgong and Sibsagar live in the Mikir Hills; a portion of these hills falls in the Golaghat sub-division of the Sibsagar district and a portion in the Nowgong district.

The number of speakers of Mikir is 126,000.

4. Abors (Sadiya Frontier Tract)	.. .. ..		14,000
5. Garos	Goalpara		20,000
	Kamrup		9,000
	Khasi Hills (British) ..		2,000
	Khasi States		5,000
	Garo Hills		153,000
	Sylhet		2,000
	All other districts		2,000
	Total ..		193,000

The number of speakers of Garo is also 193,000.

I also give the figures for the Khasis (including Syntengs).

6. Khasis and Syntengs ..	Khasi and Jaintia Hills (British)	74,000
	Khasi States	153,000
	Sylhet	2,000
	Cachar	1,000
	All other districts	3,000
	Total ..	233,000

The number of speakers of Khasi has been returned as 234,000.

I have, I think, dealt sufficiently with section (*a*), *i.e.*, the real hillmen; let us now examine the position of those backward tribes who dwell principally in the plains and who have been influenced by contact with a civilization which is predominantly Hindu. Take the Miris. Many Miris have become disciples of Assamese Gossains. They remain, however, a community apart and do not mix socially with their Assamese neighbours.

An Assamese officer who knows the Miris well has given me his opinion as follows :—

" Even though some Miris have become disciples of a Gossain they are not accepted into our society. They still keep pigs and fowls though they may call themselves Hindus. Personally I cannot regard a Miri as a Hindu. He is outside the Hindu fold, and from a social point of view he is not a Hindu though he may worship some Hindu deities. Still we respect the Miris and consider them good people whereas I confess, we hate the Doms.

Miris are not depressed because their own society satisfies them and they do not care for us. They won't allow any of us to get up on their *changs*. Deoris are the same. They are rich people and can stand by

themselves. The Assamese villagers are frightened of them. I consider the Kacharis the same as the Miris. In Lower Assam Kacharis can gradually enter a Hindu caste by first becoming 'Sarania', then 'Saru Koch', then 'Bor Koch' and finally mix with the Hindu Koches.

In Upper Assam, however, where Assamese orthodoxy is stricter a Miri cannot enter Hindu Society in this way. Even the Auniati Gossain could not get a Miri into Hindu Society as a Koch. The reason why things were not so strict in Lower Assam is that it was further removed from Sibsagar—our old social capital. In any case the Miris have not got the slightest desire to join our society. They are quite independent of us."

At discussions held with various gentlemen in Darrang and Lakhimpur the general opinion was that very few Miris had entered Hinduism and that they were an independent tribe quite happy in their own society.

The Meches, Lalungs, Rabhas and Kacharis are in much the same position as the Miris. In spite of partial conversion to Hinduism they still remain tribal peoples and do not mix to any extent with outsiders. The Kacharis of the North Cachar Hills, even though they now return their caste as Kshattriya, still remain essentially a hill tribe.

The census statistics show that there has been a wholesale "conversion" of many of these tribal communities to Hinduism during the last decade. This is, however, mainly a political move and for all practical purposes these tribes remain exactly in the same position as before.

It may be asked why I have classed, *e.g.*, the Kacharis as a backward tribe while I have said nothing about, *e.g.*, the Ahoms. Both, it may be said, are really tribal communities; both were, in fact, at different times the dominant tribe of the Assam Valley.

The real basis of the distinction I have made is that the Ahoms—though in many ways a separate community—have been for so long completely Hinduized that they are now a racial caste rather than a tribe whereas the Kacharis though largely nominally converted to Hinduism during the last 10 years are still, I consider, more a tribe than a caste. One very clear distinction between them is that the Kacharis have preserved their own language whereas the Ahoms have lost theirs.

This in itself indicates that the Kacharis as a community have remained more aloof than the Ahoms from the general development of Assamese culture. Similarly the Miris, Lalungs, Meches, Rabhas, Deoris and Sylhet Tiparas have all preserved their tribal languages.

The following figures show in round thousands the strength of each of the backward tribes living in the plains or partly in the plains and partly in the hills. I have also given the figures for the Manipuris of Cachar and Sylhet though, as I have already stated, I consider them to be a community requiring special treatment rather than a backward race. I should also add that practically the whole of the Mech community of Goalpara has returned itself at this census as Boro-Kachari (which of

course it really is) and that, for the purpose of these figures, I have called them all Kacharis.

Name of Tribe.	District.	Total population.
Kachari	Goalpara	.. 109,000 (including Boro-Kachari and Mech).
	Kamrup	.. 108,000
	Darrang	.. 57,000
	Nowgong	.. 13,000
	Sibsagar	.. 15,000
	Lakhimpur ..	.. 29,000
	Cachar	.. 17,000
	North Cachar Hills ..	.. *12,000*
	Cachar Plains ..	.. *5,000*
	All other districts ..	.. 2,000
	Total Kacharis	.. 350,000

Of this total, 263,000 have returned themselves as Hindus, 78,000 as animists and 9,000 as Christians. It is interesting to observe that in 1921 about half the combined total number of Kacharis and Meches returned themselves as animists and half as Hindus.

Out of the total of 350,000 Kacharis (including Meches and Boro-Kacharis) 297,000 still speak Kachari (including Dimasa). The remaining 53,000 are made up principally of the Kacharis of Lakhimpur and Sibsagar who have returned their mother tongue as Assamese.

Name of Tribe.	District	Total population.
Miris	Darrang	.. 6,000
	Sibsagar	.. 35,000
	Lakhimpur ..	.. 39,000
	Sadiya Frontier Tract	.. 5,000
	Total	.. 85,000

Of this total 80,000 have returned themselves as Hindus and the balance (all in Darrang) as "Miri" by religion. The number of speakers of the Miri languages is 81,000, practically the same as the total Miri population.

Name of Tribe.	District.	Total population.
Lalung	Nowgong	.. 38,000
	Khasi and Jaintia Hills (British Territory) ..	.. 3,000
	Kamrup	.. 2,000
	Total	.. 43,000

Thirty-one thousand Lalungs have returned themselves as Hindus and 12,000 as animists.

In 1921 the total number of Lalungs was 41,000 of whom only 3,000 had the heart to return themselves as Hindus. The number of speakers of Lalung is 9,000 against 10,000 in 1921.

Name of Tribe.	District.	Total population.
Rabha	Goalpara	32,000
	Kamrup	21,000
	Darrang	8,000
	Garo Hills	8,000
	Total ..	69,000

Sixty-one thousand Rabhas have returned themselves as Hindus and 8,000 as animists. In 1921 out of a total of 70,000, 28,000 returned themselves as Hindus and 42,000 as animists. The number of speakers of Rabha is 27,000.

Name of Tribe.	District.	Total population.
Hajong	Garo Hills	7,000
	Sylhet	1,000
	Total ..	8,000

Practically all Hajongs, as at previous censuses, have returned themselves as Hindus.

The Tiparas of Sylhet and the Deoris of Upper Assam are hardly worth mentioning. There are about 4,000 Tiparas in Sylhet and probably about the same number of Deoris in Lakhimpur. The Deoris are a section of the Chutiyas who have preserved their old language and have not become Hinduized like the Hindu-Chutiyas and the Ahom-Chutiyas.

Tea Garden Cooly Castes.

Their name is legion, some are castes recognized in their provinces of origin as definite Hindu castes ; others would be considered Hindu castes merely by courtesy while others—such as the Mundas and Santals—cannot be said to be castes at all but aboriginal tribal communities. Coolies in Assam form, however, a separate class of the population no matter what caste or tribe they belong to and hence it seems best to treat all cooly castes and tribes under one heading, for all have one common characteristic and that is that, in Assam, a " cooly " is always a " cooly " and whether he works on a garden or whether he has left the garden and settled down as an ordinary agriculturist, his social position is nil. From the point of view of Assamese society a person belonging to any cooly caste or tribe is a complete outsider and is as " exterior " as any of the indigenous castes I have classed as exterior. Indeed from many points of view the social

position of coolies and *ex*-coolies is worse than any class in the province; they are educationally terribly backward; they have no recognized leaders or associations to press their claims or to work for their social advancement, they are foreigners to the country and, as a class, they are much addicted to liquor.

The number of tea garden coolies and *ex*-coolies in Assam is a matter of considerable interest and indeed of administrative importance. Attempts were made in the Census Reports for 1901, 1911 and 1921 to estimate the number of coolies originally brought to Assam for the purpose of working on tea gardens and the number of their descendants. As pointed out in the Census Report for 1911, this is an extremely difficult business and, as Mr. Lloyd remarked in 1921, "the problem becomes increasingly complex and liable to error at each succeeding census".

In view of the need for economy cooly castes were not sorted for separately on this occasion but arrangements were made in the sorting offices to extract the lump sum total of all cooly and *ex*-cooly castes in all districts. The main trouble about this procedure is that there are foreign cooly castes with the same name as indigenous castes who have nothing to do with tea gardens, *e.g.*, Telis. Every attempt however was made to keep the indigenous castes of the same name quite separate. The result however cannot be considered more than a fairly reliable estimate.

The following estimate was worked out by Mr. Lloyd in 1921. What he was endeavouring to do was to work out the number of persons in the province who were here either directly or indirectly on account of the tea industry.

The population censused on tea gardens in 1921 was 922,000. From this, however, must be deducted the managing and clerical staffs and also all persons belonging to indigenous castes censused on tea gardens. After making this deduction the number of immigrant coolies and their descendants actually on gardens was estimated by Mr. Lloyd to be 840,000

Add *ex*-coolies	360,000
Total ..	1,200,000

This figure represents the number of persons who were in Assam in 1921 directly on account of the tea industry. In addition Mr. Lloyd estimated that there were 130 or 140 thousand persons in Assam *indirectly* connected with the industry. These consisted of traders, *mistris*, carters, earth-workers, etc. The following is my estimate for 1931. The census figures for 1931 give the following results:—

Number of Hindus belonging to cooly castes ..	1,316,000
Number of animists belonging to cooly castes ..	53,000
Estimated number of Christians belonging to cooly castes	31,000
Total ..	1,400,000

By valleys the division of this total would be approximately—

Assam Valley	1,050,000
Surma Valley	350,000

This total includes coolies of all kinds whether living on gardens or living in the villages : it also includes persons belonging to cooly castes who did not come to Assam for employment on tea gardens, *e.g.*, the Santals of the Santal colony in Goalpara district.

Let us now endeavour to ascertain how many of these 1,400,000 persons belonging to cooly castes or tribes are actually on gardens and how many are outside. The census figures show that 979,000 persons were censused on the tea gardens of the province (including of course the managing and clerical staffs) of whom 911,000 were Hindus, 25,000 animists, 24,000 Muslims and 19,000 Christians ; 654,000 were censused in the Assam Valley and 325,000 in the Surma Valley.

As a rough estimate—it cannot be more—I take 900,000 (600,000 Assam Valley, 300,000 Surma Valley) as the number of persons actually censused on tea gardens who may be said to belong to tea garden cooly castes or tribes. If we deduct this figure from 1,400,000 we should therefore get the number of persons belonging to cooly castes who live outside the gardens ; this comes to 500,000 in the whole of Assam of whom about 450,000 would be in the Assam Valley and about 50,000 in the Surma Valley. The only check we have against these figures is the amount of land held by *ex*-coolies as reported in the Annual Reports on Immigrant Labour.

The following figures give for each plains district the number of persons of cooly castes or tribes living outside tea gardens (1) according to my estimate, (2) according to the figures of land settled with *ex*-coolies outside tea gardens reckoning that 5 acres support 6 persons.

Assam Valley.	Census Estimate.	Immigration Report.
Goalpara	55,000	*Nil.*

The reason for this large discrepancy is that the number of tea gardens in Goalpara is very few—there are only 5,000 persons employed on tea gardens there—but there are a large number of persons belonging to "cooly" tribes and castes who came to Goalpara originally, not for employment on tea gardens, but as settlers, *e.g.*, the large Santal colony.

(In 1921 there were 33,000 speakers of Santali and Mundari in Goalpara ; in 1931 the number has increased to 44,000. In addition there are 5,000 speakers of Oraon, so that the estimate I have made cannot be far wrong.)

Kamrup	17,000	10,000
Darrang	100,000	133,000
Nowgong	24,000	29,000
Sibsagar	109,000	109,000
Lakhimpur	140,000	122,000
Sadiya and Balipara	5,000	No figures.
Total ..	450,000	403,000

The difference between the total of my estimate and the total deduced from the amount of land held by *ex*-coolies is due to the fact that Goalpara is not included at all in the Immigration Report figures. As regards individual districts the principal difference is that according to my estimate there are more *ex*-coolies in Lakhimpur and less in Darrang than the estimates worked out on the uniform basis of 5 acres supporting 6 persons. I have consulted the Settlement Officer, Darrang, on this point and he has informed me that "it is very likely that the reason why a comparatively larger area is held by *ex*-coolies in Darrang than in Lakhimpur and Sibsagar is that more waste lands were readily available here near the tea gardens". It therefore seems probable that the average holding for *ex*-cooly families in Darrang is a good deal larger than it is in Lakhimpur where rice land is not easy to obtain.

For the Surma Valley the Annual Reports on Immigrant Labour give no figures for the amount of land held by *ex*-coolies (this would be impossible in the permanently-settled district of Sylhet) so that we have no possible check. According to my estimate there are about 50,000 *ex*-coolies in the Surma Valley divided fairly equally between Cachar and Sylhet. Land is, of course, difficult to secure in that valley and the coolies on the tea gardens there have not had the same opportunities as they have had in the Assam Valley of settling outside the gardens.

The following figures give in round thousands the number of persons actually censused on the tea gardens in each district; they include, of course, not only coolies but the managing and clerical staffs as well as traders living within the garden boundaries. The Annual Immigrant Labour reports show the total number of coolies on the gardens of each district and I give the figures of that report for 1930-31 for the sake of comparison :—

District.	Census figure (including managing and clerical staff).	Immigration Report figure (1930-31).
Goalpara	5,000	5,000
Kamrup	7,000	7,000
Darrang	133,000	149,000
Nowgong	24,000	24,000
Sibsagar	234,000	264,000
Lakhimpur	250,000	294,000
Sadiya	1,000	..
Total Assam Valley ..	654,000	743,000
Cachar	147,000	141,000
Sylhet	178,000	181,000
Total Surma Valley ..	325,000	322,000
Grand total for Assam ..	979,000	1,065,000

It will be noticed that there is a large discrepancy between the total of the census figures and the total of Immigration Report figures, *viz.*, 86,000 and that the discrepancy is confined to the three large tea districts of the Assam Valley. At the 1921 census the discrepancy was almost exactly the same, *viz.*, 90,000. The real discrepancy is however somewhat larger as the census figures include the managing and clerical staffs on the gardens whereas the Immigration figures do not. The reasons for this discrepancy are as follows :—

(1) In the Assam Valley the figures for the labourers on oil fields and coal mines are included in the Immigration Report figures. In Lakhimpur this amounts to about 12,000.

(2) At the time the census was taken (February 1931) many cooly *Sirdars* were away recruiting—(about 30,000 go every year from the Assam Valley; in the Surma Valley there were very few recruiters away as recruitment has practically stopped in that Valley).

These two reasons would explain about half the discrepancy. The balance must, in my opinion, be due to the fact that although the Immigration Report figures are supposed to refer only to persons "living in garden lines and on garden land" they do in fact also include coolies who are on the garden books but who actually dwell outside the garden boundaries, *i.e., faltoo* labourers.

Let us now sum up briefly for the Assam Valley (excluding the Mikir Hills and the Frontier Tracts) and for the Surma Valley (excluding the North Cachar Hills) the result of these investigations and estimates.

They are as follows :—

	Assam Valley.	Surma Valley.
(1) Hindu Exterior castes	182,000	393,000
(2) Backward tribes	570,000	18,000
(3) Cooly castes on gardens	600,000	300,000
Cooly castes outside gardens	450,000	50,000
Total	1,802,000	761,000

In the total of the Surma Valley the Manipuris have not been included.

The total non-Muhammadan population of the Assam Valley (excluding the Mikir Hills and Frontier Tracts) being 3,590,000, the Hindu exterior castes, backward tribes, coolies and *ex*-coolies, taken together, have a majority over all other non-Muslims in the Assam Valley. As regards the Surma Valley (excluding the North Cachar Hills) the total non-Muslim population is 1,463,000 so that the Hindu exterior castes, backward tribes and coolies and *ex*-coolies also out-number all other classes of non-Muslims in that valley.

SHILLONG :
February 6th, 1932.

C. S. MULLAN,
Superintendent of Census,
Assam.

III

Supplementary Questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Government of Assam and the Assam Provincial Franchise Committee.

Question 1.—A. What is the considered opinion of the Government of Assam/Assam Provincial Committee as to the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the Province using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible.

(*i*) if the election is spread over—

(I) two days (one for Muhammadans and one for non-Muhammadans),

(II) four days.

(*ii*) Taking 750 as the number of male voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day.

(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women,

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women ?

B. What percentage would this number represent of (*a*) the total and (*b*) the adult population ?

Question 2.—Which system of polling illiterate voters do you prefer —

(*a*) Coloured boxes whereby the voter has to make no mark on the paper but is able to poll secretly ;

(*b*) a system whereby the Presiding Officer marks the ballot paper on the instructions and on behalf of the illiterate voter ?

Polling Machinery.

Question 3.—What is the maximum personnel which could be used as Presiding or Polling officers ? The Committee would be glad to have this information under the following heads :—

(*i*) Total number of Government Officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial.

(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government Officers.

(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards Officers (superior and ministerial).

(*iv*) Total number of members of Local Bodies (Municipal Commissioners, Members of District and Local Boards, Presidents and Members of Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates, and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed). To what extent could these figures be supplemented by the use of non-officials (school-masters, etc.) ? Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose ?

(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for—

(*a*) separate polling booths for women and women presiding officers and clerks;

(*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters?

Question 4.—What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise—

(*a*) 10 per cent. of the population,

(*b*) the maximum you consider administratively possible as in question 1 above?

What approximate percentage of women would be enfranchised on your proposals under (*a*) and (*b*) respectively.

Question 5.—The Franchise Committee would be glad of your considered opinion as between the four systems of voting which have been under consideration:—

(*a*) Universal direct adult suffrage.

(*b*) Universal indirect system.

(*c*) The extension of the direct vote so far as is administratively possible.

(*d*) A combination of the direct and indirect system as explained below.

A fuller note on each of these systems follows below with a view to facilitate a reply.

A. Universal direct adult suffrage.—The fundamental question is whether the system is administratively possible at the present stage. The reply to question 1 above will go far to make clear whether this is so or not.

B. Universal indirect system.—Under a universal indirect system the whole adult population, male and female, might be grouped in groups of between 20 and 50 each, each group to return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. Each group would elect one Mukhiya from among its own members, the election being either informal by means of a show of hands or by individual voting after nomination. (As an alternative the group might be larger electing one Mukhiya for each 20 of its number.) Immediately the election was complete, the Circle Officer would place the name of the Mukhiyas elected on the electoral roll, and there would be no appeal against his decision though his proceedings would be open to revision. In the event of its being decided to retain separate Hindu and Moslem electorates, or to create, as recommended in one Province, separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, it would be necessary to form separate Hindu, Moslem or Depressed Class primary groups in the villages. The electorate so chosen would be divided into constituencies for the election of members of Council.

In the event of your approving of this system please state :—

(*i*) The precise methods by which you consider that the election of the electors for the primary groups should be conducted (the supervising and revising authority ; whether an electoral roll should be maintained ; whether geographical proximity should be the basis of the group ; the size of the group ; whether the village or some other division or area should be adopted as the electoral unit ; whether the population should be divided into groups of 20 or thereabouts, each to elect a Mukhiya, or into larger groups—say 100—to elect say five Mukhiyas) ;

(*ii*) whether men and women should be grouped together or separately ;

(*iii*) whether you think it could be made applicable to the towns as well as to the country.

If your answer is in the affirmative, please state whether you consider that the same basis of grouping and method of voting should be adopted in the towns as in the country. If not, what would you suggest ?

(*iv*) Do you consider that the loss of the direct vote by those who at present enjoy that privilege, and its substitution by a vote for a secondary elector, would be regarded as a source of grievance ?

C. The extension of the direct vote so far as it is administratively practicable.—In the event of your favouring the adoption of this system, please state exactly—

(*i*) the categories of the population which would fail under it to secure direct representation in the Legislature,

(*ii*) the approximate number of women who would be enfranchised, and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate,

(*iii*) the number of the Depressed Classes (applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability) who would be enfranchised, and thepercentage they would represent of the total electorate.

D. The combination of the direct and indirect system as suggested by the Round Table Conference.—Under such a system the total adult population would be divided into—

(1) direct voters qualified by property, education, military service, etc. ;

(2) the balance of the adult population. These might be grouped in groups of say 20 (or some approximate figures). In the cold weather preceding that in which a general election is due, the Circle Officer, in accordance with instructions that would be issued, would divide villages into groups on the basis of geographical proximity.

Each group would return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. The election would be either informal or by nomination as suggested in the case of universal suffrage. On the completion of the elections in the village the Circle Officer would place the names of the secondary electors chosen on the electoral roll of the constituency to which they appertain along with the direct voters, the choice of the primary voters being thus regarded as a qualification for admission to the electoral roll. The voters not directly qualified might be grouped together in the same manner as suggested in the case of universal indirect election above. The method of polling groups would be similar to that suggested above in the case of universal indirect suffrage, except that it would apply only to a proportion and not to the whole.

In the event of your approving of this system the Committee would be glad to know :—

(*a*) The precise method of primary group election which you would suggest.

(*b*) The ratio which the number of the direct electors should bear to the Mukhiya electors.

(*c*) Whether men and women should be grouped together in the primary groups or separately.

(*d*) Assuming it is decided to have one Mukhiya for every 20 persons whether it would be better—

(*i*) to form the whole village into a single group, electing Mukhiyas on the basis of one per 20 adults, or

(*ii*) to form groups of say 100 each electing 5 Mukhiyas, or

(*iii*) to form groups of 20 each electing 1. How would you propose to conduct the election in each case ?

5. Do you propose that the same system should be applied to town and country ? If not, what alternative would you propose for the towns ?

6. Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or that the towns should have some weightage, and if so, to what extent ?

7. The local Government stated* in reply to question 2 (*e*) of the questionnaire that the existing military service qualification should be retained and extended to the Indian Auxiliary and Indian Territorial Forces. What period of qualifying service, if any, in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces would they require as a condition of admitting *ex*-members of those forces to the franchise ?

8. Would they propose any differential franchise for women, and if so, what number of women are likely to be placed on the electoral roll as the result of their proposals ?

Do the local Government/Provincial Committee consider it desirable to make provision to secure as a temporary measure, say, for the first ten

* Page 319.

years that a small number of women shall be members of the Council? If so,—

(*i*) should they be chosen by co-option by the Council, by the single transferable vote,

(*ii*) be elected by a special constituency of literate women only, divided if necessary into Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan constituencies, or

(*iii*) *e.g.*, as suggested in one Province on the following lines:—

"A fixed number of seats should be reserved in the Council for women: women should be allowed as at present in this Province to stand for any constituency for which they are qualified to stand and unsuccessful women candidates up to the number so reserved obtaining the highest percentage of votes to the number of electors on the electoral roll in the constituency for which they stand, should be declared elected to the seats reserved for women, provided that they have obtained sufficient votes not to forfeit their deposits. Women who top the poll in any constituency and win a seat outright would come into the Council as ordinary members and would be additional to those filling the seats reserved for women. If on the other hand the number of women candidates was insufficient to fill the quota of reserved seats, no further steps to fill the quota should be taken, whether by nomination or otherwise."

9. Could you state—

(*a*) the number of Depressed Class representatives in the existing Council, and the method by which they were appointed;

(*b*) the castes and sub-castes which in your opinion are depressed in your Province, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability (including such disabilities as refusal of entry to public eating houses, and the population thereof);

(*c*) the number of members of the Depressed Classes, applying the criteria above, who would be placed on the electoral roll as the result—

(*i*) of the system of franchise you propose;

(*ii*) the extension of the direct electorate to 10 per cent. of the population;

(*d*) are the Depressed Classes or Untouchables likely to return representatives of their own to the Council under the system of franchise you propose? If so, how many, and for what constituencies?

In order to assist the Franchise Committee in dealing with this matter could you take, say, two typical constituencies and have a detailed analysis prepared showing the number of individuals and voters belonging to the Depressed Classes in these constituencies, and the number of

ment revenue in the Assam Valley temporarily settled district. There are many *gaonburas* in each mauza. One result of the mauzadar's influence was that he frequently got himself returned as local board member. In 1915 an Assamese gentleman wrote :—" The proposed rule, which is in fact the existing rule under which the rural members are elected by only the *gaonburas*, is not at all satisfactory and is not liked by the intelligent and respectable class of the people. It does not secure or encourage candidature for membership of the desirable and the fittest persons of the circle. Many desirable and fit persons of the circles do not like, out of self-respect, to stand as candidate for election on account of having to be elected by the votes of the *gaonburas* only. The rule which was in force for many years, since the establishment of the local board in Assam, according to which the non-official members were elected by the votes of the landholders whose land revenue is not less than Rs. 20, was a more satisfactory and better rule which I respectfully beg to urge may be re-introduced for election of rural or circle members. As the rate of land revenue of the province has increased since the time when that rule was introduced, the limit of Rs. 20 may now be increased to Rs. 25 or Rs. 30.

9. As regards chaukidari panchayats, I may quote from a letter written in 1915 by a gentleman of Sylhet who has always taken a keen interest in village affairs :—" The present system of election of rural members for the local board by the chaukidari panchayats is far from satisfactory. The franchise under this system is not only narrow but is worse than that. The sarpanches (the head member of the panchayat) being generally men of lower order do not possess the requisite amount of judgment and at the same time cannot exercise their independence in giving votes. It has been noticed on more than one occasion that they gave their votes against their own will under pressure of interested parties. This often results in the election of persons other than those whom the public at large numbers to be the fittest persons to represent them in local boards."

The comment of the Commissioner on the above is that the present method by which rural members are in the Surma Valley elected by chaukidari panchayats is not intended to be the final one and will doubtless be abandoned when some practical means of preparing a roll of electors qualified by the payment of a certain sum as local rate can be devised.

10. The experienced Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup who had a very intimate knowledge of the villagers in his district wrote in 1917—" Election by *gaonburas* is at present little more than a sorry farce and though the results have not been unsatisfactory, the method is one to bring the election system into lasting discredit." So strongly did he feel about the matter that he and the local board urged that on the day previous to that fixed for the election, the *gaonburas* should collect the votes of the villagers and have the result recorded in writing, similarly each head of village authority should collect the votes of the villagers in his circle. In other words he advised that there should be a more or less direct election for a choice of a local board member by the constituents of the

Note on the former system of electing Local Board Members in Assam through Gaonburas and Panchayats.*

1. Though prior to 1915 local boards in Assam were not corporate bodies and though there was no statutory provision requiring their members to be elected, they were even at that stage entrusted with duties relating to Public Works, Education, Public Health and other matters which closely touched the welfare of the people. They were similar to district boards in Bengal, and had much more responsible duties than local boards in Bengal.

2. During the period 1883-1905, in some boards each tea estate had one vote for the election of planters' representatives. Non-officials, other than planters, were generally nominated but in two boards they were elected, the main qualification for the franchise being payment of land revenue of at least Rs. 20.

3. In 1905 the boards were reconstituted and in addition to the tea planter representatives, some of the non-official seats in each board were thrown open to election. In the case of planter members the Managers had a direct vote, the number of votes depending on the acreage under tea. As regards other elected members, one member in each board was elected by those who paid municipal tax, another by income-tax payers on trading profits and the rest by the village *panchayats* or *gaonburas* in each constituency or circle. This system continued till 1915, when on the passing of the Local Self-Government Act, the local boards become corporate bodies, a certain number of whose members had to be elected in accordance with the rules made under the Act. The system of indirect franchise continued till 1921.

4. Since 1921 the qualification for voters to local boards are practically identical with those for the electors of the Legislative Council. The electoral roll for the local board is the same as the electoral roll for the Assam Legislative Council with some modifications in the case of urban areas.

5. Indirect franchise for Local Boards continued in force till 1921. In the Local Board Manual issued in 1905 it was laid down that in rural areas the voters will be (1) Chaukidari *panchayats* or (2) *gaonburas*, according to the system in force in each valley. Chaukidari *panchayats* exist in Sylhet and Cachar (the two districts in the Surma Valley) and in Goalpara in the Assam Valley. These are elected by the villagers under the Chaukidari Act of 1870. The voters for the constitution of the *panchayat* are the male adults in the village who pay Chaukidari tax. The main function of the *panchayat* is to assess and collect the tax for the payment the chaukidars or village watchmen. In all the districts of the Assam Valley, except Goalpara, each village or in some cases groups of villages have their *gaonbura* or headman who is supposed to be the pokesman of the people. He is nominated by the villagers and in case of good conduct holds office for life and his son, if suitable, succeeds him. According to rule, the villagers nominate the *gaonbura* where there is a

* *Vide* para. 9 of the memorandum of the Government of Assam, page 375.

vacancy. The Deputy Commissioner with whom the final appointment rests is not bound to accept the nomination but if it commands a two-thirds majority of the villagers who give an opinion he must in writing record his reasons for not accepting the nomination.

6. The *gaonburas* had one vote for the election of a local board member and so had the *panchayat*. The latter was usually composed of five members and in the case of voting the majority prevailed. At a subsequent stage, however, each member of a *panchayat* was entitled to vote separately. Two months' notice was given of an election, inviting the *gaonburas* or *panchayats* to meet at a certain place within their circle and on a certain date. Those attending would vote for the local board member in the presence of an officer not below the rank of Sub-Deputy Collector. The number of rural members elected in this way varied from 2 to 5 for each sub-division which was the territorial jurisdiction of the local board.

7. The Local Self-Government Act of 1915 provided for the creation of village authorities. The Chief Commissioner of Assam had power to declare any local area to be a village for the purpose of the Act. The next step was to establish a village authority consisting of members appointed or elected (in whole or in part). Usually the area of the village was about 10 square miles with 5,000 or 6,000 inhabitants. It was supposed to be the agent of the local board for carrying out petty repairs to roads and tanks in the village with funds supplied by the local board. Occasionally certain members of the village authority were empowered to try petty criminal and civil cases, and in practice more attention was paid to this branch of the work than to material improvements in the village. Moreover, unfortunately, the village authority frequently became a one-man show, the villagers being often entirely indifferent to the activities or non-activities of the village authority. By a notification of 1918, the members of the village authorities where such had been constituted formed the electorate for the election of local board members; in the remaining areas (*i.e.*, the bulk of the province) the chaukidari *panchayat* and *gaonburas* continued to be the electors. This lasted till 1921 when the direct franchise was introduced.

8. In the printed files of the Assam Secretariat there is ample testimony both by officials and non-officials that election of local board members by *gaonburas* was a failure. I will refer to a few of the opinions recorded.

In 1915, when the rules to be framed under the Assam Local Self-Government Act of 1915 were under discussion, officials and non-officials in their letters touched on the question of election by *gaonburas* and chaukidari *panchayats*. As regards election by *gaonburas* the opinions received are summarised in a Secretariat note as folows :—" In the Assam Valley the election of rural members by *gaonburas* is condemned almost universally." In the various letters it is stated that *gaonburas* are not real representatives of the villagers and are often tools in the hands of the mauzadars. The latter are the non-official agents who collect Govern-

(II) Muhammadan;

(III) Other communal electorates restricted to members of the "Exterior" Hindu Castes or to aboriginal tribes or to those *ex*-tea garden labourers, who hold the necessary franchise qualification;

(IV) Constituencies designed to represent "Special" interests referred to in paragraph 18 above

It has been stated that it is impossible at present to indicate even on general lines, based on the proportion of population, the number of constituencies required under the head (III) above. As a matter of procedure the Government of Assam would advocate that, taking the population as recorded in the census of 1931 as the basis, constituencies should be provisionally created and six months given for electors to register. They would prefer that the rolls should be prepared in accordance with requests made for registration, rather than by Government officers preparing lists in advance on information in their possession. In other words registration would follow application. Six months might be allowed for this purpose when the registers should be closed and a period of one month allowed for hearing objections—*e.g.*, against the inclusion of an elector in a communal constituency or on the grounds that an elector was not qualified. No more claims or additions would be admitted.

They would regard for the province of Assam 5,000 registered electors as the minimum justifying the creation of a constituency and 20,000 as the maximum, taking usually the sub-division, or in certain cases, the district as the geographical unit. In certain cases it might be necessary even for a 'special' constituency to combine two districts—*e.g.*, the districts of Sylhet and Cachar where provisionally a constituency might be created for the Manipuris whose number in the two districts comes to 84,000. The same would be the case with the Miris in Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts. In Goalpara and Kamrup the population of Kacharis would justify the creation of a constituency in each district.

21. His Excellency the Governor considers that it may be difficult for registering officers to deal with questions of caste if objections are raised—*e.g.*, such as has occurred in the case of *Jogis* and *Suts* in the Assam Valley. He dislikes the idea of definitely reserving any constituency for the lower or "exterior" castes. He would prefer the division to be—

(1) General, on a purely geographical basis;

(2) Hindus—including in it all who would like to designate themselves as "Hindus";

(3) Muhammadans; and

(4) Special.

His belief is that, in course of time, the general constituencies would become the more important, and that the eventual tendency, after a period of years, would be for the purely communal constituencies to disappear.

This, in his opinion, should be the avowed ultimate aim. In this case also he would allow it to the elector himself to decide in which constituency he wishes to register. An elector should only be allowed to register in one constituency, and should only be allowed to stand as a candidate for the constituency in which he has registered.

22. In their earlier letter* of the 19th February 1932, dealing with the question of women suffrage, the Assam Government expressed the view that any woman free from statutory disqualification who applied for the registration of her name as an elector on a petition bearing a rupee stamp should be registered for a year. His Excellency the Governor would himself advocate the extension of this privilege to male voters also. Under present circumstances, some electors find difficulty and sometimes incur expense in obtaining the necessary proof of their qualifications such as the payment of municipal rates or chaukidari tax or, where a person holds plots of land in different villages. Further, under rule 4 of the Assam Electoral Rules, in the case of a Hindu 'joint' family ordinarily only the managing member gets suffrage unless his estate is large enough to be broken up into portions sufficient to justify the franchise being given to the other members of the family as well as to the manager. In such cases where another member of the family wishes to register, the Governor considers that an application bearing a rupee stamp should be sufficient to justify it.

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* Page 317.

16. *Q. 13.*—His Excellency and the other members of Government, excepting the Hon'ble Finance Member, are of opinion that a second Chamber or Senate in Assam is both feasible and essential. They consider that with a large increase in the number of members of the Lower House under the new constitution there is a risk of hasty and ill-considered legislation and resolutions. The Government of Assam are of opinion that, in these circumstances, there is need of a body which could act as a brake on precipitate action by the Lower House and which could effectively perform the functions of revision. As a general principle, no resolution passed in the Lower House would be binding on Government unless it was confirmed by the Senate. The Cabinet, however, should be empowered to decide what resolutions, or budget cuts, including token cuts, were of sufficient importance to be referred to the Senate. Broadly speaking, the Senate might stand in the same relation to the Lower House, as the existing Council of State does to the Legislative Assembly. It is suggested that there should be 30 members in the Senate, of whom 20 would be elected and 10 nominated by the Governor, who would presumably consult the Ministers. Provision should be made in the constitution, so that, as regards elected members, Muslims might receive adequate representation in the proportion obtaining in the Lower House, excluding from the calculation the special or non-territorial constituencies, mentioned in the reply to question 15.

As it is desirable that members of the Senate should be men of mature judgment, the minimum age of candidates might be fixed at 35.

The qualifications of an elector to the Senate would be on the lines of the qualifications of the existing electorate in Assam for the Council of State. It is considered, however, that the amount of payment of land revenue, local rate, and income-tax should be lowered so as to widen the electorate. The Government of Assam propose that a person shall be qualified as an elector for a member of the Senate who has a place of residence in Assam and who—

(*a*) is liable to pay, in temporarily settled areas, annually not less than Rs. 1,000 as land revenue or not less than Rs. 100 as local rate, or, in permanently settled areas, not less than Rs. 50 as land revenue or not less than Rs. 5 as local rate. These figures, however, are only suggested tentatively and might be subject to alteration in the light of further detailed enquiries as to the number of electors who would be enfranchised under these qualifications ; or

(*b*) was in the financial year preceding that in which the electoral roll or the list of amendments thereto, as the case may be, for the time being under preparation, was first published under the electoral rules, assessed to income-tax on an income of not less than Rs. 6,000 ; or

(*c*) is or has been a non-official member of either chamber of the Indian Legislature, or of the Assam Legislative Council as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1915 ; or

(*d*) is or has been a non-official Chairman of a Municipal Board or Local Board in the province of Assam; or

(*e*) is or has been an Honorary Magistrate in the province of Assam; or

(*f*) is or has been a member of the Senate or a Fellow or an Honorary Fellow of any University constituted by law in British India; or

(*g*) is the holder of any title officially recognised by the Government of Assam, or holds any decoration conferred by the King-Emperor or by the Viceroy of India.

17. *Q. 14.*—The Government of Assam are of opinion that it is only when registration of the electorate has been completed that the number of constituencies can really be rightly determined. Any assumptions based merely on population are likely to be falsified, both in the numbers registering and the numbers voting. They are, therefore, at present unable to visualise the strength of the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature either in the case of a unicameral or of a bicameral Provincial Legislature.

18. *Q. 15.*—The Government of Assam adhere to the view expressed in Mr. Soames' letter* of 19th February 1932, that the representation of special interests should be confined to the following:—

(*a*) The tea industry on the present proportion of one-eighth of the elected members, two of the seats being reserved for Indians;

(*b*) Two seats for Commerce, one being reserved for Indians;

(*c*) One seat for Europeans;

(*d*) One seat for Indian Christians by nomination;

(*e*) Three seats for labour by nomination.

19. *Q. 16 (a).*—The Government of Assam are in favour of direct election to both Chambers of the Federal Legislature.

(*b*) In the event of direct election to the Upper and Lower Houses of the Federal Assembly, the Assam Government are not in favour of lowering the existing franchise qualifications for the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

(*c*) The Government of Assam consider that the group system should not be employed in election to either House of the Federal Assembly.

(*d*) The Government of Assam would prefer to reserve their opinion as to the special interests to be represented in the Federal Legislature, until the scheme for the latter, more especially as regards the representation of the States, has been worked out in greater detail.

20. In conclusion I am to point out that the recommendations above contemplate the eventual creation in the province of Assam of constituencies of four kinds:—

(I) *General, i.e.*, those now known as non-Muhammadan, a title which might perhaps with advantage disappear;

* Page 317.

11. *Q. 7.*—The Assam Government would restrict the franchise to members of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces who are actually serving in these forces and who have in the "previous year" passed the efficiency test.

12. *Q. 8.*—As stated above, after further consideration the Assam Government see no reason to alter their opinion given in the previous letter. They consider that in actual practice the number of women who will wish to exercise their right conferred by the franchise will be very small. As stated in reply to question 3 (*v*) it would be difficult to provide separate polling booths for women and impossible, under present conditions, to obtain women presiding officers and clerks.

As regards a constituency for literate women, it might be possible to arrange for registration of the electors, as in the case of male voters on the production of a certificate that they have passed the middle vernacular or corresponding examination. The number qualifying would at present be small but is likely to increase in the future. At present the number of literate women in the enfranchised areas in the plains is shown as 33,309 in the census returns, but this includes all who assert that they can read or write. It would be very difficult to frame a special constituency for literate women. It appears improbable that there will be women candidates or that they would be returned from an ordinary constituency. The Government of Assam do not consider it neeesary that a small number of women should be members of the Council. They regard this suggestion as far in advance of the requirements of the province. It is considered improbable that under present conditions there would be any women candidates of a class whose advice or influence would be of any real value.

13. *Q. 9 (a).*—In the existing Council there are three representatives of the lower caste Hindus. One is a member of the *sonar* caste, nominated by His Excellency the Governor in 1929 to represent the depressed classes. The other two are *muchis* (cobblers) who were elected with the aid of the Congress party, when the latter decided to abstain from contesting elections for the Legislative Council. They were not elected with a view to giving representation to members of the "depressed classes". There is no doubt that the support that they obtained was given with a view to discredit Government and the Legislative Council.

Q. 9 (b).—I am to refer to the note* submitted as an appendix to the report of the Provincial Franchise Committee, dividing Hindu castes into "interior" and "exterior". As previously stated the term "depressed classes" is not applicable to Assam, but under present conditions it may be said that the "exterior" castes have little or no chance of obtaining representation in the Assam Legislative Council.

Q. 9 (c).—It is regretted that it is impossible, pending the publication of detailed census statistics, district by district, to give any estimate of the number of members of these "exterior" castes who would be placed on the electoral roll as a result of an extension of the franchise.

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* Page 337.

The Assam Government contemplate an extension of the franchise sufficient to include 10 per cent. of the population, and think that it should be possible to provide by the creation of special constituencies adequate representation for these lower castes and backward tribes. As already stated, they attach considerable importance to allowing the individual voter the option whether he will enrol in a 'general' constituency intended for all classes and creeds, or in a separate electorate composed on communal lines.

The Assam Government prefer single member special constituencies to those which contain reserved seats. They believe such a constituency is more likely to return a member who will endeavour to advance the interests of the lower castes or backward tribes than would be the case in reservation of seats in the "general" or a "non-Muhammadan" constituency. In this connection the reply to question No. 12 may also be seen.

14. *Qs. 10 and 11.*—After giving further consideration to the question of representation for industrial labour and tea garden labour in the Legislature, the Assam Government are unable, having regard to the actual conditions prevailing in Assam, to facts as opposed to theories, to alter their opinion that at present such representations can best be secured by nomination, it being left to the Governor to try and devise for any area some system under which the labourers themselves could be consulted. It will be remembered that among the members of the Assam Provincial Franchise Committee there was one who might be regarded as typical of the class who would seek nomination, and who would probably be approved by the tea garden labourers.

A tea garden in Assam employs labourers from various parts of India. On one garden there may be, for example, Oriyas, Oraons, Mundas, Santals, as well as members of various Hindu castes from the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, Madras and Bombay. Each of these would form a little group of its own, but without any cohesion whatsoever amongst the groups. The Santals, for example, would have no use for the Oraon; the Oriya would remain absolutely distinct from the Bombay labourer. Under present conditions it appears impossible to devise any system by which the representatives of these various groups would agree on any one representative of several tea gardens. There is every possibility, however, that their disagreement in this matter might take the shape of undesirable activity. Many years must elapse before these labourers are able to combine for the purpose of electing a representative.

15. *Q. 12.*—The only plural member constituencies in Assam are the planting constituencies. They have never been contested. The Government of Assam are of opinion that illiterate voters would find it difficult to record their votes correctly in multi-member constituencies. The Government of Assam are opposed to multi-member constituencies, other than those designed to represent special interests, or where voting by post is possible.

The disadvantages are :—

(*a*) It is essential that some officer should be present to see that the ballot paper is actually placed in the box and not taken outside with a view to sale. This can be done without impairing the secrecy of the ballot if officers entirely unconnected with the locality are deputed for the purpose.

(*b*) It is not possible with the coloured box system to have a recount in the case of a very close election.

(*c*) In the case of multiple constituencies,—*e.g.*, with reserved seats, it might be found that there were not sufficient distinctive colours. A multiplicity of boxes tends to confuse the voter.

(*d*) The coloured box system needs careful supervision by the presiding officer. He and he alone should stamp the ballot paper ; otherwise there is the risk of a polling clerk stamping 30 or 40 papers and placing them in a candidate's box. If recourse is had to the box system, the need for an absolutely impartial and vigilant presiding officer is emphasized.

On the whole the Government of Assam would advocate for the province of Assam the box system, except for those constituencies where voting by post is permissible. I am however to point out that certain amendments and addit ons to the present electoral rules and regulations may be necessary to provide for the precautions ment oned above.

7. *Q. 3* (*v*).—The Government of Assam consider that it is not possible to provide separate polling booths for women. It can be definitely stated that women presiding officers and clerks will not be available. It might be possible to have separate entrances and compartments for women voters but only at a considerable cost to Government. This would be useless, however, without women presiding officers and clerks.

8. *Q. 4.*—The Government of Assam in reply to II (*c*) of the general questionnaire have stated that the payment of a definite sum as tax or revenue either to Government or to a local body or, if feasible, the payment of a certain sum by way of rent every year to a landlord, should be the qualification for the franchise.

The actual extent to which the qualification for the franchise would have to be lowered must depend on detailed and necessarily prolonged enquiries in each district in order to ascertain exactly what payment of land revenue or chaukidari tax or local rates would enfranchise ten per cent. of the population. Similar detailed enquiries would be necessary to find out the approximate percentage of women who would be enfranchised.

I am to point out that the supplementary questionnaire reached Shillong on the afternoon of March 4th and that the reply thereto has to leave on the afternoon of March 12th. Sufficient information on the subject is not available at headquarters, and it will be seen that there has not been time to consult local officers.

9. *Q. 5.*—The Government of Assam have expressed their decided opinion in favour of the extension of the direct vote so far as is administratively possible, and do not consider it necessary to offer any observations on questions 5—A, B, C and D. They have again very carefully considered whether under the conditions prevailing in Assam it is possible to introduce any indirect system of vote or whether this would meet with popular approval. I am to enclose for the information of the Indian Franchise Committee a note* which has been prepared on the former practice of electing local board members in Assam through *gaonburas* (village headmen) and *panchayats*. It will be seen that the system was generally condemned. In the plains districts of Assam, except Sylhet, the density of population may be taken at 246 per square mile. In Sylhet district the density is 497 per square mile. As compared with other provinces there is a small cadre of revenue and judicial officers. The task of holding primary elections could not be entrusted to the *Mauzadar* in the Assam Valley or the *panchayat* in the Surma Valley. The Government therefore view with the greatest apprehension any attempt to hold primary elections which they consider would be unpopular, difficult to hold and, where they could be held, potentially mischievous.

I am also to say that the Government of Assam, after careful reconsideration in the time at their disposal of the extent to which the population of the province could be enfranchised, have come to the conclusion that, for the next ten years, it would be unwise to attempt to give the vote to more than 10 per cent. of the total population, including such women as were qualified. They recognise a definite risk that a wider franchise might result in a general breakdown of the electoral arrangements and the consequent discredit of the whole system. In their opinion the real importance lies not so much in the proportion of the people qualified to be on the electoral rolls as in the number of those registered who will actually come to vote. Nor should it be difficult at some future date for the Legislative Council by a "constitutional" resolution of the kind suggested by the Statutory Commission to widen the franchise, to increase the number of constituencies, or to facilitate the representation of women in the Legislative Council. They would prefer gradual development to any sudden increase in the electorate on a scale likely to cause confusion. It is their considered opinion as regards female suffrage that, while every opportunity should be taken to encourage women to exercise their right to vote, nothing is to be gained at present by thrusting the franchise on people who do not wish to exercise it.

10. *Qs. 5 and 6.*—The Government of Assam, therefore, consider that there should be an extension of the direct vote, though only to the extent indicated above, both in town and country. They desire to point out, however, that in Assam the distinction between town and country hardly arises because there is no urban area with a population of more than 27,000. There are only three Municipalities with a population over 20,000. The question of weightage to towns does not arise in Assam.

* Page 382.

Some would agree to the employment of non-official agency, limited nowever to those cases where the consent of the candidates had been obtained.

As regards polling clerks the Government of Assam consider that the requisite number would be available. In some cases it might be necessary to employ a non-official agency to assist the presiding officer, out the Government are of opinion that they can rely on the latter for exercising the necessary supervision.

In this connection I am to suggest for the consideration of the Indian Franchise Committee the addition of another clause by way of amendment to Act No. XXXIX of 1920 (The Indian Elections Offences and Inquiries Act), penalising mal-practices at a polling station. It is thought that some legislation of this kind may be necessary to confer requisite powers on the presiding officer over any non-official agency.

To sum up, the Government of Assam are of opinion that it is not feasible or desirable to use non-officials as presiding officers except in rare cases, and that it is essential for years to come that polling officers should be under the control of presiding officers who are Government servants.

4. As regards the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the province, it will be convenient to consider this from the point of view of the recommendation of the Government of Assam that it is not practicable or desirable to enlarge the electoral roll at present beyond 10 per cent. of the total population, which means about 20 per cent. of the adult population. The population of the plains districts of Assam is, in round figures, 8,000,000. The potential electorate would be 800,000. The Indian Franchise Committee have taken 750 as the number of male voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day. In the light of the experience of this and some other provinces, the Government of Assam consider that this figure is too high and would prefer to base their calculations on an estimate of 500 voters. If the election were spread over two days (one for Muslims and one for non-Muslims) 800 polling stations would be required. It would not be possible, however, to find sufficient suitable officers for so many polling stations. The Government of Assam are therefore of opinion that the polling should be spread over four days, *i.e.*, two days for each constituency. This would enable 500 votes to be polled daily in 400 polling stations or the possible reception of a total daily vote of 200,000 in the whole province or 800,000 during the four days. It would thus be possible to secure the services of sufficient presiding and polling officers to record the votes.

It is unnecessary to consider the question from the point of view of women voters forming 10 per cent. or 40 per cent. of those who come to the poll. Government consider that, in Assam, this is entirely outside the sphere of practical politics.

5. Before passing from this question, the Government of Assam invite attention to the fac · that, for the purpose of calculation, they

have assumed that all electors would come to the poll. They consider it unlikely, however, that, on an average, more than 60 per cent. would cast their votes. A reference to paragraph 24 at page 23 of the Memoranda of the Government of Assam to the Statutory Commission will show that the average polling in previous elections has been about 38 per cent. of the electorate. In the case, however, of a keen contest, the polling may be much higher. Statement 8 at pages 18-19 of the same Memoranda shows cases where polling was as high as 70·98 of the elec torate. These, however, are exceptions. It is reasonable, however, to expect that with the political education of the electorate more voters will attend the poll and, in any event, as has been pointed out in election inquiries, the polling arrangements to be adequate must be based on the assumption of a large attendance. The Government of Assam consider that, in their calculations, they have left a comfortable margin to provide for any abnormally high poll. Further, the population of eight millions includes about one million of labourers and others residing on tea gardens who are at present unenfranchised. The Government of Assam have recommended (paragraph 14 *infra*) that these should be represented in the Legislative Council by nomination.

It is difficult to give any precise idea of the area which would be covered by each pol ing station. This must necessarily vary. In some districts there are large uninhabited tracts while in others the population is fairly dense. The aim of the Returning Officer in establishing polling stations should be to limit the distance that electors have to travel in the interior to the polling stations to not more than 5 or 6 miles.

6. *Q. 2.*—It is difficult under either system of polling to guarantee security. It has to be remembered that with an illiterate, diffident and suspicious electorate, the presence of any one inside the room where the votes are actually deposited, encourages the fear that the way the votes are cast, may be discoverable by the candidate or his agents.

In the case of the coloured box or token system the advantages are :—

(*a*) It is easier for the voter. The candidate is told what the colour of his box or the symbol will be a week or fortnight before the polling day and is able to instruct his supporters accordingly. The voter can go quickly into the voting chamber and deposit his ballot paper in the box of the candidate for whom he wishes to vote.

(*b*) It is quicker than the marked ballot paper system. The latter in the case of an electorate which is largely illiterate, takes some time. If the presiding officer or the polling officer mark the ballot paper in order to assist the illiterate elector, it is difficult to preserve secrecy.

(*c*) Properly managed, the coloured box system should be more secret than the marked ballot paper. The voter need not disclose to any one in which box he has placed the ballot paper.

lature with a view to giving that portion of the population which has not a direct or indirect share in its election some voice in national affairs ?

(*d*) What special interests should be represented in the Federal Legislature, and to what extent ?

The Committee appreciate that reference to local officers will be necessary before answers to some of the above questions can be given, but they must ask that arrangements be made to furnish them with the bulk of the information required by 15th March at latest, and that any supplementary information on outstanding points may reach them not later than 25th March. They greatly regret the necessity for thus pressing local Governments and their officers at the present time, but in view of the date by which their report on the basis of the franchise has to be submitted, they are compelled to ask that the matter may be expedited in every possible way.

IV

Memorandum by the Government of Assam in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee.

LETTER FROM THE SPECIAL OFFICER, GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, BOMBAY, No. 2358-A.P., DATED SHILLONG, THE 12TH MARCH 1932.

With reference to your demi-official No. E.-221-Assam of 29th February, forwarding a supplementary questionnaire for consideration of the local Government and the Provincial Committee, I am directed to forward for the information of the Indian Franchise Committee the further views of the Assam Government on some of the questions. A reference is invited to Mr. Soames' letter* of 19th February 1932 in which Government gave their opinion on the general questionnaire.

2. *Qs. 1 and 3.*—The maximum number of voters who could be polled in the Province depends very largely on the number of officers who would be available as presiding or polling officers. It is proposed, therefore, to consider the latter question first. The Assam Government attach the greatest importance to employing as presiding officers only those who have the confidence of the public and who can be trusted to discharge such responsible duties honestly, efficiently and impartially. For this reason Government would entrust these duties only to gazetted officers, most of whom belong to the category of Extra Assistant Commissioners, Sub-Deputy Collectors, Sub-Judges and Munsiffs, officers of the higher Educational, Agricultural and Engineering services, Sub-Registrars, and officers in the upper grades of the Co-operative, Industries, Forest, Excise and Income-tax Departments. It is estimated that more or less, 400 of such officers would be available as presiding officers throughout the province. The Government would also be prepared to utilise as presiding officers pensioned Government officers as also Court of Ward officers who belong to the grades specified above. On account, however, of age and infirmity, it is improbable that many pensioned officers would come forward to undertake the arduous duties of a polling officer, and Court of Ward officers are few in number. The Government of Assam are not in favour of the employment of members of local and Municipal Boards or of presidents and members of Village Bench Courts. They would too frequently be partisans of some particular candidate. There are a few Honorary Magistrates, particularly pensioned Government officers, who could suitably be employed as presiding officers, if they were willing to undertake the task.

3. As regards the use of non-officials as presiding officers, the Government of Assam would only employ them with the consent of the candidates. I am directed to note that Government have taken advantage of the session of the Legislative Council to consult the non-official members and to ascertain their views on this matter. They are almost unanimous in their preference for an official presiding officer.

* Page 317.

Depressed Class electors who are now on the electoral roll and who would appear on the electoral roll—

(*i*) under the system of franchise you propose,

(*ii*) if 10 per cent. of the electorate were directly enfranchised ?

The Committee would also be glad of a statement in general terms of the distribution of the Depressed Classes, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability throughout the Province. Are there any constituencies or areas in which the Depressed Classes are sufficiently numerous as to make it possible for them to return a member of the Legislature, in the event of their voting together ?

10. How do you propose to secure representation for—

(*a*) industrial labour, and

(*b*) tea garden labour

in the Legislature ?

11. To what extent, if at all, could the group system (either wholly indirect or 'hybrid') be used, in your opinion, to deal with the representation of labour ?

12. Have you any views as to the desirability of single-member constituencies, as opposed to multi-member constituencies, electing two, three or five members each, either by the single non-transferable vote, or any other recognised device ?

13. Do you consider that a second Chamber is feasible and desirable in your Province ; and if so, what should its members be, and how should they be composed ? What would be its position *vis-a-vis* the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature ?

14. What do you consider should be the number of members—

(*i*) of the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature in the event of a bicameral system being introduced,

(*ii*) of the Provincial Legislature if unicameral ?

15. What representation do you consider should be given in the Provincial Legislature to special interests, *e.g.*, trade and commerce, planting, landlords, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, etc., etc. ?

16. As regards the Federal Legislature—

(*a*) Do you consider that the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by some system of proportional representation ?

(*b*) To what extent should the existing franchise qualifications—

(*i*) for the Upper Chamber [if the answer to (*a*) is in the negative],

(*ii*) for the Assembly,

be extended ?

(*c*) Do you consider that any group system could be employed in election to both Houses for either House of the Federal Legis-

gaonburas and village authorities. It is clear that the Deputy Commissioner distrusted the secondary voting by the village authorities and *gaonburas*.

The Commissioner did not accept this suggestion on the grounds that the *gaonburas* were generally illiterate and would not be able to record the votes on paper and that the procedure proposed would open the door to objections. He remarks that "the system of election by *gaonburas* is open to objection no doubt for reasons which have been frequently stated, but we have to accept it in default of anything better."

11. I give extracts from two letters from Indian non-officials, one of them a local board member, written in 1917.—

> "The present highly objectionable procedure of election by *goanburas* should be at once closed without delay."
>
> "The system of election by *gaonburas* whether of village authorities or of villages should be stopped at once. This is the general public opinion. There are serious complaints against this system from time to time."

Both these gentlemen suggested a direct franchise of payment of Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 land revenue.

12. It is clear that indirect election for the members of local boards by *gaonburas* and by members of chaukidari panchayats, and of village authorities was regarded both by officials and non-officials as entirely unsatisfactory, and that there was a keen desire to evolve a system of direct election. Happily the need for an electoral roll for elections to the Legislative Council furnished a solution, the same being adopted for local board elections. The joint authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (1918) observed that "the system of indirect elections should be swept way. It is one main cause of the unreality that characterises the existing councils, because it effectively prevents the representative from feeling that he stands in any genuine relation to the original voter." These remarks were made with reference to the indirect system of election to the provincial councils; they would have been equally applicable to elections for rural members of local boards in Assam. It may be that other provinces have been more fortunate in their experiments in village organisation. Each province has its own particular problems and different means of solving them. However attractive the group system of indirect election may appear as affording a solution to the problem of giving every one a voice in the constitution, the fact remains that the people in Assam will have nothing to do with it, and doubtless their experience of the system of indirect elections to local boards has, at least in part, influenced their conclusions. An ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory. Having regard to the great diversity and variety of circumstances in India, why should we worship a fetish of uniformity?

SHILLONG: J. A. DAWSON.

The 8th March 1932.

V

Memorandum by the Assam Provincial Franchise Committee in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee.

1. The Assam Provincial Franchise Committee met on the evenings of the 9th and 10th of March to consider the supplementary questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee. All members were present. The majority of the members have been occupied since the 1st of March with the work of the Legislative Council which will continue its sittings till the 15th of March and they desire to point out that, under these circumstances, they have not been able to find time for a full study of the new questions. They would remind the Indian Franchise Committee that, in Calcutta, they were asked to meet on the afternoon of the 22nd February to consider their views on the direct and indirect systems of electorate and on the question of female suffrage. On the 24th of February they informed the Indian Franchise Committee that, after further consideration, they saw no reason to alter their views. To that position they still adhere.

The Assam Committee desire to express their regret that they are unable to answer certain questions, *e.g.*, as to the amount of payment of land revenue or of chaukidari tax which would enfranchise 15 per cent. of the population, as to the number among the depressed classes who would be enfranchised on this basis, the categories of the population which would fall under it to secure direct representation, and the approximate number of women who would be enfranchised. Replies to such questions could only be given after detailed enquries by local officers. Enquiries which would give reliable information on which to base conclusions would take months to complete.

The present report takes the form of a précis of the discussions that took place in the two meetings of the Committee.

2. *Q. 1 and 2.*—The Assam Committee were of opinion that only the local Government and officials could supply full information. They, therefore, confined themselves to general observations on certain points.

One official member of the Committee expressed his opinion that although on an average the number of voters who went to the poll did not exceed 60 per cent. of the electorate yet there were cases in the past where that percentage in Assam had been exceeded. It was to be expected that in future there would also be keenly contested elections where a very large number of voters would come to the poll. Experience had proved that in the closing hours of the poll the polling station was apt to be crowded and that there was some difficulty in recording the votes of all who were present. Moreover, the Committee had proposed to treble the electorate to the Lower and Upper Chambers of the Federal Assembly. These votes would presumably be recorded on the same polling days as fixed for the local council. He suggested, therefore, that it might be more practical to limit the direct electorate to 12½ per cent. instead of 15 per cent. of the total population.

The majority of the Committee, while recognising that this was a matter on which great weight must be attached to official opinion, considered that the present system of polling might be improved so as to enable a larger number of votes to be recorded during polling hours. The number of polling stations could be increased ; polling officers could be given powers to put the official stamp on ballot papers and to assist illiterate voters in marking the vote under the supervision of a reliable presiding officer ; and boxes of different colours or bearing different symbols might be used. In those circumstances the majority held that it would be practicable to poll an electorate of 15 per cent. of the total population.

3. With reference to question 1 (A) (*i*), the Committee noted the fact that at present in the general constituencies, polling throughout the province is spread over a period of about a fortnight. District officers fix the dates for polling in the various constituencies within their districts and frequently after completion of polling in one area some of the presiding and polling officers are deputed to assist in another area in the district. In a large district like Sylhet there is simultaneous polling in more than one sub-division. In a district like Nowgong the actual polling at present can be completed in 2 days. In all cases, however, the time taken by the presiding and polling officers in going to and returning from the polling stations has also to be taken into account. Accordingly, in question (1) (A) (*i*) the expression " if the election is spread over 2 days or 4 days " must be taken to mean the time taken in actual polling of votes in the Muslim and non-Muslim constituencies in a particular area. In various parts of the province there would be simultaneous polling in different districts or sub-divisions on the same dates. The Committee were of opinion that with an electorate of 15 per cent. of the total population polling over the province could be finished within 3 weeks.

4. *Q. 2.*—The Committee discussed at some length the different systems of polling. One argument adduced against coloured boxes was that there was only a limited range of distinct colours and that local workmen would be unable to reproduce the exact colour desired. There was, moreover, a risk that in course of transit of the boxes to the polling stations the colours might be obliterated by rain or by other causes. Against the use of boxes with symbols it was argued that there might be some difficulty in getting the symbols printed locally for affixing to the boxes. It was pointed out, however, that they might be obtained from Calcutta in time. A vote on the question resulted as follows :—

11 in favour of boxes with symbols or tokens, 1 for coloured boxes and 2 for marking of votes.

5. *Q. 3 (i to iv).*—The Committee were unable to give the statistical information asked for. They were, however, of the unanimous opinion that as a rule, the presiding officer must be a Government official. They would not restrict this to the employment of only gazetted officers. They would include non-gazetted officers such as Inspectors of Excise and also ministerial officers of a higher grade, such as Sheristadars and Head clerks of the offices of a Deputy Commissioner or of a Commissioner.

They would not exclude pensioned Government officers or officers whose services had been lent to the Court of Wards provided that they held the same rank as the officers dealt with in the first part of this paragraph.

As regards members of local bodies and village bench courts and Honorary Magistrates, these were generally non-officials. The Committee were of opinion that non-officials should be employed as presiding officers only with the consent of the candidates. It was suggested that when candidates appear before the Returning Officer on the date fixed for the scrutiny of nominations they might be shown the list of non-officials whom the Returning Officer proposed to use as presiding officers and they might be asked whether they objected or consented their employment as such.

The Committee had no objection to the use of non-officials as polling officers as they would be under the supervision of a reliable presiding officer.

6. *Q. 3 (v).*—The Committee considered that this was a matter on which Government could best give an opinion.

7. *Q. 4.*—An answer to this question was impossible without detailed enquiry.

8. *Q. 5.*—The Committee, as stated in their report of 18th February, advocated the extension of the direct vote so as to enfranchise 15 per cent. of the total population. They were unable to answer the questions in (C) without detailed enquiries by local officers.

9. *Q. 5 (in second half) and 6.*—In the opinion of the Committee there was really no urban population in Assam. They were in favour of a direct electorate up to 15 per cent. of the total population both in town and in country and would give no weightage to towns in Assam.

10. *Q. 7.*—The Committee adhered to their views in the first report. They would not grant the franchise to ex-members of the Auxiliary and Territorial forces.

11. *Q. 8.*—The Committee saw no reason to alter their considered opinion on the matter of women's suffrage.

12. *Q. 9 (a).*—The Committee preferred that Government should reply to this question.

(*b*).—The Committee would refer to Mr. Mullan's note* on "The Depressed and Backward classes in Assam" and to their views expressed in the first report.

(*c*) *and* (*d*).—The Committee were unable to answer these questions without detailed enquiries by local officers.

13. *Q. 10.*—The Committee adhered to their former view.

As regards representation of tea garden labour, a vote was taken on four alternatives as follows:—

(*a*) By nomination	9
(*b*) Election by labour of a candidate from within the tea estates.	2

* Page 337.

(*c*) Election by labour of a candidate from within or without the tea estates. 2

(*d*) Election by labour of a candidate from outside the tea estates. *Nil.*

14. *Q. 12.*—In favour of multi-member constituencies it was argued that if there was one constituency for each sub-division with 2 or more members, the electorate would be able to vote for a member who held broader views than one who might be returned in a small single-member constituency where local influence might prevail. As against this it was urged that local patriotism was to be commended and that the electors, especially if illiterate, would be confused in recording their votes for 2 or more members in a multi-member constituency. Moreover, in a single-member constituency in a comparatively small area, there would be more contact between the member and his constituents. A vote was taken—8 members were in favour of a single-member constituency and 5 supported a multi-member constituency.

15. *Q. 13.*—Nine members of the Committee were in favour of a second Chamber in the provincial Legislature and 5 were against it.

Eight members were of opinion that there should be 30 members in the second Chamber while 5 preferred a smal'er chamber of 20 members. One member did not vote.

The Committee discussed the position of the second Chamber *vis-a-vis* the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature but came to no final decision. The general feeling was that the second Chamber should be a body for reviewing legislation initiated by the Lower House, but should have no power to reject the annual budget estimate. The second Chamber should, however, have the power to review legislation which sought to introduce a form of taxation which had not been previously in force in Assam, *e.g.*, the levying of an export duty on tea or death duties. As regards the power of the second Chamber to delay legislation, the view was expressed that in case of a conflict between the second Chamber and the Lower House recourse might be had to some or all of the methods at present governing the relations between the present Council of State and the Legislative Assembly (*vide* paragraph 181, volume I—Statutory Commission Report).

As to the composition of the second Chamber, the majority were of opinion that for the first term of the second Chamber one-third of the members should be nominated by the Governor ; and two-thirds should be chosen by the electorate which the Committee in their first report suggested as the electorate for the Upper House of the Federal Assembly. The general feeling of the Committee was against election to the second Chamber from local bodies or from the Lower House of the provincial Legislature.

On the question of the representation of communities and special interests in the second Chamber and of weightage for Muhammadans as urged by the Muhammadan members of the Committee, the majority felt that they were unable to express any opinion without further time for reflection.

The Committee considered that members of the second Chamber should have experience, knowledge, training and judgment. They were of opinion that the age qualification for the second Chamber should be higher than for the Lower House but were equally divided as to whether the age limit should be 35 or 40.

16. *Q. 14.*—The Committee were agreed that whether there was a second Chamber or not, there should be about 100 members in the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature.

17. *Q. 15.*—The Committee were of opinion that the *quantum* of representation to be given to special interests involved consideration of the question of the composition of the whole House.

As the various schemes put forward were largely on a population basis it will be convenient to give certain figures as to the population in the enfranchised areas of the province.

(*a*) Muslims	2,744,108
(*b*) Non-Muslims	5,125,024

The population of non-Muslims includes 979,000 (labourers and others in tea gardens), 654,000 (Hindu exterior castes, as defined in Mr. Mullan's note*), 500,000 (*ex*-tea garden coolies) and 588,000 (backward tribes).

There was a consensus of opinion that for Muslims and for other classes of the community except those for which there should be special methods of representation (*e.g.*, tea garden labour, tea industry, backward tribes, and depressed classes) seats should be allocated on the basis of one seat for 80,000 inhabitants.

Scheme A.—By a Muhammadan member—

Muslims	35	on population basis but 40 with weightage.
Non-Muslims	45	
European	1	
Planting	7	of whom one should be Indian.
Commerce and Industry ..	2	of whom one should be Indian.
Tea garden labour ..	2	
Shillong Constituency ..	1	
Backward tribes ..	2	
	100	with 40 Muslims.

Scheme B.—By a Hindu member—

Muslims	33	
Planting	11	of whom 2 would be Indians.
Commerce and Industry ..	2	
Tea garden labour ..	3	

* Pages 337—363.

Non-Muslims	52	out of which 3 would be for backward tribes and 5 for Hindu exterior classes including *ex*-tea garden coolies.
	101	

The member subsequently agreed that Muhammadans should get their full proportion of seats on a population basis (34·3) but would not agree to weightage.

Scheme C.—By another Hindu member—

Planting	10
Commerce and Industry	1
Tea garden labour	3
Muslims	35
Non-Muslims	51
	100

Out of the 51 seats for non-Muslims seats would be provided for Hindu exterior castes, backward tribes and *ex*-tea garden coolies on the proportion of three-fourths of the population if they had separate electorates and on the basis of full population if there were reserved seats in non-Muslim constituencies. There should also be, in the Assam Valley, reserved seats for Ahoms, Chutias, and Koches.

Scheme D.—By an official member—

	Seats.
Muslims (on population basis)	34·3 (or 35)
Non-Muslims (excluding 979,000 on tea gardens)	51·8 (or 52)

Of the non-Muslims, Hindu exterior castes are entitled to 8 seats but would get 4 seats on half population basis ; *ex*-tea garden coolies are similarly entitled to 6 seats on population basis, but would get 3, and backward tribes though entitled to 7·3 seats would get 4. Therefore 52 non-Muslim seats *minus* (4 *plus* 3 *plus* 4) equals 41 seats.

The composition of the Council would therefore be :—

Muslims	35	
General	41	
Backward tribes	4	
Hindu exterior *plus ex*-garden coolies ..	7	
Labour	3	
Tea Industry	10	(none reserved for Indians).
Commerce and Industry	1	
	101	

The advocate of this scheme would give 3 additional seats to Muhammadans, as weightage, bringing the strength of the Council to 104.

In the short time at the disposal of the Committee, the members of the various communities found it impossible to come to any common agreement. Some members stated that they would submit separate notes* later which could be forwarded.

18. *Q. 16.*—The Committee had nothing to add to the views expressed in their first report.

J. A. DAWSON,
Secretary, Assam Franchise Committee.

SHILLONG :
12th March 1932.

* Pages 394—404.

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APPENDIX I.

Note by Messrs. Rohinikumar Chaudhuri and brindaban Chandra Goswami and Rai Bahadur Nagendra Nath Chaudhury.

We are of opinion that as there are 80 lakhs of people who will participate in the responsible government of the province the number of representatives from territorial constituencies in the provincial legislature should be 100 so as to allow one representative to every 80,000 of the people. The Muhammadans constitute 33·7 per cent. of the population whereas the non-Muhammadans constitute 66·3 per cent. of the population. Roughly speaking, the Muhammadans may get 34 seats and the non-Muhammadans should get 66 seats on population basis. Of the 66 non-Muhammadan seats 11 should go to tea-garden labourers, 7 to the exterior Hindu castes and 4 to tribal groups, leaving 44 for the remaining non-Muhammadans. Of the 11 seats for tea-garden labourers we have proposed to allot only 3 to them to be filled by nomination. So the remaining 8 seats will remain unfilled and the total number of seats will be reduced by 8 leaving in all 92 seats. Seven seats for exterior Hindu castes and 4 for tribal groups will be reserved in the general non-Muhammadan electorate. To the 92 territorial seats mentioned we would add the following extra-territorial seats not based on population strength but to provide for special interests :—

Planting (one-eighth of elected seats) ..	11	(two reserved for Indians).
Commerce and Industry	2	(one reserved for Indians).

The composition would therefore be the following :—

Muhammadans	34	
Labour	3	(by nomination).
Exterior Hindu castes	7	
Tribal groups	4	
Other non-Muhammadans	44	
Planting	11	
Commerce and Industry	2	
	105	

We are strongly opposed to any weightage in favour of any of the two communities, Hindus and Muhammadans. The only argument put forward by Muhammadans for weightage would disappear when the exterior Hindu castes, the tribal groups and labourers would get representation through persons belonging to those communities and the number of high caste Hindus in the legislature representing territorial constituencies would be reduced automatically. Further a community numbering 34 per cent. of the population cannot reasonably claim any weightage. According to our proposals set forth above they will get 34 per cent. representation on the population basis and will capture 37 per cent. of the territorial seats.

SHILLONG : ROHINIKUMAR CHAUDHURI.
The 11th March 1932. BRINDABAN CHANDRA GOSWAMI.
NAGENDRA NATH CHAUDHURY.

N.B.—We have already stated in our minority Report submitted before the main Franchise Committee in Calcutta that we are, on principle, opposed to nomination of labour and reservation of seats for the *so-called* depressed classes and backward tribes. The above note is based on the recommendations of the majority of the Assam Provincial Franchise Committee.

APPENDIX II.

Note on the composition of Legislatures, submitted to the Indian Franchise Committee, by Khan Bahadur Nuruddin Ahmed, Maulvi Munawwarali, Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahim Chaudhuri and Rai Saheb Pyari Mohan Das, members of the Assam Provincial Franchise Committee.

THE ASSAM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Distribution of seats :—

We propose a House of 102 members. All our endeavours have failed to find a basis of representation on population except in the case of caste Hindus and Muslims which we adopt in our recommendations.

The population of the enfranchised area according to the census of 1931 :—

Non-Muslims	5,125,024
Muslims	2,744,108
Total ..	7,869,132

The non-Muslims, other than caste Hindus, are distributed as follows :—

Tea garden labourers	979,000
Depressed classes	654,000
Backward tribes	588,000
Ex-tea garden coolies	500,000
Total ..	271,000

From an examination of circumstances prevailing in Assam and also from opinions expressed in the evidence given before the Provincial Franchise Committee and in memoranda submitted to them on behalf of these classes, as it has been urged before us, we are of opinion that they should not be mixed up with the caste Hindus whose number is found to be 2,404,024 or 30·5 per cent., *i.e.*, 31 per cent. of the total population.

The Statutory Commission have advised against the representation of the depressed classes and backward tribes on a population basis. With Mr. Roffey, Chairman of the Provincial Franchise Committee, who represents the tea industry, we agree that in this province representation of these classes and tribes must be on an arbitrary and territorial basis. Further, representatives of these classes and tribes who appeared before the Provincial Franchise Committee demanded separate representation with separate electorates and we were impressed that their demands were reasonable. They were themselves prepared to accept a lesser number of seats than their population justified in case their claim to separate representation were conceded. In arriving at our conclusions in the matter we have given our anxious thoughts to all these facts.

In the preliminary report of the Assam Provincial Franchise Comm ttee they recommend that the tea garden labourers should be represented by nomination. It was urged with great point that these labourers are entitled to no representation whatsoever in any form. The Committee had at one stage thought that they deserved no representation. The following points, amongst others, were successfully advanced in favour of this contention :—

(1) The tea garden labourers in this province are not organised in any sense.

(2) They come from other provinces and leave after a sojourn and have no stake in Assam.

(3) They are hopelessly backward not only educationally but intellectually too·

(4) They live in complete isolation and no outsiders are allowed access to them and consequently no political organisation among them is possible.

(5) Unlike the general masses they are ignorant of what is going on around them.

Although these points are all very weighty, the Provincial Committee thought that they should be given some representation and considered nomination as the only satisfactory solution for the present. The Government of Assam also held the same view. We also are prepared to give them something rather than nothing and consider two seats to be quite adequate for them.

We recommend that seats should be distributed among the following classes and interests as below :—

1. Depressed classes (by separate electorates)	4
2. *Ex*-tea garden coolies	2
3. Backward tribes (by separate electorates)	2
4. Commerce and Industry	1
5. Tea garden labourers (by nomination—one from each valley)..	2
6. Landholders (by separate electorates—one Muslim and one non-Muslim, even if there be a second Chamber in the province; the franchise qualifications being payment of local rates of at least Rs. 20 per annum)	2
7. Planters (Europeans—8, non-Muslims other than Europeans—1 and Muslim—1)	10
8. Europeans	1
Total ..	24

In the present Assam Legislative Council consisting of 53 members in all, the planting constituencies have 5 members. In a House of 102 we recommend 10 of whom 8 must be Europeans. We also have recommended one separate seat for Europeans, as such. It is quite likely that the Commerce and Industry seat will also be captured by Europeans. The two representatives of the tea garden labourers, although by nomination, may be expected to side with the European planters. It will thus be found that to all intents and purposes the European planters will have at least 12 members forming one group. The two Indian planters are likely to side with them on many occasions.

Looking into another side of the question, it will be found that practically the Europeans in Assam who number only 3,000 in all will be getting more than 300 times the representation which their number justifies and would enjoy a representation (9 seats—8 seats as planters and 1 as Europeans, as such) which 720,000 of population in Assam would be entitled to, if the proposed 102 seats were distributed merely on population basis. On account of the importance of the Europeans and European planting community in Assam we have been obliged to take a most lenient view of their case.

After deducting these 24 seats distributed as above, we have 78 seats left out of 102 to be distributed between the caste Hindus and the Muslims who form 31 per cent. and 35 per cent. respectively of the entire population. Hence on these proportions the caste Hindus are entitled to 37 and Muslims to 41 seats, out of the 78. In all fairness, it must be stated that the Muslims of Assam suffered very much by their absence from the memorable Lucknow Pact of 1916; while in every other province Muslim minority got weightage securing in almost all cases more than double the seats than their number justified, the case of Assam Muslims did not come up for consideration. We are grateful to the depressed class and European representatives who appeared before the Provincial Franchise Committee and accepted the principle of adequate weightage being given to the Muslims of Assam in the forthcoming constitution.

According to bare population proportion, the caste Hindus forming 31 per cent of the total population are entitled to 32 seats, and Muslims forming 35 per cent. are entitled to 36 seats out of the proposed 102. According to our recommendations, the caste Hindus share equal weightage, *i.e.*, 5 seats as the Muslims.

FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

Of the 7 seats for the Lower and 5 seats for the Upper Chambers, recommended by the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference, we recommend that Muslims should be given 3 seats in the Lower, and 2 in the Upper Chamber.

NURUDDIN AHMED
(KHAN BAHADUR), M.L.C.,
MUNAWWARALI, M.L.C.,

ABDUR RAHIM CHAUDHURI
(KHAN BAHADUR), M.L.C.,

RAI SAHIB PYARI MOHAN DAS, M.L.C.,

Members of the Assam Provincial Franchise Committee.

I have agreed to, and signed this note. But I do so on condition that the depressed class Hindus get separate representation as they demand and as has been recommended in this note; if not, the depressed class Hindus *plus* the class Hindus who form 30½ lakhs and are together 39 per cent. of the total population, are thus numerically entitled to get 43 seats out of the balance of 82 seats (102—20 the special interests and backward tribes) and the Muslims are entitled to 39. In this case I would like to give the Muslims a weightage of 2 seats making their number 41, the Hindus also getting 41 in deference of brotherhood of mankind and in righting the wrong done to our Muslim brothers of Assam by the Lucknow Pact of 1916—whereby Muslim brothers of every other province where they were in a minority got adequate weightage except our Muslim brothers in Assam.

If their prayer for separate representation be not granted, I would recommend 6 seats for the depressed classes in mixed electorates and 35 for the class Hindus, the total for the Hindus remaining unchanged, *i.e.*, 41.

PYARI MOHAN DAS (*Rai Sahib*), *M.L.C.*,
Member, Assam Provincial Franchise Committee.

SHILLONG :
The 14th March 1932.

APPENDIX III.

Note on the composition of the Assam Legislative Council, by the Chairman, Assam Provincial Franchise Committee.

With regard to the composition of the future Assam Legislative Council I consider that it should be as follows :—

1. Caste Hindus	36
2. Depressed classes and backward tribes	8
3. Muslims	37
4. Planting (including 2 Indian planters)	13
5. Tea garden labour	3
6. Landholders	2
7. Commerce and Industry	1
8. Europeans	1
	101

Depressed Classes and Backward Tribes.

The depressed classes (including *ex*-tea garden labourers) and backward tribes amount to 1,742,000. The Indian Statutory Commission have commented on the inadvisability of giving representation to these classes on a population basis and propose the grant of representation on a fixed proportion of their population. I consider a better method will be to fix such representation arbitrarily on a territorial basis and am of opinion that, in allocating 8 seats to these classes and tribes, their rights and interests will be adequately protected.

Muslims.

The Muslims are entitled to 35 seats on a population basis and I recommend they should be given a weightage of 2 seats, making their representation 37 seats.

Planting.

The Indian Statutory Commission, the Assam Provincial Committee co-operating therewith, and the Government of Assam, have all recommended what amounts to 13 seats for the planting interests, provided 2 of such seats are reserved for Indian planters. Having regard to the tea industry's stake in Assam, on the prosperity of which industry the province and its inhabitants depend, I consider this representation is the minimum that should be allowed.

Tea Garden Labour.

In the first report of the Assam Franchise Committee nomination was, by a majority, recommended for the representation of tea garden labour. The Government of Assam have also recently changed their former views and have recommended this as the only method of dealing with such representation. The Assam Branch, Indian Tea Association, in their reply to the questionnaire approved, subject to slight modification, the scheme of election on the group system originally put forward by the Government of Assam, whereby 3 members from tea gardens should represent labour. I am prepared to support such a scheme, but am bound to admit that, having regard to all factors now existing in Assam, nomination at present appears to be the only satisfactory solution of this problem. If nomination is to be adopted I consider one member for each valley of the province is all that will be necessary, the Council then consisting of 100, and not 101, members.

Europeans.

I was the only member of the Assam Franchise Committee to recommend the allocation of one seat for the European community in Assam. For the reasons given by the Chairman, European Association (Assam Branch), and by me to the Indian Franchise Committee in Calcutta I am still of the same opinion. This opinion is shared by the Government of Assam.

Caste Hindus.

The composition of the Council will, with the exception of the caste Hindus, thus amount to 65 members. For several reasons I do not consider that the depressed classes and backward tribes, numbering 1,742,000, should be included in the caste Hindu population. Deducting these and labour in tea gardens from the non-Muslim population, the balance amounts to 2,404,024 or 30·5 per cent. for caste Hindus. I consider they should be given a weightage of 5 seats, making their representation 36 seats.

E. STUART ROFFEY,
Chairman,
Assam Franchise Committee.

SHILLONG :
The 15th March 1932.

APPENDIX IV.

Note by Mrs. Z. A. Rahman, Member, Assam Provincial Franchise Committee.

It is unfortunate that our Committee was unable to come to an unanimous understanding as regards the composition of the future Legislature. I find that the question of women's franchise has been treated most unsympathetically; in fact none of the members is willing to concede any reservation of seats for women in the Council.

Our Committee or the majority of them are recommending special treatment to various communities and interests on the ground of lack of education, weakness of numbers, backwardness in society and economic conditions. For instance, landholders and tea planters despite their numbers are preferentially treated and the depressed classes and tribal people are also ensured their representation in the future constitution because of their general backwardness. In view of the lack of sufficient interest shown in the past by our legislators on questions of women's education, general welfare, etc.—and also on account of the rather unenvious and hampered position of the women of India—I see no reason why they also should not claim special treatment. Their case for such treatment is further strengthened by the fact that they comprise about half the total population.

I still urge in continuation of my note of dissent submitted to the main Franchise Committee in Calcutta—that women should have at least five seats for the present in the proposed Legislature. I do not think it is possible at the present time for women to contest seats on the same terms as men in the general election. Therefore, a certain percentage of representation should be reserved for women.

Regarding the distribution of these seats I suggest the following division, hoping for the greatest possible unanimity with the limited number suggested.

Caste Hindus one for each valley	..	..	..	2
Muslims one for each valley	..	..	..	2
Depressed or other classes ..	..	..	..	1
		Total	..	5

Moreover, following the principle of separate electorates I recommend that besides the two major communities others ought also to be represented.

I am submitting this note because I consider it my duty to put forward the case of women as I should not like it to be shelved for any inaction on my part.

MRS. Z. A. RAHMAN.

APPENDIX V.

Note by Mr. J. A. Dawson, Member, Assam Provincial Franchise Committee.

1. *Distribution of population in the enfranchised areas.*—In the province of Assam, the Indian general constituencies are classified as Muslim and non-Muslim. The 1931 census figures show that in the enfranchised areas of the province, the population is :—

(*a*) Muslims	2,744,108
(*b*) Non-Muslims	5,125,021

Under non-Muslims we have :—

Labourers and others in tea gardens	979,000

(There are a very few Muslims among them but their numbers are negligible.)

Hindu exterior castes as defined in—

Mr. Mullan's note*	654,000
Ex-tea garden coolies in the villages	500,000
Backward tribes	588,000

2. *Exclusion of tea garden population.*—In my opinion, labourers and others in tea gardens should be excluded in making any calculation of the number of seats in the new legislature which should be allotted to non-Muslims. These labourers are at present unenfranchised mainly because they pay neither land revenue nor chaukidari tax—the main qualifications for the franchise. Moreover, it is the recommendation of the Committee that at present they should *faute de mieux* be represented in the Council by nomination. We may, therefore, take the non-Muslim population to be considered as 5,125,021 *minus* 979,000, *i.e.*, 4,146,021.

3. *Proportion of population of depressed classes and backward tribes to the total population.*—The total of Hindu exterior castes, *ex*-tea garden coolies, and backward tribes is 1,742,000. For these it is proposed to have reservation of seats in non-Muslim constituencies. In paragraph 80 of Volume II of the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission it is stated that " the proportion of the number of such reserved seats to the total number of seats in all the Indian general constituencies should be three-quarters of the proportion of the depressed class population to the total population of the electoral area of the province ". The same paragraph gives the reasons why seats should not be allocated to them on the basis of their full population ratio.

The proportion of the depressed class population to the total population of the electoral area of the province is $\frac{1,742,000}{2,744,108+5,125,021}$ or about ·22 per cent.

4. *Allocation of seats among Muslims and caste Hindus.*—I agree with the majority of the members of the Committee, that, in the general constituencies, there should be one seat for 80,000 persons. Thus, for the Muslim population, there would be 34·3 seats. As regards the non-Muslims, I have already stated that labourers in the gardens should be excluded. As separate representation on an elective basis is being given to Hindu exterior castes, *ex*-tea garden coolies and backward tribes, their population has also to be excluded. Thus, seats have to be provided for 2,404,021 non-Muslims or rather for those who might be called caste Hindus—a term which, if unscientific, is at least intelligible. They would receive 30 seats. Adding these to the 34 Muslim seats, we have 64 seats.

5. *Allocation of seats among the depressed classes and backward tribes.*—According to the formula of the Statutory Commission (paragraph 3 *supra*) the proportion of the seats reserved for the depressed classes would be three-quarters of ·22, *i.e.*, $\frac{33}{200}$ or say $\frac{4}{25}$. Taking X to represent the number of seats in all the Indian

* Pages 337—363.

general constituencies including those of the depressed classes, the number of seats to be allocated to the depressed classes may be worked out as follows:—

$$64 + \tfrac{4}{25} X = X.$$
$$X = 76.$$

Therefore, out of 76 seats in all the general electorates the allocation would be:—

Muslims	34
Caste Hindus	30
Hindu exterior castes, *ex*-tea garden coolies and backward tribes.	12

6. *Allocation of seats for special interests.*—The next point for consideration is the representation of special interests. I would propose the following seats:—

Tea Industry	13 of which 2 should be for Indians.
Tea garden labour ..	3 by nomination (2 for the Assam Valley and 1 for the Surma Valley).
Commerce and Industry ..	1
Landholders	2 (one for each Valley).

7. *Additional seats for Muhammadans.*—Thus we would obtain a Council of 95.

I am of opinion that in view of the continued expansion of the Muhammadan population in the province, due mainly to the influx of immigrants in the Assam Valley from Bengal, some addition should be made to the number of Muhammadan seats. I would allocate 37 instead of 34 to the Muhammadans.

8. *Readjustment of seats among depressed classes, backward tribes and caste Hindus.*—As regards the caste Hindus and depressed classes, I would propose a readjustment in the number of seats. Mr. Mullan's note* shows that in recent years there has been a marked tendency among certain of the lower Hindus castes, *e.g.*, the Jogis and Suts in the Assam Valley, to move upwards. This has been due largely to a spontaneous desire for uplift. Again, in the case at least of the Cacharis among the backward tribes, there has been wholesale conversion to Hinduism—mainly the result of intensive propaganda work. It may be expected—though it is by no means certain—that for some years to come most of the electors belonging to the depressed classes or to the backward tribes will vote for the reserved seat candidates rather than for the candidates in the general non-Muslim constituencies. But, as time goes on, I think that it is inevitable that at least as regards the depressed classes there will be a growing tendency for the electorate of these classes to support the general non-Muslim candidates. I believe that I am correct in stating that the idea in the minds of most, if not all, of those who supported the Committee's proposal for the reservation of seats in preference to separate electorates was that the depressed classes and perhaps the backward tribes would find their ultimate salvation by combining with the caste Hindus rather than by keeping aloof from them. If this argument is correct, there will not in the future be the same need for so many reserved seats as is contemplated at present. I would propose that meantime there should be 11 instead of 12 reserved seats, and of these I would allocate 7 to the depressed classes and 4 to the backward tribes. In paragraph 14 of my "Note† on how elections could be conducted with an electorate of 15 per cent. of the total population" a tentative distribution of these seats has been suggested. They would be on a territorial basis, but the number of seats has been worked out according to population. With 12 seats for a population of 1,742,000 among the depressed classes and backward tribes the standard is almost 145,000 per seat and with 11 seats it is about 158,000 per seat. In order to meet the gradual absorption of the depressed classes and the backward tribes in the higher Hindu castes, I would suggest that instead of 30 there should be 33 seats for caste Hindus. I recognize that the argument for this

* Pages 337—363. † Not printed.

increase—and also for the increase in the number of Muhammadan seats—rests on nothing more than a hypothesis. I think that, so long as there is no settlement of the communal question, there should be provision for readjusting the number of seats by a " constitutional resolution ", perhaps after every census.

9. *Tea-garden labour seats.*—For tea-garden labour I would have preferred representation by election, with 4 seats for the Assam Valley and 2 for the Surma Valley—more or less on the same lines as the representation for the depressed classes and the backward tribes—had I been convinced that this was both practicable and desirable. In my opinion, this method of representation is neither practicable nor desirable. I consider that 3 seats to be filled by nomination should suffice, but this would be only a temporary expedient. It is not difficult to visualise that formation of trade unions in tea-gardens in the not distant future, and when these become an accomplished fact and of a nature suitable to express, fairly and effectively, the needs of the tea-garden labourers, it may be possible to utilise them as a medium of representing tea-garden labour in the legislature. I think, however, that meantime representation by nomination must remain the best solution. It would be unwise—and might prove disastrous to the industry and therefore to the province as a whole—to allow an opening for a politician who has an axe to grind.

10. *Tea Industry seats.*—I have recommended 13 seats for the tea industry of which 2 would be reserved for Indians. This is, more or less, according to the present proportion of one-eighth of the elected members of Council. In this connection I would invite attention to paragraph 88 of Volume II of the Report of the Statutory Commission where it is stated that " In Assam, where there is no European seat apart from those allotted to planters there seems ground for making some addition to the quota, in view of the extremely large and important part which the tea industry plays in the province." As the acreage of Indian-owned gardens is about one-eighth that of those owned by Europeans, I think that two seats for Indians is a fair share.

11. *No provision for a separate seat for Europeans.*—I have suggested no separate seat for Europeans *qua* European. I believe that the allocation of 11 seats for European planters is all that is required. It is true that the electorate for the planting constituencies does not include those Assistant Managers who are not engineers or who are not in charge of a garden. There are also Europeans in industrial concerns such as the oilfields, coalmines and railways as well as among the officials. But, after all, the European population of the province in the 1931 Census was only 3,362 and most of them are in tea gardens. I think that nearly all Europeans pay income-tax and so have a vote in the general non-Muslim constituencies. It has been argued that the interests of the planters and of the general European community may clash ; this may possibly be the case in more or less petty matters ; but personally, I am confident that the planter members, if any vital question should arise in Council affecting the Europeans as a community, would be able to—and indeed would wish to—give it their best attention.

12. *Commerce and Industry seat.*—Outside the tea-gardens there are few industrial concerns of any considerable magnitude. For the oilfields, coalmines, railways, oilmills, etc., I think that one representative is all that is required to look after the interests of commerce and industry. As Assam develops, some addition may be required in the future.

13. *Seats for Landholders.*—As regards representation for landholders, there are not in this province many Zamindars of the same status as in Bengal and some of the larger provinces. My personal experience in Sylhet is that, of recent years the tenants are becoming more independent, and it might not be easy for a landholder to be returned to Council from the ordinary constituency. At the same time landholders have a big stake in the country, and should be represented in Council. From time to time, legislative measures are introduced which closely affect their interests. I think that these interests can best be safeguarded if landholders are represented in the Lower House. Accordingly, I suggest that there should be one representative from each Valley. It should not be difficult to fix suitable qualifications for the landholders' electorate.

14. *Final scheme.*—In its final form, the scheme which I suggest for the Lower House is :—

Muslims	37
Caste Hindus	33
Hindu Exterior Castes, *ex*-tea garden coolies and backward tribes	11
Tea Industry	13
Tea-garden Labour	3
Commerce and Industry	1
Landholders	2
Total ..	100

SHILLONG :

The 10th March 1932.

J. A. DAWSON,
Member and Secretary,
Assam Franchise Committee.

Miscellaneous correspondence with the Government of Assam on matters arising out of replies to Questionnaire.

APPENDIX.

I

Position of Jogis and Suts in the Assam Valley.

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 588-FR., DATED THE 13TH MARCH 1932.

The Government of Assam have considered the position of the Jogis and the Suts in the Assam Valley. Mr. Mullan has also submitted a note* of which I encloss a copy.

The Government of Assam would invite a reference to their reply to section IV of the questionnaire as given in Mr. Soame's letter† of 19th February 1932. They have suggested that there should be special constituencies for separate communities as well as general electorates which would absorb all electors who do not wish to register themselves in any special communal electorate or who are not sufficiently numerous to obtain special representation. It should be left to the Jogis and the Suts in the Assam Valley to enrol themselves in one of these separate electorates if they wish to do so, If, however, their numbers should be insufficient to justify a separate electorate, they would have to enrol themselves in the general electorate.

II

Further correspondence in regard to certain points arising out of the Supplementary Questionnaire.

(1) TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, No. S-1285, DATED THE 18TH MARCH 1932.

Chairman is most grateful to local Government and Provincial Committee for their prompt reply to supplementary questionnaire which will be of great assistance to us. He will be glad if further inquiries could be proceeded urgently on points referred to in sub-paragraph two of paragraph eight of local Government's letter‡. It is of particular importance to have an estimate even approximate of number of women who would be enfranchised. This is equally the case as regards the depressed classes. Chairman therefore while appreciating difficulties would be grateful for most exact approximate figure that can be worked out in their case based if necessary on 1921 statistics or any other figures readily available which local Government think more reliable.

(2) DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 608-FR., DATED SHILLONG, THE 19TH MARCH 1932.

You will realise that the further enquiries which the Chairman now desires on the points referred to in sub-paragraph (*ii*) of paragraph 8 of my letter No. 2358-A.P., dated the 12th March 1932 must be, as stated in that letter, detailed and prolonged. I will send out a letter to our district officers and ask them to get approximate figures as quickly as possible but it is only fair to tell you that it is very doubtful whether these will arrive in time to be of use to you ; and, secondly, owing to the agency which we have to employ, we cannot guarantee their accuracy unless they are submitted to careful check by officers whom it is at present impossible to spare for the purpose.

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* Pages 337—363. † Page 317. ‡ Page 371.

Take, for example, the case of reducing the amount of *chaukidari* tax so as to extend the franchise. We shall have to obtain from each *panchayat* the following figures :—

(*a*) Total number of persons who pay any chaukidari tax—male and female ;

(*b*) Number who pay rupee one—*i.e.*, those at present qualified ;

(*c*) Number paying 0-12-0 (twelve annas)—male and female ;

(*d*) Number paying 0-8-0 (eight annas)—male and female.

Further, we should have to ask them to state, in each case, of (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) the number of " exterior " castes included ; also male and female. It is extremely unlikely that these *panchayats* will give accurate returns, though we shall send them forms to fill up and tell them that they should make no delay to make local enquiries but to work it out on the figures that they have—*i.e.*, on their assessment lists.

As regards the land revenue qualification, we have a better agency and we would get similar statements filled up for each Sub-Deputy Collector's circle in the Assam Valley which will be prepared roughly by the *mauzadar* who collects rents from his *mauzas* or collections of villages after an examination of the rent rolls. He would have to consult the *mandals*, or the village surveyors, who actually measure up land for assessment. They have the registers in their possession and should be able to give the information in the following form :—

(*a*) The present number assessed to land revenue on Rs. 15 per annum—male and female—*i.e.*, present assessment ;

(*b*) Number assessed to Rs. 10 per annum—male and female ;

(*c*) Number assessed to Rs. 8 per annum—male and female ;

(*d*) Number assessed to Rs. 6 per annum—male and female.

Here again we should require them to report for each class (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) the number of revenue payers belonging to—

(*a*) exterior castes ; and

(*b*) tribes,

a list of castes and tribes being forwarded in each case.

We shall not delay matters by enquiring into municipal taxes as there is only one urban constituency in the province at present.

(3) DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, NO. 637-FR., DATED SHILLONG, THE 1ST APRIL 1932.

Will you please refer to the penultimate paragraph of my demi-official No. 608-Fr., of the 19th March ?

A circular letter in the vernacular was addressed to all *mandals* in the 5 districts in the Assam Valley where payment of land revenue is the main qualification for franchise. In the remaining district (Goalpara) payment of chaukidari tax is the qualification. The *mandals* are Government village surveyors who measure up the land and keep the record (*jamabandi*) of all land revenue payers showing the amount payable by each. The letter explained clearly what was meant by depressed (or Hindu exterior) classes, backward tribes and *ex*-tea garden coolies. The classification laid down in Mr. Mullan's note* was followed except that the Jogis and Suts of the Assam Valley were included as a Hindu exterior class on the analogy of their inclusion by Mr. Mullan in the case of the Surma Valley. In this connection I would invite a reference to my demi-official No. 588-Fr., of the 15th March 1932.

2. At the time when the Deputy Commissioner, Nowgong, got the letters for distribution, all the 190 *mandals* happened to be at headquarters for recess work

* Pages 337—363.

and within a few days I received a statement from each of them. These statements have been consolidated in my office, and I give the result below :—

All classes.

Rs. 15 and over.		Rs. 10 or more but under Rs. 15.		Rs. 8 or more but under Rs. 10.		Rs. 6 or more but under Rs. 8.	
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
17,539	406	13,859	516	9,399	395	13,466	658

Depressed classes, backward tribes and *ex*-tea garden coolies.

Rs. 15 and over.		Rs. 10 or more but under Rs. 15.		Rs. 8 or more but under Rs. 10.		Rs. 6 or more but under Rs. 8.	
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
5,791	163	5,285	247	3,761	177	5,580	278

I think that the statements are as reliable as can be reasonably expected. I was Deputy Commissioner in Nowgong for 6 years and have a fair idea of the distribution of the population. I have scrutinised several of the lists relating to localities where I know that there are villages inhabited by depressed classes, backward tribes or *ex*-tea garden coolies. The entries made under these classes are such as I would expect. Then again, certain areas in Nowgong are occupied largely by Muhammadan immigrants from Bengal and in some of these areas there are few, if any, of the lower caste Hindus or backward tribes. I found that this was borne out by the lists which I examined.

There is another fact that points to the tolerable accuracy of the statements. The present franchise qualification is the annual payment of Rs. 15 land revenue and according to the latest revised electoral roll for that district there are 17,558 electors—male and female—Moslems and non-Moslems—in the rural areas. There are in addition 1,053 electors in Nowgong town who are qualified by payment of municipal tax. This gives a total of 18,611. According to the consolidated statement above there are 17,945 persons who pay land revenue of Rs. 15 and over. To this has to be added 1,053 town electors, making a total of 18,998 which corresponds nearly to the present electorate. The electoral roll was last revised in 1929.

3. According to the 1931 census the total population of the enfranchised area in Nowgong (*i.e.*, excluding the Mikir Hills and tea gardens) is 462,000. According to the figures received from the *mandals* the payers of land revenue of Rs. 15 and over *plus* the small number of town electors constitute 4·1 per cent. of this population. Ten per cent. of the total population would mean approximately 46,200 persons. The total of those who pay land revenue of Rs. 8 and over is 42,114 and of those who pay Rs. 6 and over is 56,238. It is thus probable that a payment of Rs. 7 or Rs. 7-8-0 land revenue would enfranchise 10 per cent. of the total population. To enfranchise 15 per cent. or 69,300, as is proposed by the Assam Franchise

Committee, the qualification might be a payment of Rs. 4-8-0 or Rs. 5 land revenue.

4. The total population of the depressed classes, backward tribes and *ex*-tea garden coolies in the enfranchised area of Nowgong district is approximately 155,000. According to the statement there are 5,954 persons who pay land revenue of Rs. 15 and over which is just under 4 per cent. of 155,000. 15,424 persons pay a revenue of Rs. 8 and over or nearly 10 per cent. of the total population.

5. I would invite a reference to paragraphs 2 and 3 of my "Note on the method of calculating an electorate of 15 per cent. of the total population", where it is pointed out that a standard of land revenue which would enfranchise a certain percentage in one district would give a larger or smaller proportion in others. Complete statistics from other districts in the Assam Valley would have to be obtained before the standard of land revenue which would enfranchise about ten per cent. of the population in all these districts, taken as a whole, could be ascertained. I think, however, that the figures for Nowgong afford a useful indication as to what the standard would probably be. Nowgong is fairly typical of the districts in the Assam Valley where payment of land revenue is the qualification for the franchise.

6. The Prime Minister in his letter of the 29th December 1931, to the Chairman, Franchise Committee, observed that "it is clearly necessary so to widen the electorate that the Legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of the population and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and opinions." In your telegram of the 18th March, it was stated that it was of particular importance to have an estimate, even approximate, of the number of depressed classes who would be enfranchised. I think that the Nowgong figures show that a very considerable number of persons belonging to the depressed classes, backward tribes, and *ex*-tea garden coolies would receive the franchise. In Assam there is not, between these classes and other members of the general community, any wide gulf in material assets such as might be found in other provinces in India.

7. As regards women, the statement shows that 1,317 pay land revenue of Rs. 8 and over while 1,976 pay Rs. 6 or more. Perhaps if the qualification was fixed at Rs. 7 or Rs. 7-8-0, about 1,600 would be enfranchised out of a total electorate of 46,200. This would be about 3·5 per cent. of the electorate—a considerable advance on the present proportion in Nowgong district of about 1 per cent.

8. Up to date I have not received many statements from other districts. It would be interesting to know what payment of chaukidari tax in the districts where this is a franchise qualification would enfranchise 10 per cent. of the total population and what proportion of the depressed classes would be enfranchised on this basis. I hope that before the 6th of April material will be available to enable me to indicate what payment of chaukidari tax would be suitable. I may also be in a position to compile figures for some other districts or subdivisions in the Assam Valley where payment of land revenue is the franchise qualification, but the information is bound to be incomplete compared with the statistics for Nowgong.

(4) DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 639-FR., DATED SHILLONG, THE 8TH APRIL 1932.

In continuation of my No. 637-Fr. of the 1st April, I enclose a statement* showing the payment of land revenue or of chaukidari tax which would probably enfranchise ten per cent. of the total population in the enfranchised areas of the plains districts in the province. One column shows what proportion of the depressed and backward classes would probably be enfranchised under these qualifications. Another column indicates what percentage women voters would form of the ten per cent. electorate.

* Page 410.

2. The table below gives the number of mandals or *panchayats* in the different districts and also the number of statements tabulated. I have excluded statements which were obviously incorrect or which were unintelligible :—

	Total number.	Tabulated.
Mandals.		
Nowgong	190	190
Darrang	166	166
Lakhimpur	143	139
Sibsagar	220	208
Kamrup	333	264
	1,052	967
Panchayats.		
Goalpara	136	82
Cachar	99	84
Sylhet	1,062	566
	1,297	732

3. Except in the case of Nowgong and Darrang, where statements were received from all the *mandals*, I have calculated the total number of those paying land revenue or chaukidari tax of the various amounts given in my No. 608-Fr. of the 19th March 1932* on the assumption that the proportions given by those *mandals* or *panchayats* who have submitted statements would be maintained in the remaining chaukidari circles or *mandals'* lots.

I admit that this is only an estimate but it is the best that I can do in the circumstances. As regards area and population, *mandals'* lots and chaukidari circles are fairly equal in the province.

4. Roughly speaking, it is probable that in the five districts of the Assam Valley where payment of land revenue is the main qualification for the franchise a payment of about Rs. 7-8-0 would produce an electorate of ten per cent. of the population. Similarly, in the Surma Valley, payment of about 8 or 9 annas chaukidari tax would give a similar electorate. In Goalpara district in the Assam Valley a lesser rate of payment of chaukidari tax might have to be fixed. It is clear that a very considerable number of electors would belong to the depressed and backward classes. The number of female electors would also be increased.

* Pages 405-406.

Payment of land revenue or of chaukidari tax which would give an electorate of 10 per cent. of the total rural population; percentage of persons belonging to the depressed and backward classes who would be enfranchised; and percentage of women electors.

District.	Population in thousands.	Population in thousands excluding urban areas, tea gardens and (in the case of Nowgong and Sibsagar) the Mikir Hills.	Population in thousands of Hindu exterior, *ex-tea* garden coolies and backward tribes.	Electorate of 10 per cent. of the population in column 3.	Probable rate of payment of land revenue or of chaukidari tax which would enfranchise 10 per cent.	Percentage of column 4 who would be enfranchised under the qualification in column 6.	Percentage of women electors to total electorate of 10 per cent. of population (column 5).	Present number of electors excluding urban areas.	Percentage of mandals or sarpanches whose statements have been tabulated.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A.—With qualification of payment of Land Revenue—					Rs. a.				
Nowgong	562	452	155	45,200	7 8	11	3·5	17,558	100
Sibsagar	933	643	208	64,300	8 0	6	3·8	34,698	95
Lakhimpur	725	464	233	46,400	5 8	13	2·3	17,386	97
Darrang	585	451	214	45,100	7 8	10	3·1	14,254	100
Kamrup	977	932	230	93,200	5 8	9·5	2·4	31,215	80
B.—With qualification of payment of Chaukidari Tax—					Annas.				
Goalpara	883	858	249	85,800	7	8	1·2	38,422	60
Cachar	538	387	110	38,700	8	13	·6	17,236	85
Sylhet	2,724	2,516	422	251,600	9	11	·8	99,679	55

NOTES.—1. *Column* 6.—The explanation of the comparatively low figure in the case of Lakhimpur is that this district is at present under resettlement. It may safely be assumed that the resettlement will result in raising the figure appreciably. The present figure is based on the rates of the existing settlement. The low figure for Kamrup is due partly to the fact that about one-sixth of the land in this district is *nisf-khiraj* on half revenue rates and partly to the fact that there is much land for cold weather cultivation on temporary leases the revenue on which has not been taken into consideration. More *nisf-khirajdars* would however obtain the franchise under the qualification of payment of local rates as they pay full local rates. Resettlements in Nowgong, Sibsagar, Darrang and Kamrup are of recent date.

2. *Column* 8.—In districts where the franchise qualification is payment of chaukidari tax of a certain amount, the chaukidar tax is assessed on the head of household and almost invariably males are assessed. Poor females or widows are generally exempted from payment of chaukidari tax.

Replies

of the

Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province,

and the

North-West Frontier Province Provincial Franchise Committee

to the

Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.

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NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

I

Memorandum by the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province.

Preliminary.—It must be understood that our electoral rolls and the figures resulting therefrom cannot be treated as accurate. Complete final figures of voters will not be available till the middle of March. The present rolls have been compiled from the voters' rolls for district boards and municipalities, and fresh rolls have only been made in the case of cantonments. The district board franchise rolls cover for all areas outside the municipal and cantonment limits. The rural constituency franchise described at rule 7 of the North-West Frontier Province Electoral Rules, Schedule II, reproduces the district board franchise. 7 (*i*) is a new qualification . Similarly 6 (*a*) to (*g*) of the Schedule are the municipal qualifications. 6 (*h*) is new. The result of 7 (*i*) and 6 (*h*) is that urban and rural qualifications are made valid in rural and urban constituencies respectively. As far as can be ascertained from figures available at the time of writing some 17,000 additional voters have been admitted to the roll. Of these a considerable number appear to owe their admission to the above extension. Others no doubt were wrongly omitted from the original rolls. Revision has had to be done with undesirable haste.

I

I. *Extension of the Franchise.*—(*a*) Final figures are not available but on preliminary rolls 4·2 per cent. of the total population, 7·7 per cent. of the male population, 15·5 per cent. of the male population over 20 years of age (approximately) are enfranchised in general constituencies. The corresponding Punjab figures in the two former cases are 3·4 per cent. and 6 per cent., respectively, according to the memorandum prepared for the Simon Commission. The male population over 20 represents rather more than 25 per cent. of the total population of the five districts. Adult male suffrage at 21 would therefore enfranchise about 25 per cent. of the population.

The following table of figures supplied from the Hazara district is interesting as showing the effect of the present franchise qualifications in elections for local bodies. It will be observed that in these particular municipalities the enfranchised are well over 20 per cent. of the total population.

*Table showing the number of voters by communities at the District Board election qualifying under each of the specifications (a) to (h) in rule 6 of the District Board rules**

Specifications.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Sikhs.	Total.
(a) Village headmen, etc. ..	1,207	4	3	1,214
(b) } Land revenue and assignments	5,044	105	32	5,181
(c) } Land revenue and assignments	13	..	..	13
(d) Three-year lease	112	18	3	133
(e) Occupancy tenants ..	1,195	32	7	1,234
(f) Income-tax	6	56	6	63
(g) Military	4,054	3	14	4,071
(h) Board cesses and taxes ..	350	540	56	946
Total ..	11,981	758	121	12,860
Population (both sexes) in District Board area.	625,515	14,814	5,895	646,224

Number of voters by communities at the municipal election qualifying under each of specifications (e) to (j) of the Municipal Election Rule 6-V.†

Haripur Municipality.

Specifications.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Sikhs.	Christians and others.	Total.
(e) Ownership ..	30	189	14	..	233
(f) Rent Rs. 4 ..	2	8	..	..	10
(g) Income Rs. 40 ..	634	629	134	..	1,397
(h) Land revenue ..	53	21	9	..	83
(i) Matriculation ..	5	4	5	..	14
(j) Military ..	4	..	..	..	4
Total ..	728	851	162	..	1,741
Population (both sexes)	4,253	2,693	696	11	7,653

* Pages 423—426.

† Pages 420—423.

Abbottabad Municipality.

Specifications.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Sikhs.	Christians and others.	Total.
(*e*) Ownership ..	225	139	38	..	402
(*f*) Rent Rs. 4 ..	224	57	33	1	315
(*g*) Income Rs. 40 ..	407	207	123	5	742
(*h*) Land revenue ..	8	..	..	..	8
(*i*) Matriculation ..	18	19	4	..	41
(*j*) Military ..	20	..	..	..	20
Total ..	902	422	198	6	1,528
Population (both sexes).	5,314	1,656	546	122	7,638

The urban franchise indeed gives the vote to about 12 per cent. (final figure not available) of the total urban population throughout the Province. Attention should therefore be directed to widening the franchise in rural areas. To attain this object the obvious methods are to lower the land revenue qualification in Schedule I, Section 7 (*b*) (*c*) (*d*) and (*e*) of the North-West Frontier Province Electoral Rules and enfranchise *ex*-members of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces and of the Transborder Militias, Frontier Constabulary and Police. Pensioned civil officials if not otherwise qualified should be enfranchised.

(*b*) The persons thus admitted will be at least as capable of intelligent use of the vote as many who at present enjoy it.

(*c*) Constituencies are small. Many only contain 3 or 4 thousand voters, and the largest only about 12,000—an urban area and therefore not under the above proposals likely to increase. If the rural constituencies were doubled they would none of them be unmanageable as polling units. The subject of the preparation and maintenance of tolls is however one that merits attention.

The present system by which officials whose real duties are quite other are expected to devote time to a series of elections to Imperial, Provincial, Municipal and District bodies, is noxious to the proper conduct of administration. It is suggested that—

1. The preparation of all rolls should be done at regular intervals of say, five years, regardless of e'ections.

2. Persons desirous of enrolment should be made to apply for enrolment by claim : no preliminary roll should be prepared.

3. A special body should be appointed to hear and decide claims and compile and publish rolls which would be unalterable till the expiry of the statutory period and used at all elections within that time.

4. The franchise for the Provincial Legislature and local bodies should be the same, subject only to varying residential or communal qualifications.

While admitting that the above view may be coloured by experience of the difficulties of conducting elections in the Province for the first time, and at unusually short notice, it is suggested that here are many advantages in the method proposed.

(*d*) Does not arise.

(*e*) I consider it impracticable at present to go further than I have suggested. If we go further we might as well proceed to adult male suffrage at once.

(*f*) and (*g*). I deprecate the suggestion that there should be two classes of electors. It would tend to confusion where simplification is an imperative need.

(*h*) The former part of this suggestion would be feasible if the principle of secondary election were conceded. But the North-West Frontier Province Council of 40 is large compared with other Provincial Legislatures ; and constituencies will always be small. I do not think that secondary elections are, or will ever be, necessary. If they were, however, I consider voting by artificial arithmetical groups would not be compatible with the existing organisation of society, except possibly in the larger towns and cantonments. Villagers are nearly always divided according to the ancestral origin of the owning community and the people would be confused by, and impatient of, any other division. The single non-transferable vote for a plural secondary constituency would appear to suit best the village organisation. Each division of a village would then generally have an opportunity of putting in their own representative. The machinery proposed in (*c*) above could deal with the necessary grouping and enrolment and I would not entrust it to the revenue staff which at present deals with these matters.

I consider however that as far as the Provincial Council goes such arrangements are unnecessary.

I enclose, rather as an essay than as a recommendation, a rough sketch* of how a system of secondary election would work out. The mathematical scale on which it is drawn up was adjusted to suit an electoral college for the Assembly but being mathematical it can be easily adjusted to suit any unit.

* Page 427.

(*j*) I do not consider any such qualification would be necessary.

2. *Franchise qualification.*—(*a*) There is marked disparity. Twelve per cent. of the urban population have votes as against some three and a half per cent. of the rural (by " urban " is intended inhabitants of municipalities and cantonments. In " rural " is comprised in present practice three towns and villages of over 10,000 and several others of considerable size). The extension of the rural franchise already suggested could be adjusted to remedy the disparity.

(*b*) No set of qualifications could be relied on to produce this result. The desideratum is mathematical and could most easily be obtained by adult suffrage. Otherwise it would be impracticable except by secondary electorates in case (*iii*) : and in cases (*i*) or (*ii*) it appears to be pointless.

(*c*) By this definition everyone would be an owner of property except those who are dependents of others. The present franchise in this province provides ample recognition of qualifications other than those of property only.

(*d*) Matriculates already have votes. Considering the very low standard of education which matriculation represents it appears unnecessary to go further. I would however be prepared to give votes to persons who have passed the middle school examination. This would incidentally enfranchise many members of the scholastic profession.

3. *Women's suffrage.*—(*a*) Female suffrage is probably at present so unthinkable in public opinion as to be outside the scope of practical politics. Women do not generally hold property or pay taxes, and would therefore have to be enfranchised if at all through their civil condition, *i.e.*, as wives, widows or daughters, unless some form of universal franchise limited by age were introduced.

For the present the difficulty of providing female staff for *purdah* polling appears insuperable. The compilation of rolls including enquiries as to names would, anyhow in the first instance, involve considerable difficulties. The whole subject is one best left to local public opinion which even if largely male is not everywhere unsympathetic as is proved by the removal of the sex disqualification by many Provincial Legislatures.

(*b*) If the group is the village or mohalla as suggested in I 1 (*i*) separate groups for men and women would be unnecessary. If the groups were purely numerical, separate groups for men and women would be desirable.

(*c*) See the final sentence of answer (*a*) **above.**

4. *Representation of depressed classes.*—In urban areas no class can be regarded as depressed, either economically or otherwise. There are of course a large number of poor but they are not excluded from schools, nor from any occupation, professional or other.

Of 5,468 persons classified in Provincial Census, table II, as Hindu Depressed Classes no less than 3,514 are returned from Nowshera tahsil and it is understood that these are principally immigrants of the servant class employed in the cantonment. They are therefore as a class not numerous enough to justify a separate electorate. In fact the problem scarcely exists in this Province.

In rural areas the village Kamin or menial can only be regarded as depressed in the sense that in addition to his normal trade of potter, weaver, etc., he often performs certain services in exchange for his right to occupy a place in the village site (which is the property of the village agricultural community).

As however this menial population comprises tenants often with occupancy rights, paid labourers who earn wages, and independent persons who live by their transport animals or work at harvest only for the village community, many of them especially in Peshawar district are probably already voters as payers of Rs. 4 per annum in district, board cesses. This amount is leviable on those earning Rs. 300 per annum.

5. *Representation of labour.*—(*a*) There is no organisation of labour in the Province.

(*b*) The labouring classes are scattered throughout the Province and special representation for them is not very practicable. The proper method seems to be extension of the franchise eventually. They will then be able to exert more influence probably than by having two or three special seats. There are no capitalists employing labour on a large scale.

5-A. *Representation of Special Interests.*—Landholders are the only special interest at present represented. There is no university and no chamber of commerce. There should be no difficulty in forming a university constituency of graduates of recognised universities, but if commerce finds it unnecessary to associate for general purposes it may be taken as too inchoate to require a special constituency.

Hindu interests are almost entirely commercial.

If separate electorates were abolished it might become desirable to provide special representation for commerce.

II.—The Federal Legislature.

6. *Allocation of seats to British Indian Provinces.*—The tentative allocation of seats provides for two in the Upper Chamber and three in the Lower Chamber. In the event of separate communal electorates it would be difficult to provide for minority communities, though it might be feasible to attach the members of the minority communities to a Punjab constituency.

(*a*) If the Province is to have two members in the Upper Chamber and three in the Lower, without creating a very small electorate for the Upper Chamber direct election would produce so little differentiation in candidates and voters as between the Chambers as to be almost incomprehensible. A very small electorate would be difficult to devise without a great deal of undesirable controversy. Indirect election by the Provincial Legislature at least provides an intelligible distinction and an indisputable electorate. It appears to be the best way out of the difficulty. I would also favour qualifications for membership of the Upper Chamber, *e.g.*, age, the holding of certain offices and the exercise of a profession.

(*b*) If indirect elections are adopted for the Provincial Legislature, I see no reason to differentiate in the basic franchise. Otherwise either a restricted franchise or indirect voting for the Federal Legislature would appear to be essential if candidates are to be known to the electors in these enormous constituencies.

(*c*) Direct election on a wide franchise of 200 persons to represent 300 million others appears to reduce representation to an absurdity. As a means of deciding fortuitously what persons from a certain Province shall go to Delhi and sit in a certain Chamber it is merely inconvenient. The persons sent cannot be brought to book by any body of public opinion. Their electors will not know whether they have really supported the interests of the Province or merely fished for private advantage or for amusement in the whirlpool of central politics.

I would not support direct election in urban areas and indirect in rural. Assuming three constituencies for North-West Frontier Province the natural division is

North—Hazara.
Central—Peshawar.
South—the remainder.

I would however greatly prefer to see a Federal Lower House elected also by Provincial Legislatures. Devolution to the Provinces will be very extensive ; central matters will touch but faintly the ordinary life of the average man. Those who represent the Province in a Federation should represent the Province as a whole and not particular constituencies.

The Legislative Council is a better guardian of Provincial interests than a congeries of voters and the Council could influence the Provincial representatives throughout their term of office. It seems essential that those who go to the Central Government should be responsive to pressure from home and not be permitted to lose sight of the purpose for which they were sent owing to the greater fascinations of high politics.

As between the Upper House and the Lower—I would, as stated above, prescribe qualifications for members of the former, but none for those who are sent to the Lower House.

Representation of women, labour and depressed classes.—No further remarks.

I (a) Electoral Rules.

(*i*) NOTIFICATION.

Peshawar, the 25th March 1931.

No. 649-L. F.—With reference to the North-West Frontier Province notification No. 105-L. F., dated the 19th January 1931, and in exercise of the powers conferred by Sections 240 and 240-A of the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911, the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, is pleased to make the following rules in supersession of the rules and notifications specified below :—

(1) Punjab Government notification No. 249, dated the 20th April 1886.
(2) Punjab Government notification No. 453, dated the 11th August 1887.
(3) Punjab Government notification No. 633, dated the 25th September 1889.

} in so far as they relate to the Municipal Committees of Peshawar, Abbottabad, Haripur, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan.

(4) North-West Frontier Province notification No. 327-L. F./XXI-I.-24, dated the 8th March 1928.

(5) North-West Frontier Province notification No. 500-L. F./XXI-A.-90, dated the 20th April 1929.

(6) Rules 2, 3 and 4 of the rules published with North-West Frontier Province notification No. 479-L. F./Con./147, dated the 15th April 1929.

RULES.

PART I.

* * * * * * * * *

Qualifications of voters—

6. No person shall be entitled to be registered as a voter in any municipality unless he—

(*a*) is a male British subject ; and

(*b*) has on the first day of the month in which the roll is published under the provisions of sub-rule (1) of rule 8 attained the age of 21 years ; and

(*c*) has not been adjudged by a competent court to be of unsound mind ; and

(*d*) has ordinarily resided or carried on business within the limits of the municipality concerned for the 12 months preceding the first day of the month in which the roll is published, under the provisions of sub-rule (1) of rule 8 ; and

(*e*) possesses immovable property within the municipal limits, of a value of not less than six hundred rupees ; or

(*f*) pays not less than four rupees per mensem as rent for a house or part of a house situated in the municipality ; or

(*g*) is in receipt of an income of not less than 40 rupees per mensem ; or

(*h*) pays or at the time of preparation of the roll is liable to pay as proprietor or receives as an assignee of Government not less than 10 rupees per annum on account of land revenue in respect of land situated within the tahsil in which the municipality is situated ; or

(*i*) has passed the Matriculation, School Leaving Certificate or any other equivalent or higher examination of any recognised university, or any oriental title examination of such university ; or

(*j*) is a pensioned commissioned or non-commissioned officer or soldier of His Majesty's Regular Forces.

Explanation.—(1) When two or more persons are co-sharers in immovable property or in payment of house-rent or in receipt of monthly income or assigned land revenue, every such person shall be qualified as an elector who would be so qualified if his share in such property, house-rent or monthly income or assignment were held separately.

(2) For the purposes of this rule and rule 8, a person may be presumed to reside in a constituency if he owns a residential house or a share in a residential house in the constituency, provided that the house has, during the 12 months preceding the date on which the roll is published under the provisions of sub-rule (1) of rule 8, not been let on rent either in whole or in part.

Qualifications and disqualifications for membership—

7. (1) No person shall be eligible for election as a member of a municipal committee unless he—

(*a*) is registered as a voter on the roll of a constituency in the municipality concerned published under the provisions of sub-rule (1) of rule 13 and in force under the provisions of sub-rule (2) of rule 13 ; and

(*b*) can read and write English, Urdu, Hindi (in Devanagri script) or Punjabi (in Persian or Gurmukhi script) ; and

(*c*) is the owner of immovable property of a value of not less than 12 hundred rupees, half or more of which is situated within the municipal limits ; or

(*d*) is in receipt of an income of not less than 80 rupees per mensem ; or

(*e*) is in receipt of not less than 50 rupees per mensem as pension from Government ; or

(*f*) pays as proprietor or receives as an assignee of Government not less than 20 rupees per annum on account of land revenue in respect of land situated within the tahsil in which the municipality is situated ; or

(*g*) has passed the Matriculation, School Leaving Certificate or any other equivalent or higher examination of any recognized university, or any oriental title examination of such university ; or

(*h*) is a pensioned commissioned or non-commissioned officer or soldier of His Majesty's Regular Forces.

Explanation.—In the case of a father and son living together the possession of immovable property or a monthly income or pension or the payment of land revenue or receipt of land revenue as an assignee of Government to the value or amount specified in clause (*c*), (*d*), (*e*) or (*f*) shall be held to qualify the father only, provided that if the father so desires such possession, payment or receipt shall be held to qualify the son in lieu of the father.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-rule (1), no person shall be eligible for election as a member of a municipal committee who—

(*a*) is under contract as regards work to be done for, or goods to be supplied to the municipal committee ; or

(*b*) has, within five years from the date fixed for the nomination of candidates under the provisions of rule 15, been proscribed from Government employment ; or

(*c*) receives any remuneration out of the municipal fund for services rendered to the municipal committee ; or

(*d*) has, at any time within five years from the date fixed for the nomination of candidates under the provisions of rule 15, been serving a sentence of imprisonment for a period exceeding one year ; or

(*e*) is an undischarged insolvent or being a discharged insolvent has not obtained from the court a certificate that his insolvency was caused by misfortune without any misconduct on his part ; or

(*f*) is a whole-time salaried Government official ;

Provided that the Chief Commissioner may in cases not covered by Section 13 of the Indian Election Offences and Inquiries Act, 1920, exempt any person or class of persons from any of the disqualifications contained in clause (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*) or (*e*) of this sub-rule.

Explanation.—For the purposes of this sub-rule a Public Prosecutor is not a whole-time salaried Government official.

(*ii*) NOTIFICATION.

Nathiagali, the 8th July 1931.

No. 539-L. F. N.—With reference to the North-West Frontier Province notification No. 103-L. F., dated the 19th January 1931, and in exercise of the powers conferred by Sections 55 and 55-A of the Punjab District Boards Act, 1883, as extended to the North-West Frontier Province, the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, is pleased to make the following rules applicable to all District Boards in the North-West Frontier Province in supersession of the rules and notifications specified below :—

(1) Rule IV of the rules published with Punjab Government notification No. 133, dated the 25th August 1887.

(2) Rule VII of the rules published with Punjab Government notification No. 157, dated the 10th September 1887.

(3) Rule 5 of the rules published with Punjab Government notification No. 13, dated the 27th January 1888.

(4) Rule 5 of the rules published with Punjab Government notification No. 176, dated the 20th July 1888.

(5) Rules 2, 3 and 6 of the rules published with Punjab Government notification No. 98, dated the 11th April 1894.

(6) North-West Frontier Province notification No. 1014-L. F./XXI—1-24, dated the 18th October 1926.

(7) Part II of the rules published with North-West Frontier Province notification No. 391-L. F./XXI—A-65, dated the 19th March 1928.

RULES.

PART I.

* * * * * * * * *

Qualifications of voters—

6. Every male British subject, who had on the first day of the month in which the roll is published under the provisions of sub-rule (1) of rule 8 attained the age of 21 years and has not been adjudged by a competent

court to be of unsound mind shall be entitled to be entered as a voter on any roll if he has any of the following qualifications, namely, if he—

(*a*) is a zaildar, inamdar, village headman or chief headman in the constituency appointed under the provisions of the rules made under the Punjab Land Revenue Act, 1887 ; or

(*b*) is the owner of land situated within the district board area and assessed to land revenue of not less than 10 rupees per annum ; or

(*c*) is an assignee of land revenue amounting to not less than 20 rupees per annum in respect of land situated within the district board area ; or

(*d*) is a tenant or lessee under the terms of a written lease for a period of not less than three years, of land situated within the district board area and assessed to land revenue of not less than 10 rupees per annum, provided that, when the land revenue payable is assessed from harvest to harvest, the annual land revenue payable in respect of such land shall be deemed to be the annual average amount payable in the three years previous to the first day of October next preceding the date of publication of the preliminary rolls under the provisions of rule 8 of these rules ; or

(*e*) is a tenant with a right of occupancy as defined in chapter II of the Punjab Tenancy Act, 1887, in respect of land situated within the district board area and assessed to land revenue of not less than 10 rupees per annum ; or

(*f*) resides in the district board area and was during the financial year previous to the date of publication of the roll assessed to income-tax ; or

(*g*) is a retired or pensioned officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier resident in the district board area who has served for not less than five years in His Majesty's Regular Forces and has not been discharged therefrom with ignominy ; or

(*h*) has paid in the year ending on the 31st day of March last preceding the date on which the rolls of constituencies are published under the provisions of sub-rule (1) of rule 8, not less than the sum of four rupees on account of any cess, rate or tax payable to the board.

Explanation.—(1) When two or more persons are co-sharers in land assessed to land revenue or in any tenancy or lease of land assessed to land revenue or in receipt of assigned land revenue every such person shall be qualified as an elector who would be so qualified if his share in such land property, tenancy, lease or assignment were held separately.

(2) For the purposes of this rule and rule 8, a person may be presumed to reside in a constituency or area if he owns a residential house or a share in a residential house in the constituency or area, provided that the house has during the 12 months preceding the date on which the roll is published under the provisions of rule 8, not been let on rent either in whole or in part.

Qualifications and disqualifications for membership—

7. (1) Every person who is registered as a voter on the roll of a constituency in the district board area concerned published under the provisions of sub-rule (1) of rule 13 and in force under the provisions of sub-rule (2) of rule 13 shall be eligible for election as a member of that board if he—

(*a*) is a zaildar, inamdar, village headman or chief headman in the constituency appointed under the provisions of the rules made under the Punjab Land Revenue Act, 1887 ; or

(*b*) is the owner of land situated within the district board area and assessed to land revenue of not less than 20 rupees per annum ; or

(*c*) is an assignee of land revenue amounting to not less than 40 rupees per annum in respect of land situated within the district board area ; or

(*d*) is a tenant or lessee under the terms of a written lease for a period of not less than three years, of land situated within the district board area and assessed to land revenue of not less than 20 rupees per annum, provided that, when the land revenue payable is assessed from harvest to harvest, the annual land revenue payable in respect of such land shall be deemed to be the annual average amount payable in the three years previous to the first day of October next preceding the date of publication of the preliminary rolls under the provisions of rule 8 of these rules ; or

(*e*) is a tenant with a right of occupancy as defined in chapter II of the Punjab Tenancy Act, 1887, in respect of land situated within the district board area and assessed to land revenue of not less than 20 rupees per annum ; or

(*f*) resides in the district board area and was during the financial year previous to the date of publication of the rolls assessed to income-tax ; or

(*g*) is a retired or pensioned officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier resident in the district board area who has served for not less than five years in His Majesty's Regular Forces and has not been discharged therefrom with ignominy ; or

(*h*) has paid in the year ending on the 31st day of March last preceding the date on which the rolls of constituencies are published under the provisions of sub-rule (1) of rule 8, not

less than the sum of eight rupees on account of any cess, rate or tax payable to the board.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-rule (1), no person shall be eligible for election as a member of a board if he—

(*a*) is under contract as regards work to be done for, or goods to be supplied to the board ; or

(*b*) receives any remuneration out of the district fund for services rendered to the board ; or

(*c*) has been proscribed from Government employment ; or

(*d*) has at any time within five years from the date fixed for the nomination of candidates under the provisions of rule 15 been serving a sentence of imprisonment for a period exceeding one year ; or

(*e*) is an undischarged insolvent or being a discharged insolvent has not obtained from the court a certificate that his insolvency was caused by misfortune without any misconduct on his part ; or

(*f*) has been removed from membership of a board under Section 14 or Section 14-A of the Act or if his election for such membership has been declared void for corrupt practices under the provisions of these rules ; or

(*g*) has been removed from the membership of any municipal town or notified area committee or cantonment board, or whose election for such membership has been declared void for corrupt practices ; or

(*h*) is a whole-time salaried Government official :

Provided that the Chief Commissioner may in cases, not covered by Section 13 of the Indian Elections Offences and Inquiries Act, 1920, exempt any person or class of persons from any of the disqualifications contained in clause (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), (*e*), (*f*) or (*g*) of this sub-rule.

Explanation.—For the purposes of this sub-rule, a Public Prosecutor is not a whole-time salaried Government official.

* * * * * * * * *

I (b) Appendix.

SKETCH OF ELECTION FOR ASSEMBLY BY INDIRECT VOTING.

1. I postulate—(*a*) Enfranchisement of 10 per cent. of the population, equally in rural and urban areas, and that the distribution will be fairly even in all districts. The voters will be the same as those who vote (indirectly or directly) for the Provincial Legislature.

(*b*) Use of latest census figures of population till next census or for 10 years whichever is less.

(*c*) Villages of over 3,000 to be treated as towns and divided into ward units.

(*d*) Secondary electors can be allotted either by population or by primaries. I assume by population as this gives secondary voting strength according to population.

2. The method of secondary election described by the Proportional Representation Society in their letter of 14th January 1932 as in use in Japan is by single non-transferable vote, *i.e.*, every primary elector has one vote only which he can give to any one candidate secondary.

3. The position of a secondary elector would be neither lucrative nor very important and there seems to be no very good reason why an electoral board of three—say one official and two non-officials (resident in another Tahsil if necessary) should not conduct the primary elections by show of hands as is done in the Punjab for panchayats.

Secret ballot would prolong operations considerably, and in view of the prevalent illiteracy the advantage thereof would be incommensurate with the time and trouble to all concerned. In urban areas (*i.e.*, all towns and villages with more than 5,000 inhabitants) secret ballot would be necessary.

4. *Rural.*—Assume now that two secondary electors are to be chosen for every village in columns 4 and 5 of Census Table III* (under 500), 3 electors for columns 6 and 7 (500—1,000 of population), 8 electors for columns 8 and 9, 14 electors for columns 10 and 11, *i.e.*, one secondary for every 250 population taking the average of high and low limits.

In the case of the lowest class I assume 2 in each class as the population of each habitation secondary electors, as few villages have less than 250 inhabitants.

——	Secondaries.	Population.	Assumed voting strength (primary) at 10 cent. of population.
Column 4 $1,600 \times 2 =$ ..	3,200	366,821	36,682
Column 6 $637 \times 3 =$ ..	1,911	452,816	45,281
Column 8 $379 \times 6 =$ ..	2,274	524,546	52,454
Column 10 $203 \times 14 =$ ..	2,842	597,263	59,726
Total secondaries in rural areas ..	10,227	1,941,446	194,144

The number of primaries who would elect is the total of columns $\frac{5, 7, 9, 11}{10}$ (assuming 10 per cent. enfranchised), *i.e.*, $\frac{1,941,446}{10} = 194,144$ or roughly one secondary for 20 primaries.

*Page 430.

5. *Urban.*—Applying the same figures to habitations of 5,000 and over

Towns.	Elect one secondary per 250 inhabitants of average population of class.	Secondaries to be elected.	Population.	Primary electors at 10 per cent. population.
Columns 12 and 13	27×30	810	180,778	18,077
Columns 14 and 15	4×60	240	50,770	5,077
Columns 16 and 17	5×140	700	147,310	14,731
Columns 18 and 19	1×350	350	87,440	88,744
Total ..	..	2,100	366,298	36,629

6. If more than 10 per cent. of the population is enfranchised it would be possible to lower the population ratio for secondaries, if desired, so as to keep the approximate ratio of 20 primaries to one secondary. But the main object in view is to ensure a college of secondary electors of reasonable size. In the example given above we should have roughly 12,000 secondaries, or about 4,000 electors for each of three constituencies of the Assembly.

7. As regards details of election of secondaries see paragraph 3. If a village or ward failed to elect t full quota, *i.e.*, if all the votes given to candidates are less in number than the number of secondaries to be elected the easiest way would be simply to acquiesce in the village or ward being to that extent disfranchised. This might however lend itself to manipulation and it might be better to provide for a new poll. If after the second poll a similar result ensued the village or ward would be disfranchised to the extent to which it failed to elect secondaries.

The candidates up to the total of secondaries to be elected in each case who received the larger number of votes outright would be elected—the votes are not transferable.

N. B.—Any unit with a population not exactly divisible by 250 would be entitled to elect the additional secondary. It is therefore more accurate to assume the average of each class as the population of each town and village therein than simply to divide the totals of each population column by 250. The figure of secondaries for the single town over 50,000 is however achieved by dividing actual population by 250.

TABLE III.*

Cities, Towns and Villages classified by population.

1. No statistics are available of the number of villages situated in the trans-frontier area. This table deals therefore with the five administered districts of the North-West Frontier Province only.

2. In this table, as in tables I, IV and V, cantonments have been treated as separate towns. In the case of municipalities with Civil Lines adjoining them, the whole area has been treated as a single town.

3. The revenue Mauza has been taken as a village, except in the case of towns. According to revenue records, the total number of villages in the five administered districts of the North-West Frontier Province is 3,006, of which 154 are uninhabited. The total number of inhabited villages and towns according to this table comes to 2,856. The difference of four villages is due to the fact that in some cases revenue estates contain both urban and rural populations, and in other cases more than one revenue estate is included in a single town.

4. Travellers enumerated in encampments, boats and trains, *etc.*, have been shewn separately in this table. No such travellers were enumerated within the limits of any town.

*Census Table III (page 430).

TABLE III.

Cities, Towns and Villages classified by population.

District.	Total number of inhabited towns and villages.	Population.	Under 500		500—1,000		1,000—2,000		2,000—5,000		5,000—10,000		10,000—20,000		20,000—50,000		50,000—100,000		100,000 and over		Encampments, boat and railway population unclassed.
			Number.	Population.	Number.	Population.	Number.	Population.	Number.	Population.	Number.	Population.	Number.	Population.	Number.	Population.	Number.	Population.	Number.	Population.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Hazara ..	933	670,117	527	125,110	226	157,814	113	158,687	59	175,289	8	53,217	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Peshawar ..	857	974,321	391	93,023	206	148,688	154	213,132	91	275,184	8	46,210	4	50,730	2	58,274	1	87,440	..	..	1,640
Kohat ..	283	236,273	170	37,276	55	39,371	36	47,531	16	46,766	5	40,229	..	..	1	25,100	..	..	..	..	..
Bannu ..	383	270,301	235	55,775	79	56,193	46	64,525	19	49,129	3	19,699	..	..	1	24,980	..	..	..	..	..
Dera Ismail Khan.	400	274,064	277	55,637	71	50,750	30	40,671	18	50,895	3	21,423	..	..	1	38,956	..	..	..	..	15,732
North-West Frontier Province Districts.	2,856	2,425,076	1,600	366,821	637	452,816	379	524,546	203	597,263	7	180,778	4	50,730	5	147,310	1	87,440	..	..	17,372

II

Memorandum by the North-West Frontier Province Provincial Franchise Committee.

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN, PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 6844-P., DATED THE 18TH MARCH 1932.

1. The following members attended meetings of the Committee :—

Mr. J. S. Thomson, I.C.S. (*Chairman*).

Major Sir Muhammad Akbar Khan of Hoti, K.B.E., M.C.S.

Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum Khan, K.C.I.E.

Major Sir Hissamuddin Khan, C.I.E.

Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahim Khan, Kundi

Rai Sahib Mehr Chand Khanna.

Mr. Muhammad Yunis Khan.

S. Raja Singh.

Mr. Aurangzeb Khan.

Mr. Muhammad Jan Khan.

Mr. Ghulam Rabbani Khan.

Khan Muhammad Akram Khan.

Mr. Malik-ur-Rahman Khan.

Mr. Muhammad Aslam Khan.

The Nawab of Dera was unable to attend owing to his duties as a member of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi.

2. *Preliminary.*—We have had the advantage of seeing and studying the memorandum drawn up by the Chief Commissioner and also memoranda received from—

(1) Nawab Hafiz Saifullah Khan, President, Muslim Representative Committee, Dera Ismail Khan.

(2) Tehl Ram Ganga Ram, Zamindar and Honorary Secretary, Frontier Provincial National Liberal Association.

(3) Beli Ram Malhotra, Vice-President, Frontier Nationalist Hindu Federation.

(4) Haji Safdar Ali, President, Provincial Shia Conference, North-West Frontier Province.

(5) Qazi Muhammad Shafiq, Pleader, Charsadda.

(6) President, Sikh Sudhar Committee, Peshawar.

(7) Secretary, Khalsa Dewan, Peshawar.

3. We decided that it would be advantageous to embody our views in a memorandum for presentation to the Indian Franchise Committee. We have however not attempted to give exhaustive replies to all questions and this indeed is not possible, seeing that so far no election has been held in the Province and we have only a meagre supply of statistics on which to work.

4. The views put forward herein represent the opinions of the Committee as a whole. Where there was decided division of opinion the fact is noted. Marginal references refer to the questionnaire.

I.—The Provincial Legislature.

1. *Extension of the franchise.*—(*a*) The Committee agrees with the Chief Commissioner that the present franchise should be so altered as to abolish the disparity between the number of urban and rural voters and that the first and most obvious method of doing so is to lower the land revenue qualifications in Schedule II, 7 (*b*), (*c*), (*d*) and (*e*) of the present Electoral Rules.

In the matter of enfranchisement of *ex*-members of the forces of the Crown the North-West Frontier Province might safely adopt whatever enfranchisement is adopted in the Punjab, where conditions are similar and experience has been gained of the result of this franchise. Frontier Militias and Frontier Constabulary should be treated on the same lines as the regular forces. We would, however, emphasise that a residential qualification must, as regards this franchise at least, be insisted upon. We also agree to the enfranchisement of pensioned civil officials, if that qualification is admitted in the Punjab.

As regards other proposals under this head we think it should be possible to enfranchise tenants in addition to occupancy tenants and holders of leases. Tenants-at-will might be enfranchised on the same conditions as occupancy tenants, provided they can prove three years' residence in the constituency. Some members would omit the three years' residence qualification—other members would be content to follow the Punjab in the matter. Most of us would not favour further extension of the urban franchise unless it is deemed feasible in the neighbouring province to enfranchise over all a yet larger proportion of the population than is represented by the present figure of our urban franchise—12·54*.

(*b*) We think that the extensions where proposed will not introduce a large number of people who are incapable of understanding the nature of a vote.

(*c*) We are not prepared to criticise in detail the Chief Commissioner's view that there are difficulties about the present system of preparing and maintaining electoral rolls; but as regards his suggestions we think that the preparation and validity of rolls should be coincident

* This figure is derived from the final electoral rolls and the 1931 Census and sheet of statistics of voters and population sent as postscript to the Chief Commissioner's memorandum.

with the election and term of the Council. We do not think it possible to do without a preliminary roll, and we do not like the idea of a special organisation for the compilation of rolls.

The suggestion that the Provincial Council and local bodies' franchise should be the same appears to be within the competence of the Provincial Government.

(*e*) In the absence of experience of elections we would prefer that the North-West Frontier Province standard of franchise should be that decided for the Punjab, subject to the proviso that the present percentage of enfranchisement should not be reduced, and that the rules should be framed to aim at equality between the urban and the rural vote.

As regards the rest of this part of the questionnaire the Committee is strongly opposed to the group system or indirect voting in any shape or form.

2. *Franchise qualifications.*—(*a*) The point raised here has been discussed already.

(*b*) We do not agree with the suggestion to manipulate the franchise so as to give voting strength proportionate to its population in the case of each community.

(*c*) We think that a property test is desirable, taking property in the sense given to it in the text of the question.

(*d*) The middle school examination should be the educational qualification. Some members would prefer to follow the Punjab in this matter also, if that province adopts the primary examination as the standard.

3. *Women's suffrage.*—In this Province the sex disqualification continues and will continue until the Provincial Council removes it. There has of course so far been no opportunity to remove it. We agree with the Chief Commissioner that women suffrage is foreign to male public opinion among the mass of Muslims in this Province and we do not think that it would be possible to introduce it at present unless administrative arrangements can be made for enrolment and polling consistent with *purdah*, where it is observed. The majority of members are in favour of women suffrage in the abstract, but agree that practical obstacles are such as to render anything like its immediate introduction extremely difficult.

The Hindu and Sikh members state that they would gladly see women suffrage introduced at once as far as their own community is concerned.

As regards parts 4 and 5 of the questionnaire the Committee agrees generally with the views expressed by the Chief Commissioner.

5-A. Representation of special interests.—The Committee is content to see the special representation of landholders continue and would add university representation. About the latter, opinion is divided. One party would frame a constituency to include graduates of seven years' standing of any recognised university resident in the Province ; a second would prefer to see the seat go to graduates from the three local colleges at present recognised by the Punjab University, pending the establishment of a Provincial University : a third party goes so far as to say that if the university seat cannot be given to the graduates from the local colleges they would prefer to have no university seat at all. It should be explained that the three local colleges in this Province are affiliated to the Punjab University at Lahore and that students proceed from them to their degrees at the Punjab University. Before concluding this part of our reply we wish to record the opinion that the Provincial Legislature should consist of 60 members instead of 40.

II.—The Federal Legislature.

The second division of the questionnaire deals with the federal legislature. The Committee wish to emphasise what has already been represented in the Federal Structure Committee that the tentative allocation of seats to this Province is inadequate. They consider the Province entitled to at least twice the number of seats in each house. The Committee would not favour election to the Upper Chamber or to the Lower by indirect election. As regards direct franchise having no experience to go on, they would again be content to adopt whatever qualifications are adopted in the Punjab.

It is considered undesirable to attach members of the minority communities to Punjab constituencies.

The Hindus and Sikhs are anxious for adequate representation for themselves in the Federal Legislature.

(*Signed—on behalf of the North-West Frontier Province Provincial Franchise Committee.*)

J. S. THOMSON,
Chairman.

II (1) LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN, PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, NO. 6845-P., DATED PESHAWAR, THE 18TH MARCH 1932.

I have the honour to refer to letter No. 260-S., dated the 23rd February 1932, from the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner to your address and to say that this letter has been laid before the Provincial Franchise Committee. Subject to what has already been said in the memorandum forwarded with my letter No. 6844-P., dated the 18th March 1932, the Committee have no comments except to say that they consider that the Provincial Legislature should be increased to 60 members.

III

Supplementary Questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Revenue Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, and Chairman, North-West Frontier Provincial Franchise Committee.

LETTER NO. E.-594-N.-W.F.P., DATED THE 11TH APRIL 1932, FROM THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE REVENUE COMMISSIONER, NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, AND CHAIRMAN, N.-W. F. PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

We have already asked for your assistance on a number of points arising out of the discussion between the Indian Franchise Committee and the Provincial Franchise Committee. According to my list, the points in question are as follows :—

(*a*) Analysis of population, under the Land Alienation Act, by districts, showing its division between agricultural and non-agricultural and the total number of occupancy tenants.

(*b*) A statement of the number of polling officers available under various heads.

(*c*) The ratio between town and country, and the percentage of the total population which would be enfranchised, if the basis of franchise were to be reduced to Rs. 5 land revenue.

We should be grateful also for information on the following points :—

(*a*) How many voters are registered under the following qualifications :—

(*i*) Persons earning not less than Rs. 40 per mensem ;

(*ii*) Educational qualification of Matriculation or school leaving certificate.

(These qualifications do not exist in the Punjab on which your electoral rules are generally based and it would be of interest to us to know to what extent they have brought in voters in the North-West Frontier Province.)

(*b*) To what extent would the industrial classes, in so far as they exist in the Province, be enfranchised under the scheme suggested by the local Government/Provincial Committee ? If they would be enfranchised only to a very small extent or not at all, would it be practicable to bring them in by a lowering of the wage-limit ?

(*c*) The problem of the enfranchisement of women is one which has been brought to the particular notice of the Indian Franchise Committee in the Prime Minister's letter. The two important points are ;

Firstly, the securing of a substantial percentage of women voters ;

Secondly, the securing of a percentage of women representatives in the legislatures.

The following, among other suggestions, have been made in regard to the first of these points :—

(*i*) Enfranchisement of the wives of male voters who possess double the minimum property qualification ;

(*ii*) Enfranchisement of wives and widows of men with ordinary property qualification ;

(*iii*) Enfranchisement of wives (and widows) of existing voters for the Provincial Council ;

(*iv*) Enfranchisement of women on the basis of mere literacy (*i.e.*, ability to read and write).

This to be certified by a responsible individual, *e.g.*, a schoolmaster.

(*v*) Enfranchisement of adult women subject to application to be registered as voters and the payment of a registration fee.

On the second question, the steps to be taken to ensure the presence of a certain number of women in the Legislatures, I attach a copy of a memorandum* containing various proposals for effecting this. We should be grateful if they could be considered by the Provincial Committee/local Government.

(*d*) We should be grateful for an estimate of the cost of the present election and the cost, so far as it is possible to estimate it, of an election on the basis recommended by the Provincial Committee and the local Government.

(*e*) Would it be possible, later on, to have figures of voters and population district by district, say, in the following form :—

1	2	3	4	5
Name of district.	No. of voters in *each* municipality, in the district or cantonment area.	Population in *each* municipality or cantonment.	No. of voters in the non-municipal area of the district.	Population in the non-municipal area.

We understand that both the Chief Commissioner and the Provincial Franchise Committee would be willing to let us have a note of their views on the question of the franchise in the light of experience of the forthcoming election. This we should greatly appreciate—its importance from the point of view of our Report is, of course, obvious. We should in particular welcome an expression of the considered views of the local Government/Provincial Committee on the maximum electorate which they regard as desirable and administratively practicable in the light of their experience of the election, on the qualifications on which that electorate should be based.

* *Vide* page 114, Vol. II.

IV

Memorandum by the Revenue Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, and Chairman, N.-W. F. Provincial Franchise Committee, to the Joint Secretary, Indian Franchise Committee, No. 10760-P., dated the 27th April 1932.

Please refer to your No. E.-594/N.W.F.P., dated 11th April and the questionnaire included therein.

2(*a*). I attach Appendix A* showing the details of population as between tribes notified as agriculturists under the Land Alienation Act, and others.

As regards the second part of your question, the following figures may be of interest. From the 1931 census report figures, not yet published but supplied to me by the Census Superintendent, it appears that the cultivating population is divided as follows :—

(*a*) Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind.	36,966
(*b*) Cultivating owners	221,032
(*c*) Tenant cultivators	178,690

These figures refer to males actually employed.

Use of regularly paid labour for cultivation is rare. Special labour is engaged at harvest times and paid from produce. The number of persons who are whole-time paid labourers in receipt of regular wages is extremely small. The figures of the latest census are not yet published. The actual figures under head farm servants and field labourers in Table XVII of 1921 Census is 3,985.

From Statement II of Part I of the last Land Revenue Administration Report it appears that of 2,724 thousand cultivated acres in the five districts 1,189 thousand were cultivated by owners and the remainder, 1,565 thousand, by tenants. Of these 286 thousand were the subject of occupancy rights and 1,259 thousand were cultivated by tenants-at-will. Neither the Census Report nor the Land Revenue Administration Report gives us separate figures for occupancy tenants. It will be observed that approximately 1/6th of the land cultivated by tenants is cultivated by occupancy tenants and we should arrive at an approximate figure of occupancy tenants (male workers) by dividing the number of tenant cultivators given above (178,690) by 6. This would give us round about 20,000 male working occupancy tenants. I think this is the best figure you can take. It thus follows that $\frac{178,690}{6}$, say 20,000, have rights of occupancy. It includes of course the adult sons of occupancy tenants. I think however that it is the most accurate figure that we can give you.

(*b*) You ask for a statement of the number of polling and presiding officers. Please see the list† attached to this letter. I have excluded all

* Page 440. † *Vide* Appendix G at page 447.

Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners, as I do not think it would be practicable to have these officers at polling booths during election times. If there is danger of any kind of disturbance such as occurred in Charsadda and in Mardan at the recent elections, it is highly probable that no magistrates would be available in the affected areas for use as polling officers.

I have also excluded Treasury officers and Tehsil officers in charge of sub-treasuries, as we cannot close our treasuries even for elections.

I have also presumed that nobody is on leave or sick.

I do not consider that the officers designated as polling officers could be employed as presiding officers. At present the use of non-officials of any kind gives rise to complaints. I am quite sure that feeling would be very strong against, for instance, the use of honorary magistrates. The members of Municipal Committees and district boards would certainly inspire no confidence at all.

I would add that there are 139 Municipal Commissioners, 184 District Board members and 39 Honorary Magistrates and Sub-Judges. Honorary Sub-Registrars number 3. Whether they can be used or not would depend much on personalities.

I have asked for numbers of pensioned officers, but the figures will have to be obtained from treasuries and I have not yet received all replies.

(*c*) Appendix B* shows the figures for voters and population (rural and urban) and the percentage which the one bears to the other on our existing rolls. It also shows the effect of making land revenue qualification (ownership) Rs. 5 instead of Rs. 10 as at present. It has been assumed that all the additional voters effected by this would come from rural areas. This assumption may be taken as approximately correct. The number of persons paying Rs. 5—Rs. 10 land revenue who reside in towns must be extremely small.

3. As regards your further questions, you ask how many voters are registered under the following qualifications :—

(*a*) Persons earning not less than Rs. 40 per mensem.

(*b*) Educational qualifications of Matriculation or school leaving certificate.

As regards (*a*) I am afraid we cannot without lengthy enquiry give figures for the whole Province because in many of the local bodies no details were given of the qualifications which earn the vote. I think however that we can give you figures for certain individual areas which will give you a fairly accurate idea of the results of the qualification and also of the matriculate qualification.

You will find the figures for the rural and urban areas of Hazara already given in the Chief Commissioner's memorandum. I now append two similar tables (Appendices C and D)† analysing the municipal rolls of Dera Ismail Khan and Peshawar. The number of persons who got on to

* Page 442. † Page 443.

the rolls on revision as a consequence of the application of these two qualifications to rural areas was probably very small. I can obtain the figures for Dera Ismail Khan and Hazara if you want them but I do not think that they would tell you much.

(*b*) The proposals both of the local Government and of the Provincial Committee were to let the urban franchise stand as it is and to expand only in rural areas. Without knowing exactly what is meant by industrial classes, it is difficult to answer the question as to whether they would be enfranchised or not. The phrase appears to me to belong to a state of society which does not exist here. A certain number of people do no doubt earn a daily wage in towns, but we have already given our opinion that it is undesirable to add to the number of urban voters. We should certainly add to them if we were to lower the wage limit.

As regards rural areas, please see the Chief Commissioner's memorandum under 1·4 representation of depressed classes. As stated there, and as the accompanying analysis (Appendix E*) of the Peshawar district board voters (who are also legislative council voters) shows, there are a very large number of persons enfranchised by the Rs. 4 board tax qualification. No doubt a number of these are shopkeepers, but as a very large number of these must be Hindus and Hindu voters only number 1,313 under all qualifications, there are clearly well over 2,000 Muslims enfranchised under the Rs. 4 board tax and the very great majority of these will be of the menial class. Compare also the Hazara District Board figures already supplied (in Chief Commissioner's memorandum). Considering the very low proportion of population which the menial classes represent in rural areas, it appears that they are not inadequately represented. For this please see Table XVII of 1931 census.

4. As regards the question of female franchise, I understand that you would like the Provincial Committee further consulted, and this shall be done in due course. I suggest if it would suit you that we should consider and send our views at the same time as we deal with the last part of your letter analysing the lessons to be learnt from the recent election. This can be done after May 10th when we expect to have ready the report of the officer who conducted the elections.

As regards the cost of the elections, figures are not yet available; but probably they will find a place in the report on the elections which we are to issue about the middle of May.

I attach as Appendix F† a table showing the figures of voters and population by districts and municipalities.

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* Page 444. † Page 445.

APPENDIX A.

Population of the districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan.

District.	Agricultural tribes.	Others.
Hazara	541,950	127,919
Peshawar	693,960	274,366
Kohat	185,655	49,781
Bannu	202,365	67,410
Dera Ismail Khan	158,797	114,926
Total ..	1,782,727	634,402

The figures exclude Europeans and Anglo-Indians altogether. The details below show details of agricultural tribes by districts. Figures are derived from Table XVII of 1931 census and of course include population resident in towns.

HAZARA DISTRICT.

Agricultural tribe.	Poulation.	Remarks.
Awan	106,931	The tribes starmarked in this statement are included in the Pathan tribe.
Bamba	..	
Bib	..	
Dhund	38,983	
Dilazak*	..	
Ghakkar	6,045	
Gujar	98,599	
Karal	27,117	
Kureshi	6,415	
Malliar	5,204	
Mishwani	5,361	
Mohiyals	..	
Mughal	11,843	
Pathan	54,544	
Rajput	5,882	
Sarrara	9,984	
Satti	..	
Swathi including Konshis	44,511	
Syad	27,629	
Tarin *	..	
Turk	4,486	
Tanauli	83,417	
Brahmans of the Abbottabad Tahsil ..	4,999	
Total population of Agricultural Tribes ..	=541,950	
Others (*i.e.*, all castes excluding Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Agricultural Tribes noted above)	=127,919	

PESHAWAR DISTRICT.

Agricultural Tribe.	Population.	Remarks.
Pathan	473,738	
* Dilazak	..	* Included in the Pathan tribe.
Awan including Gohas	134,237	
Gujar	22,099	
Baghdan	26,531	
Khand	..	
Khattar	..	
Bahatti	..	
Bagri	..	
Pathwari	..	
Mogal	3,461	
Kaka Khel	..	
Sayid	25,373	
Qureshis including Saddiqi Sheikhs	6,035	
Tanaulis..	2,486	
Total population of Agricultural Tribes ..	=693,960	
Others (*i.e.*, all castes excluding Europeans, Anglo-Indians and the Agricultural tribes noted above)	=274,366	

KOHAT DISTRICT.

Agricultural Tribe.	Population.
Pathans	148,098
Awans	19,891
Sayads	10,816
Sheikhs including	1,162
Koreshis	5,080
Malliars	608
Total population of Agricultural tribes	=185,655
Others (*i.e.*, all castes excluding Europeans, Anglo-Indians and the Agricultural tribes noted above)	=49,781

BANNU DISTRICT.

Agricultural Tribe.	Population.
Arain	1,468
Awan	13,972
Biloch	797
Musalman Jats	6,625
Kureshi	7,958
Pathan	159,737
Sayad	11,808
Total population of Agricultural tribes	=202,365
Others (*i.e.*, all castes excluding Europeans, Anglo-Indians and the Agricultural tribes noted above)	=67,410

DERA ISMAIL KHAN DISTRICT.

Agricultural tribe.	Population.
Arain	4,482
Awan	5,964
Biloch	35,619
Kureshi	1,723
Jats	34,890
Rajputs	768
Sayad	6,346
Pathan Gandapur	69,005
Pathan Kundi	
Other Pathans	
Total population of Agricultural tribes	=158,797
Others (*i.e.*, castes excluding Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and the Agricultural tribes noted above)	=114,926

APPENDIX B.

Existing voters and their percentage to population.			Percentages, etc., of voters to population, etc., if the land revenue qualification were reduced to Rs. 5.		
Urban ..	Voters ..	48,035	*Urban* ..	Voters ..	48,035
	Population ..	382,776		Population ..	382,776
	Percentage ..	12·54		Percentage ..	12·54
Rural ..	Voters ..	71,287	*Rural* ..	Voters ..	117,951
	Population ..	2,042,300		Population ..	2,042,300
	Percentage ..	3·49		Percentage ..	5·77
Total N. W. F. P.	Voters ..	119,322	Total N. W. F. P.	Voters ..	165,986
	Population ..	2,425,076		Population ..	2,425,076
	Percentage ..	4·92		Percentage ..	6·88

Additional voters in each District :—

Peshawar ..	19,498	46,664
Hazara ..	10,968	
Kohat ..	5,791	
Bannu ..	6,837	
D. I. Khan ..	6,670	

APPENDIX C.

Statement showing different classes of qualified voters of Dera Ismail Khan Municipality.

———	Mohammadans.	Hindus.	Sikhs.	Christians.	Total.
(e) Ownership	1,160	973	17	..	2,150
(f) Rent Rs. 4	148	263	8	2	421
(g) Income Rs. 40 ..	675	1,471	35	..	2,181
(h) Land Revenue Rs. 10..	75	47	..	..	122
(i) Matriculation ..	135	121	2	6	264
(j) Military	14	1	..	..	15
Total ..	2,207	2,876	62	8	5,153
Population (both sexes) ..	21,709	16,421	638	188	38,956

APPENDIX D.

Statement showing different classes of qualified voters of Peshawar City.

(e) Holding property at Rs. 600 or over	8,909	
(f) Rent Rs. 4	3,409	
(g) Income Rs. 40	2,192	
(h) Land Revenue Rs. 10	100	14,820
(i) Matriculation	166	
(j) *Ex*-Government servants Civil and Military Pensioners	44	
Population Peshawar City (both sexes) :—		
Muslims	69,893	
Hindus	11,594	
Sikh	5,150	

APPENDIX E.

Analysis of district board voters of Peshawar District.

(*a*) Lambardars, etc.	1,784
(*b*) Land revenue	19,655
(*c*) Muafi	2,348
(*d*) 3 years lease	1,115
(*e*) Occupancy tenants	30
(*f*) Income tax	73
(*g*) Military	2,700
(*h*) Rs. 4 board tax	3,579
	31,284
Muslims	29,401
Hindus	1,313
Sikhs	570

APPENDIX F.

Statement showing the figures of voters and population District by District, N.-W.F.P.

District.	Details.	Voters.				Population.
		Mohammadan.	Non-Mohammadan.	Sikh.	Total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Peshawar ..	Peshawar Municipality ..	10,775	2,965	1,132	14,872	87,440
	Peshawar Cantonment ..	1,419	1,591	411	3,421	34,426
	Mardan Municipality.	2,802	556	386	3,744	23,848
	Nowshera Cantonment	350	802	89	1,241	16,137
	Risalpur Cantonment	53	378	18	449	8,016
	Mardan Cantonment	24	73	23	120	2,431
	Cherat Cantonment	42	23	12	77	843
	Non-Municipal Area.	37,887	1,646	751	40,284	801,180
	Total ..	53,352	8,034	2,822	64,208	974,321
Kohat ..	Kohat Municipality	3,089	715	279	4,083	25,100
	Kohat Cantonment	27	59	20	106	9,250
	Non-Municipal Area	4,979	374	45	5,298	201,923
	Total ..	7,995	1,148	344	9,487	236,273
Bannu ..	Bannu Municipality.	606	2,358	903	3,867	24,980
	Bannu Cantonment	43	18	4	65	5,559
	Non-Municipal Area	8,268	927	36	9,231	239,762
	Total ..	8,917	3,303	943	13,163	270,301
D. I. Khan ..	D. I. Khan Municipality.	1,981	2,867	96	4,944	38,956
	D. I. Khan Cantonment ..	38	143	16	196	1,375
	Non-Municipal Area	4,730	1,908	33	6,671	233,733
	Total ..	6,749	4,918	144	11,811	274,064

District.	Details.	Voters.				Population.
		Mohammadan.	Non-Mohammadan.	Sikh.	Total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hazara ..	Abbottabad Municipality ..	916	432	99	1,447	7,638
	Haripur Municipality	732	854	162	1,748	7,653
	Abbottabad Cantonment ..	143	333	48	524	8,527
	Non-Municipal Area	15,525	1,109	266	16,900	646,299
	Total ..	17,316	2,728	575	20,619	670,117
	Grand Total N.-W. F. Province.	94,329	20,131	4,828	119,288	2,425,076

APPENDIX G.

Presiding Officers.

(*i*) Extra Assistant Commissioners	39	
Exclude	5	Treasury Officers.
	3	Secretariat officers namely—
		(*i*) Indian Personal Assistant to the Chief Commissioner.
		(*ii*) Mir Munshi to the Chief Commissioner.
		(*iii*) Personal Assistant to the Revenue Commissioner.
	8	Officers employed in Agencies.
	16	
Available	23	
(*ii*) Sub-Judges	8	
(*iii*) Income Tax Officers ..	4	
(*iv*) Professors	35	
(*v*) Deputy Collectors (Irrigation)	2	
(*vi*) Excise Superintendent ..	1	
(*vii*) Inspector of Vernacular Education.	1	
(*viii*) Assistant Registrar, Co-operative.	1	
(*ix*) Agricultural Officers (Gazetted)	2	
(*x*) Veterinary Officers (Gazetted)..	2	
(*xi*) District Inspectors of Schools	5	
	84	

Polling Officers.

(*i*) (*a*) Tahsildars	29		
Exclude Tahsildars employed in Agencies ...	9		
Available			20
(*b*) *Naib-Tahsildars.*—41.			
Exclude Naib-Tahsildars employed in Agencies	10	26	
Naib-Tahsildars in Sub-Treasuries.. ..	16		
Available			15
(*ii*) Excise Inspectors	6	16	
Excise Sub-Inspectors	10		
Exclude Excise Sub-Inspector, Landi Kotal..	1		
Excise Staff available			15

(*iii*) Inspectors of Co-operative Societies ..	11		
Available			11
(*iv*) Income Tax Inspectors	6		6
(*v*) Head Masters of High Schools—			
Government	11		
Private	17		
Middle Schools—			76
Government	*Nil*		
Private (including Municipal and District Board).	48		
(*vi*) Zilladars, Irrigation Department	13		13
Total available ..			146
Municipal Commissioners—			
Abbottabad			14
Haripur			14
Peshawar			29
Kohat			18
Bannu			17
Dera Ismail Khan			20
Mardan			17
Total ..			129
District Board Members—			
Hazara			36
Peshawar			60
Kohat			28
Bannu			32
Dera Ismail Khan			28
Total ..			184
Honorary Magistrates and Honorary Sub-Judges			59
Honorary Sub-Registrars			3

(One of these at Dera Ismail Khan is to be retrenched from the 1st July 1932 which would leave the number at 2.)

Replies
of the
Chief Commissioner, Coorg,
and the
Coorg Provincial Franchise Committee
to the
Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaire.

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COORG.

I

Memorandum by the Chief Commissioner of Coorg.

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF COORG, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 922/20-32, DATED BANGALORE, THE 8TH APRIL 1932.

I am directed to forward, for the information of the Chairman of the Franchise Committee, a copy of the Report of the Coorg Provincial Franchise Committee.

2. I am to add that the Chief Commissioner agrees with the views expressed by the Coorg Provincial Franchise Committee.

II

Memorandum by the Coorg Provincial Franchise Committee.

The Committee was constituted as follows:—

1. Mr. L. J. MacIver, I.C.S., (Commissioner), Chairman,
2. Rao Bahadur K. Chengappa, B.A., (District Magistrate),
3. Rao Sahib B. Sripathi Rau, M.L.C.,
4. Lieutenant-Colonel H. F. Murland, M.L.C.,
5. Mr. P. R. Thimmappa Punja, M.L.C.,
6. Mr. A. B. Chengappa, M.L.C.,
7. Mr. M. Rasul Khan Sahib.

The Committee met at the Council Chamber, Mercara, at 10 A.M., on Tuesday, the 15th March 1932, and formulated the following replies to the Questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.

1. Extension of the Franchise.

Question 1. (*a*) The population of Coorg is 160,000 and odd of which about 40,000 represent a floating population of immigrant labourers. Of the remaining 120,000 and odd of the population, the total number of electors at present is 11,143, that is, nearly 10 per cent.

The Committee deem it unnecessary to propose any arbitrary percentage to represent the proportion of the population now to be enfranchised, but wish to make certain proposals to increase the present electorate. These proposals are set out in their proper place below.

(*b*) The Committee considers that such an electorate will be capable of casting an intelligent vote.

(*c*) In the opinion of the Committee, the extended electorate proposed will be administratively manageable.

(*d*) No answer is required.

(*e*) The proposals which the Committee has made in reply to question 2 below may be expected to increase the electorate to 15 to 16 per cent.

(*f*) The Committee is opposed to the introduction of the group system suggested.

(*g*) to (*i*) No answer is required.

2. Franchise qualifications.

(*a*) There is no marked disparity at present in the operation of franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas.

(*b*) The Committee is in favour of joint electorates with reservation of seats and would like to see the present separate electorates abolished.

(*c*) The Committee is of opinion that the possession of property of some kind is a suitable test of fitness for the franchise. As a means of enlarging the existing electorate, they would recommend the reduction of the existing basis of qualifications by 50 per cent., in respect of both land tenure and the taxes paid under the Coorg District Fund and Municipal Regulations.

(*d*) The Committee favours the introduction of a qualification based on education, independently of property, and suggests for men as a standard the possession of a completed Secondary School Leaving Certificate and for women a lower educational qualification, say the Lower Secondary standard.

(*e*) The Committee is in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and extending it so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces.

3. Women Suffrage.

(*a*) The Committee is not in favour of increasing the women's electorate in the ways suggested beyond the educational test recommended above as an additional means of extending the present electorate.

(*b*) No answer is required.

(*c*) The Committee is against the proposal.

4. Representation of the depressed classes.

The Committee considers that the term " Backward classes " is more appropriate and that they be extended to include classes other than untouchables also, and be represented by reservation of seats in joint electorates as soon as this becomes possible. In the meantime, they should, if at all possible, be represented by a member nominated from among themselves.

5. Representation of Labour.

Labour at present is not organised in Coorg. The greater part of the labour force stays in Coorg only for a certain number of months in the year, and, in these circumstances, there may be great difficulty in getting an electoral roll prepared. Besides, it is hoped that the Committee's recommendation under the previous heading " Depressed Classes"

as well as for the extension of the franchise will secure adequate representation for this class. In the circumstances, the majority of the Committee do not consider it necessary to provide for separate representation for labour, as such, in Coorg.

6. Representation of special interests.

Europeans.—The Committee by a majority is of opinion that there should be special representation for Europeans. They consider that the existing methods of election are quite efficient.

Planting interests.—In the opinion of the Committee separate representation for planting interests in Coorg is not necessary.

II.—The Federal Legislature.

(*a*) The majority of the Committee is in favour of direct election for both Chambers, the Upper and the Lower.

(*b*) Franchise qualifications ought to be different for the Federal and Provincial Legislatures. Payment of land revenue of Rs. 25 per annum may be fixed as the franchise qualification for the Lower Chamber and Rs. 200 for the Upper Chamber.

Representation of Women, Labour and Depressed Classes.

The Committee has no remarks to make.

L. J. MACIVER,

Chairman.

MERCARA:

The 15th March 1932.

Reply

of the

Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General

in

Rajputana (Ajmer-Merwara)

to the

Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaire.

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AJMER-MERWARA.

Memorandum by the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana (Ajmer-Merwara).

The questionnaire deals with the problem of extending the franchise primarily in its relation to Governor's provinces and the reason given for the desirability of a considerable extension is that, as these provinces will in future be units enjoying the greatest possible measure of autonomy, it is essential that the legislature should be representative of the general mass of the population. Obviously the questionnaire itself, therefore, is largely inapplicable to Ajmer-Merwara which is a small unit with no provincial legislature and the reasons which have been advanced to justify a large extension of the franchise have little weight so far as Ajmer-Merwara is concerned. It is not, I consider, necessary even if it were possible to arrange for sectional interests such as labour, the depressed classes and so forth in Ajmer-Merwara to receive special representation. Elections hitherto have not been fought on any particular platform nor have the candidates standing for election had any definite declared policy. Votes have been cast for individuals and not for policies. In extending the franchise the object in view should be to secure, if possible, the return of a candidate with varied knowledge and intelligent concern for all sections of the community and to endeavour so far as practicable to remove the disparity which at present exists between the urban and rural voting strength.

2. *Extension of the franchise.*—The Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference suggest an immediate increase of not less than 10 per cent. of the population.

In Ajmer-Merwara at the last election the number of electors on the electoral rolls was 4,339 and the population at the last census was 560,292. Thus the electorate as at present constituted represents less than 1 per cent. of the population. The enfranchisement of a minimum of 10 per cent. of the population would mean an electoral roll of 56,000 or thirteen times the strength of the present electorate. Such an immediate increase would be a dangerous experiment and administratively unmanageable. The work of preparing the electoral rolls in rural areas would probably be thrown on the revenue staff, who already have more work than they can adequately cope with. The rolls would certainly not be properly prepared. In municipal areas the rolls would probably be prepared in a still more unsatisfactory manner. At present in the Ajmer and Beawar Municipalities in which the number of electors is about 6,000 and 3,000, respectively, the municipal authorities have shown themselves to be entirely incapable of preparing their electoral rolls properly.

The recording of so large a number of votes would present still greater difficulties. Experience has shown that with an electorate, which is largely illiterate, one Polling Officer can at most deal with 500 votes in a day. With such an electorate it is essential—if malpractices

on an extensive scale are to be prevented—to have thoroughly reliable Polling Officers. The number of responsible officials available for this work is limited. It might be possible—with difficulty—to find about 40, who could deal with not more than 20,000 electors. Moreover, locally there has been so far no demand whatever for an extension of the franchise. In rural areas little, if any, interest is taken in politics and the majority of these enfranchised would have no idea of its meaning or implication and would certainly be incapable of casting an intelligent vote. So far as Ajmer-Merwara is concerned, I am not, therefore, prepared to recommend an immediate extension of the franchise to the extent suggested. I recognise, however, that some extension is desirable as a measure of political education, though, if the experience of local self government in Ajmer-Merwara is to be taken as a guide, it cannot be said that so far there is any evidence that the possession of the franchise has improved the political education of the ordinary citizen. Such an extension can best be secured by a modification of the existing electoral qualifications as described below.

3. I am not in favour of a system of group voting. The task of grouping all adults in rural and urban areas in groups for the purpose of selecting a representative would be beyond the capacity of the existing district establishment. Nor is it clear to me on what principle the groups could be formed. The system, even if workable, would be peculiarly open to manipulation, bribery and unscrupulous demagogy. I am convinced that so far as Ajmer-Merwara is concerned, better results would be secured by giving as a first step the franchise to village headmen who are the recognised representatives of the village community rather than to groups which would vote as directed by the most influential person in the village or at the dictates of the village money-lender. Further advances can be made later when experience has shown how the power which has been given has been used and how far the franchise is used intelligently by those to whom it has been given. It has to be remembered that Ajmer-Merwara is geographically part and parcel of the most conservative tract in India and sudden drastic innovations are neither necessary nor desirable.

4. *Franchise qualifications.*—The existing rule as regards the qualifications of electors for the election of an Ajmer-Merwara representative for the Legislative Assembly is :—

> " A person shall be qualified as an elector for the constituency who resides in the constituency and who
>
> (*a*) has owned in the constituency for the twelve months preceding the date of the publication of the electoral roll immovable property, not being land assessed to land revenue or granted free of land revenue, but including any building erected on such land of the value of not less than five thousand rupees or of an annual rental of not less than three hundred rupees, or has been tenant of such immovable

property for a like period ; provided that a person shall be deemed to have owned such property for any period during which it was owned by any person through whom he derives title by inheritance ; or

(*b*) is the owner of land in the constituency assessed to land revenue of not less than one hundred and fifty rupees per annum ; or

(*c*) is the assignee of land revenue amounting to not less than one hundred and fifty rupees per annum ; or

(*d*) pays rent of not less than two hundred rupees per annum as an *ex*-proprietary tenant of agricultural land ; or

(*e*) pays rent of not less than three hundred rupees per annum as a tenant, otherwise than in *ex*-proprietary right of agricultural land of which he has been such tenant during the three years preceding the date of publication of the electoral roll ; or

(*f*) was assessed to income-tax during the financial year preceding the date of publication of the electoral roll. The total number of electors enrolled on the last list was 4,339 distributed according to the qualifications enumerated above as follows :—

(*i*)	3,400
(*ii*)	1
(*iii*)	51
(*iv*)	0
(*v*)	135
(*vi*)	752

Of the total number of electors, 2,597 were enrolled in the Ajmer Municipality, 941 in the Beawar Municipality, 355 in the Kekri and Deoli Municipalities and the Nasirabad cantonment, and only 466 in the rural areas. I enclose a statement* showing the distribution according to castes from which it will be seen that Mahajans at present form more than 1/3rd of the total electorate.

It is clear that the existing qualifications give an altogether disproportionate number of votes to the urban population. For at the last census the urban population of the district was returned as 180,199, *i.e.*, about 1/3rd of the total population, whereas 3,893 electors out of 4,339 represented urban interest.

* Page 464.

Working on the basis of the qualifications described above, I make the following suggestions for widening the electorate :—

(*a*) In the Ajmer Municipality owners of house property valued at not less than 1,500 or occupiers of premises of which the rent is not less than Rs. 150 a year are, *ceteris paribus*, eligible to be enrolled as electors for Municipal elections. The number actually enrolled with these qualifications is :—

House proprietors	4,718
Rent payers	1,229
	5,947

I think these figures (Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 150) might be adopted instead of the present figures (Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 300) under qualification (*a*). With the present figures this qualification enfranchises 3,400 electors. If the figures were reduced as suggested the number of electors under this head might perhaps be increased to about 10,000.

(*b*) This qualification of ownership of land assessed to land revenue of not less than Rs. 150 per annum—has resulted in the inclusion of only one elector in the roll. Obviously the figure is far too high. It might be reduced to Rs. 20. This would enfranchise approximately 3,000 persons.

(*c*) Similarly, the figure under this head should be reduced from Rs. 150 to Rs. 20. This would bring about 100 assignees of land revenue on to the electoral roll.

(*d*) This qualification might be omitted. No one is at present enrolled as an *ex*-proprietary tenant and the distinction between ex-proprietary tenants and other tenants should be omitted in qualification (*e*).

(*e*) If the figures were reduced from Rs. 300 to Rs. 50 about 1,000 more tenants of agricultural land might be enrolled as electors.

(*f*) At present there are 752 income-tax assessees on the electoral roll. The lowering of the exemption limit will probably raise the number of assessees by about 2,000.

As a further measure to increase the voting strength of the rural area I suggest that all Government pensioners, head Bhumias, and village headmen should as such be electors. There are a number of military pensioners—especially in Merwara—who might otherwise not be eligible for inclusion in the electoral roll. The total number may be about 1,500. The Bhumias hold a position of some influence in the villages of the Ajmer sub-division. There are 87 Head Bhumias. Village headman are the recognised representatives of their villages. The number varies in accordance with the size of the village. Some villages have only one: others have several. Taking two as the average number per village there would be about 1,500 for the 750 villages of the district. The appointment of headman in khalsa villages is usually— according to village

custom—hereditary but where the appointment does not, or for any reason cannot, pass from father to son, a vacancy is filled by appointing the candidate who is elected by a majority of the khewatdars who will have to pay their land revenue through him, if he is not otherwise disqualified. There is not the same system for appointing headman in villages in Istimrári and Jagir estates but such villages usually have their headmen and it should not be difficult to arrange that each such village should have one or more who could be enrolled as electors as the accredited representatives of their villages or 'thoks'. Presumably many of the village headmen will be entitled to be electors in their individual capacity as owners of land assessed to land revenue, if qualification (*b*) is widened as suggested above, but if they are made electors in their representative capacity the whole of the rural population will thus to some extent have a voice in elections through their recognised representatives. It might also be possible to allow each co-operative society to nominate an elector to represent it. There are about 600 such societies in the district.

If the qualifications I have suggested are adopted, I estimate that an electorate of about 20,000 would be secured. It is not possible at present to give anything but very approximate figures. The number of electors, however, under the various categories may roughly be estimated as follows :—

Qualification	(*a*)	10,000
,,	(*b*)	3,000
,,	(*c*)	100
,,	(*d*)	
,,	(*e*)	1,150
,,	(*f*)	2,250
Government pensioners	.. .. ..	1,500
Bhumias ..	.. ..	87
Village Headmen	.. ..	1,500
Representatives of Co-operative societies	.. ..	600
	Total ..	20,187

5. I am not in favour at present of prescribing any special qualification for women. I consider that they should be admitted to the suffrage on the same terms as men. The proposal that the wives and widows of men entitled to vote under the property qualification seems to me to have little to recommend it. In nine cases out of ten the practical result would be to duplicate the husband's vote thus giving to the property qualification an excessive representation while at the same time it would enhance the urban voting power as compared with the rural and the Hindu as compared with the Muslim.

6. *Literary qualification.*—I am opposed to the introduction of a qualification based on education independently of property, for I can discover no satisfactory criterion for weighing votes on the score of superior intelligence. No certificate of scholastic attainments that I am aware

of would constitute any safe guarantee that its possessor would use his voting power intelligently for the benefit of the community at large, nor do I consider that the possessor of such a certificate uses his voting power with more political insight than many a thoughtful uneducated artisan. Moreover, without any formal advantage in voting power, the educated classes are always likely to exercise great indirect electoral power and their interests are not likely to suffer from inadequate representation or incompetent advocacy.

7. I consider the suggestion that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers as an unpracticable proposition, if the franchise qualifications are to be the same for all communities. For obviously if qualifications are to be retained, the community which has the greater number of members possessing those qualifications must have the greater proportional voting strength and the only method of adjusting the strength of the electorate to the numbers of a particular community is by varying the voting qualifications.

8. *Military service qualification.*—I consider that the existing military service qualification should be retained and should be extended to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. At present these qualifications apply to Provincial Legislative Councils only, but as Ajmer-Merwara has no provincial legislature I consider that they should be included so far as Ajmer-Merwara is concerned in the qualifications for the Federal Houses Electorate.

9. *II—The Federal Legislature.*—In asmuch as Ajmer-Merwara has no provincial legislature and so far as I know it is not proposed that it should have one, the greater part of this section of the questionnaire does not concern this administration.

Seeing that 4/5th approximately of the population of Ajmer-Merwara are Hindus, the question arises whether any special arrangement is required to obviate the inevitable result that the Province will always be represented in the Federal Chamber by two Hindu members. It has been suggested that in order to secure representation for Muslims the representative in the Upper Chamber should be a Muslim when the representative in the Lower House is a Hindu and *vice versa*.

Such an arrangement would not in my view be satisfactory for it would give excessive representation to the Muslim minority.

Moreover, the selection of both members by direct election would run counter to the principle which will be applied in other Provinces for it seems probable that the British Indian members of the Senate will be elected by the Provincial legislatures, to secure the natural character of a federal polity that the federating units as such should be represented in the structure of the common Government. On this analogy the representative of Ajmer-Merwara in the Upper Chamber should represent the governing body of Ajmer-Merwara. In the absence of a provincial legislature the only method by which this desideratum can be secured is by an arrangement by which this member is nominated by the authority responsible for the Government. Such a system of securing representation would doubtless not accord with procedure in other Provinces. But

different conditions require different treatment and if Ajmer-Merwara is to be a separate unit in the federal polity I regard it as of paramount importance that its Government should have some method of representing its views in the Federal House. The only other suitable alternative would be for the member of the Upper Chamber to be selected by indirect election through the Municipal and District Boards. I make these remarks on the assumption that Ajmer-Merwara will be a *quasi*-federal unit and will be represented as proposed by the Federal Structure Sub-Committee in the Federal House, but I am far from the opinion that the Government of an isolated unit like Ajmer-Merwara can suitably be entrusted to a federal body sitting in Simla and Delhi the members of which will be entirely ignorant of local conditions and will be occupied with affairs of far wider interest. Moreover it is impossible that the States will agree to the proposed representation of Ajmer-Merwara in both Houses unless they are accorded similar representation in proportion to their size and population.

Castes of electors in Ajmer-Merwara Constituency of the Legislative Assembly, 1930.

Numbers and Names of Sub-Divisions.	Brahmans.	Rajputs.	Mahajans.	Kayasthas.	Malis.	Gujars and Jats.	Moha-medans.	Christians (includes Europeans and Anglo-Indians.)	Others.	Total.
I. Ajmer Municipality ..	281	15	729	150	55	7	584	129	647	2,597
II. Beawar Municipality ..	78	5	555	19	23	7	99	7	148	941
III. Kekri Municipality ..	4	..	47	2	..	3	9	..	5	70
IV. Deoli Municipality ..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	1	12
V. Nasirabad Cantonment ..	4	3	100	..	..	..	90	50	20	273
VI. Ajmer rural area	19	13	64	..	..	5	19	..	3	123
VII. Beawar rural area ..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	3	10
VIII. Todgarh Tehsil ..	1	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	2	23
IX. Ajmer Istimrari area ..	1	26	20	..	..	37	1	..	11	96
X. Kekri Istimrari area ..	3	75	50	5	3	35	2	..	21	194
Total ..	391	137	1,603	176	87	94	804	186	861*	4,339

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* Includes Parsis, Sikhs, etc.

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